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THE ANCIENT EMPIRES OF THE EAST

HERODOTOS I.–III.



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THE

ANCIENT EMPIRES

OF THE EAST

HERODOTOS I.-III.

WITH NOTES, INTRODUCTIONS, AND APPENDICES

BY

A. H. SAYCE

DEPUTY-PROFESSOR OF COMPARATIVE PHILOLOGY, OXFORD;
HONORARY LL.D., DUBLIN

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ERRATA.

Page 207, note 8. For *not* read *rot*.

„ 331, line 20. For *Sestesura* read *Sestura*. Also written *Sesetsu*.

„ 337, „ 27. For *in* read *into*.

„ 361. An inscription lately brought from Abu-Habba shows that Agadé Semitised into Accad, is the true reading.

„ 369-71. A recently discovered cylinder of Nabonidos asserts the date of Naram-Sin, the son of Sargon of Agadé, to have been 3200 years before the time of Nabonidos (see Pinches in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, Nov. 7th, 1882). It is more than doubtful whether Eri-Acu, the son of Cudur-Mabug, is to be identified with Rim-Agu, who was conquered by Khammuragas, and recent discoveries show that the conquest of Babylonia by Khammuragas did not follow very closely upon the reign of Naram-Sin. There seem, however, to have been two princes of the name of Khammuragas.

„ 438. The cylinder of Nabonidos just mentioned calls Astyages "the king of the *tsab manda*" or "barbarians." It must have been through a confusion between the words Madâ or Medes—the term by which the heterogeneous tribes east of Kurdistan were known to the Assyrians—and *manda*, "a barbarian," that the name of Media came to be applied by Greek and probably Persian writers to the kingdom of Ekbatana. Nabonidos states that the temple of the Moon-god at Harran, which had been destroyed by the "Manda," was restored by himself, with the help of the soldiers he had summoned from Gaza and elsewhere, after the overthrow of Istuvegu or Astyages by Kyros in B.C. 553. He goes on to say: "And Merodach spake with me: 'The barbarians of whom thou hast spoken, themselves, their country, and the kings that are their allies, exist not.' In the third year when it came, he bade Kuras, king of Anzan, his young servant, to march with his army; he overthrew the wide-spreading barbarians; he captured Astyages, king of the barbarians, and took his treasures to his own land."

N.B.—In the following pages an attempt has been made to give a correct transliteration of Greek and oriental proper names. But as long as English spelling remains a national disgrace, and no reformed alphabet is in current use, rigid consistency is unfortunately impossible. Nor can the printer be expected to be always attentive to the clumsy devices by which alone we are able at present to mark the differences between a long and short *e* or *o*. As in the case of Greek accents, the most careful corrector for the press will sometimes overlook a misuse of diacritical marks. Any endeavour, however, to approximate to the right reproduction of Greek proper names is better than none at all, and may possibly help to contribute to that most desirable of objects, the reform of English spelling.

PREFACE.

THE main object of the present work is to show what light has been thrown upon the earlier books of "the Father of History" by recent discoveries in Greece and the Levant, and, at the same time, to emphasize the fact, which Herodotos perceived, that Greek history and civilisation are but a continuation of the history and civilisation of the ancient East. The rapid progress that has been made of late years in the decipherment of the Egyptian and Assyrian inscriptions, the active exploration and unexpected discoveries that have been made in Egypt, Assyria, Babylonia, Syria, and Asia Minor, the excavations on the site of Carchemish, and the recognition of the important part once played by the Hittites, have revolutionised our conception of early history, and given us a knowledge of the religion and culture, the languages and inner life, of the old nations of the Orient which Herodotos and his contemporaries did not and could not possess. In studies which are growing day by day, and continually revealing some new fact or correcting some previous misconception, it is well to take stock of our existing knowledge every now and then, and see exactly what is the point to which our researches have brought us. The present volume, accordingly, deals with the history rather than with the language of Herodotos, and with that history only in so far as it bears upon the East. I have not touched upon philology except where the meaning of a word or name has been cleared up by the science of language, or where I have myself found a difficulty in the grammatical construction or exact signification of a passage.

Those who would be saved the trouble of reference to a grammar and dictionary, or who desire to learn what difficulties commentators have discovered in simple texts, and what avalanches of learning they have poured down upon them, must turn to other editions of Herodotos. It is with Herodotos as the historian, rather than as the subject for the dissecting-knife of the grammarian, that I have had to do.

The edition of the first three books of his history now presented to the reader does not profess to enter into competition with the standard work of Prof. Rawlinson. Its existence is justified on three grounds. First of all, as I have already said, it tries to place before the public the results of the researches made up to the present time in the monumental records of the ancient civilised world. Dislocated and hidden away as most of the materials are in numerous learned periodicals, some of which are scarcely known even by name beyond a very small and select circle of subscribers, the task of bringing them together is one which the ordinary classical student would have neither the leisure nor the desire to attempt, and it therefore becomes the duty of those who have specially devoted themselves to Oriental matters to undertake it for him. In the second place, I can speak at first hand about a good deal of the material worked up in the present volume, and can claim to have contributed some portion of it myself to science; while both in the notes and appendices new facts will be found which have not hitherto made their way into print elsewhere. Then, thirdly, I have travelled over a considerable part of the ground on which the history described by Herodotos was enacted. Indeed, with the exception of Babylonia and Persia, there is hardly a country or site mentioned by him in these first three books which I have not visited. And the more I have travelled, the more impressed I have been with the conviction how impossible it is to write accurately of an event, or discuss with any advantage a historical or topographical question, without having studied it personally on the spot. I much doubt if the great antiquity of Egyptian

civilisation can be really brought home to the mind of anyone who has not actually sailed up the Nile and examined one by one the groups of monuments he passes on the way, and the successive stages of culture they imply.

For recent monographs on the relation of monumental discovery to Herodotos I would refer to Maspero's interesting "Fragment d'un Commentaire sur le seconde Livre d'Hérodote" in the *Annuaire de l'Association pour l'Encouragement des Études grecques en France*, 1875 (pp. 15-21), 1876 (pp. 185-193), 1877 (pp. 124-137), and 1878 (pp. 124-174); Eugène Revillout's "Premier Extrait de la Chronique démotique de Paris: Le Roi Amasis et les Mercenaires" in the *Revue égyptologique*, II. and III., 1880 (pp. 49-82); and, above all, Wiedemann's "Geschichte Ægyptens von Psammetich I. bis auf Alexander den Grossen," Leipzig, 1880 (more especially pp. 81-100), in which, for the first time, the methods of scientific criticism are applied to the records of ancient Egypt. Brüll's "Herodot's babylonische Nachrichten" (1878), though convincingly disproving Oppert's topographical restoration of Babylon, is little more than a restatement of the arguments in Rawlinson's *Herodotus*. For Persia the student may be referred to Hovelacque's "Observations sur un Passage (I. 131-141) d'Hérodote concernant certaines Institutions perses" in the *Revue de Linguistique et de Philologie comparée*, VII., 1875 (pp. 243-68), and my own letter on the "Rise of the Persian Empire" in the *Academy*, Oct. 16, 1880, pp. 276-7; while for the Hittites and their extension as far as Lydia my article on "The Monuments of the Hittites," in the *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, VII. 2, 1881 (pp. 248-308), may be consulted. The natural history of Herodotos is treated by B. Beneke in the *Wissenschaftliche Monatsblätter* for 1879, Nos. 4-8, 10-12, under the titles of "Die Saügethiere in Herodot's Geschichte," "Die botanischen Bemerkungen," and "Die mineralogischen Bemerkungen."

The net result of Oriental research in its bearing upon Herodotos is to show that the greater part of what he professes

to tell us of the history of Egypt, Babylonia, and Persia, is really a collection of "märchen," or popular stories, current among the Greek loungers and half-caste dragomen on the skirts of the Persian empire. For the student of folklore they are invaluable, as they constitute almost the only record we have of the folklore of the Mediterranean in the fifth century before our era; and its examination and comparative treatment by a Felix Liebrecht or a Ralston would be a work of the highest interest and importance. After all, it is these old stories that lend as great a charm to the pages of Herodotos as they do to those of mediæval travellers like Maundeville or Marco Polo; and it may be questioned whether they are not of higher value for the history of the human mind than the most accurate descriptions of kings and generals, of wars and treaties and revolutions.[1]

A. H. SAYCE.

QUEEN'S COLL., OXFORD,
April 1883.

[1] There is no commentary on Herodotos more instructive or interesting than Maspero's admirable *Contes égyptiens* (Paris 1882), which forms the fourth volume of *Les Littératures populaires*. The author says justly (p. xxxiii.) of Herodotos: "Il n'écrivait pas une histoire d'Egypte. Même bien instruit, il n'aurait pas donné au livre de son histoire universelle qui traitait de l'Egypte plus de développements qu'il ne lui en a donnés. Toutes les dynasties auraient dû tenir en quelques pages, et il ne nous eût rien appris que ne nous apprennent aujourd'hui les textes originaux. En revanche, nous y aurions perdu la plupart de ces récits étrangers, et souvent bouffons, qu'il nous a si joliment racontés, sur la foi de ses guides. Phéron ne nous serait pas connu, ni Protée, ni Rhampsinite. Je crois que ç'aurait été grand dommage. Les monuments nous disent, ou nous diront un jour, ce que firent les Khéops, les Ramsès, les Thoutmôs du monde réel. Hérodote nous apprend ce qu'on disait d'eux dans les rues de Memphis."

INTRODUCTION.

The Historical Credibility of Hêrodotos.

Whether it was that the work of Hêrodotos fell upon an age which had imbibed the sceptical teaching of the philosophers and sophists, and, like the wits at the court of the Restoration, was ready to laugh down a writer who made demands upon its credulity,—or whether his residence in the West lost him the literary friends and advocates he would otherwise have had in Greece,—or whether, again, his partiality for Athens aroused the prejudices of the younger generation which gathered like vultures round the carcase of Athenian greatness, and neither cared nor desired to remember the history of the Persian wars, —certain it is that from the first Herodotos met with hostile criticism and accusations of historical dishonesty. Hardly had the generation for whom he wrote passed away before Thukydidês tacitly accused him of errors which the Attic historian corrected without even naming the author to whom they were due. While his statements on matters of Greek history were thus called in question by a writer of that very nationality whose deeds he had done so much to exalt, his history of the East was categorically declared to be false by Ktêsias, the physician of the Persian king Artaxerxes Mnêmon. Born at Knidos, almost within sight of Halikarnassos, the birthplace of Herodotos, the position of Ktêsias gave him exceptional opportunities for ascertaining the true facts of Persian history, and his contemporaries naturally concluded that a critic who had lived long at the Persian Court, and had there consulted the parchment archives of Persia, was better informed than a mere tourist whose travels had never extended so far as the Persian capital, and who was obliged to depend upon ignorant dragomen for the information he retailed. The very fact, however, that Ktêsias considered Herodotos worthy of attack shows that the latter held a high rank in the Greek literary world, whatever opinion there might be as to the character and credibility of his writings. But the attack

of Ktêsias produced its desired result; the work of Herodotos fell more and more into contempt or neglect; the florid rhetoric of Ephoros superseded it among the readers of a later day, and, Bauer notwithstanding, even the antiquarian philologists of Alexandria paid it no special attention. Manetho and Harpokration wrote books to disprove the statements of Herodotos;[1] Theopompos,[2] Strabo,[3] Cicero,[4] and Lucian,[5] challenged his veracity; and Josephos[6] declares that "all" Greek authors acknowledged him to have "lied in most of his assertions;" while the Pseudo-Plutarch went yet further, and composed a treatise on the Malignity of Herodotos, in which he sought to prove that the misstatements of the "father of history" were intentional distortions of fact. It is only wonderful that with all this Herodotos continued to be read, and perhaps yet more wonderful that his work has escaped the wreck from which but a few excerpts of his critic Ktêsias have been preserved.

The last half-century has placed materials at our disposal for testing the historical veracity of Herodotos which the majority of his Greek critics ignored and despised. Year by year exploration in the East and patient research at home have been gradually adding to our knowledge of the ancient world, and enabling us to reconstruct the history of oriental civilisation. Assyria and Babylonia, Egypt and Nubia, Asia Minor and prehistoric Greece itself, have yielded up their monuments to the scrutiny of a generation which has been trained in the principles of a scientific criticism and desires to discover only the truth. The contemporaneous records of princes and statesmen who were but names a few years ago now lie before us, and we know more of the inner and outer life of ancient Babylonia or ancient Egypt than Herodotos could have done even though he had spoken the languages of these countries and travelled more widely over them than he did.

The question of the trustworthiness of Herodotos can now be judged on better grounds than internal evidence or the testimony of classical writers. We have means for deciding how far the statements of Herodotos in regard to events which happened before his time and in the foreign countries he visited are correct. Unfortunately, as we shall see, the decision is on the whole against our author, and we shall therefore have to enquire why this is,—whether the mistakes of

[1] *Etym. Mag.*, *s.v.* Λεοντοκόμοι; and Suidas, *s.v.* Ἀρτοκρατίων.

[2] *Fr.* 29.

[3] xi. pp. 740, 771, etc.

[4] *De Leg.* i. 1; *De Div.* ii. 56.

[5] *Ver. H.* ii. 42.

[6] *Con. Ap.* i. 3.

Herodotos are due to the circumstances under which he wrote and travelled, or whether, as the Pseudo-Plutarch was persuaded, he was not only fallible but dishonest.

For the sake of briefness it will be best, first, to see how and with what object the history was written; secondly, how far the honesty of Herodotos can be trusted; and thirdly, how far his statements bear the test of facts.

(1.) Herodotos tells us himself that his object in writing was to record the famous events of the past, more especially the struggle between the Greek and the barbarian. In other words, he wished to write a history of the Persian War, and of the causes which led up to it. What else he tells us is episodical, taking the place of the foot-notes and excursuses of a modern book. The history of Lydia is connected with the first beginning of the contest between Europe and Asia as well as with the rise of the Persian empire; the account of Babylonia necessarily finds a place in a work dealing with a power of which it formed so important an element; and the long episodes upon Egypt and Skythia are justified by their bearing upon the Persian War, which could not fitly come about until the conquest of Egypt had swept away the last civilised kingdom which stood between Persia and Greece, and the chastisement of the Skythians had made the Persian frontier safe on the north, and allowed it to prosecute its designs against Hellas without hindrance or fear. Egypt, too, exercised a most important bearing on the course of the war. Had it not been for its opportune revolt in B.C. 486, the whole strength of Persia would have been flung upon Greece under the direction of the skilful and energetic Dareios, not of the weak and cowardly Xerxês. We are only surprised that Herodotos has introduced no digression upon Phœnicia into his work, since the Phœnician fleet was a prime factor in the war, and Phœnician traders were held by him to have been the first causes of the quarrel between East and West.

But the ingenuity of commentators has of course not been satisfied with the simple account Herodotos gives of the object of his work. They have divined other objects as well, and it cannot be denied that in the choice of his subject, and especially in his treatment of it, Herodotos must have been influenced by motives which appear more or less plainly on the face of his book. Herodotos had travelled and taken many notes, and, like travellers of our own day, was anxious to let other people know that he had done so. As it happened, his travels had taken him over the scene of the great war. Then, again,

he had that common failing of literary men—jealousy of others who had done what he thought he could himself do better. Hekatæos, as we shall see, seems to have been the special object of his dislike, and he succeeded only too well in effacing him. But, above all, Herodotos had a philosophical, or, if the term is preferred, a theological theory, which was a combination of the old Greek belief in the doom that awaits hereditary guilt, and the artistic Greek conception of "the golden mean." Whatever exceeded a just proportion aroused the envy and *νέμεσις* of heaven; the overweening power and pride of Xerxes brought upon him the destined disaster, just as it brought destruction upon Kroesos at the moment when he considered himself most secure. Hence it is that the Athenian legislator and gnomic poet has to be introduced into the Lydian court in spite of chronological difficulties, in order to preach that doctrine of moderation which was soon to be verified by facts; hence it is that the murder of Polykrates or the expedition of Xerxês has to be preceded by dreams—the shadows of the events that were to follow.

Kirchhoff[1] has made it plain that Herodotos left his work unfinished. He could not have intended to break off his history of the Persian War while it was not yet ended without commemorating "the great and wonderful deeds"[2] enacted on the Eurymedôn and at Salamis in Kypros, or the compact known as the peace of Kimôn, which brought to a close the long hostilities between Greece and Persia. At the same time it is equally clear that the work, as we have it, is carefully arranged according to a definite plan. And not only so, but it bears evident marks of having been revised by its author after its first publication, or at any rate its first composition. Canon Rawlinson points out that in iv. 30 *προσθῆκαι* must be rendered "additions" or "supplements," not "digressions," and that the phrase there used, "additions are what my work always from the very first affected," implies that the book had already been published. It is otherwise difficult to understand why this protest against a carping criticism should have been made. It is also possible that when Herodotos twice declares (iii. 80, vi. 43) that Otanês had really recommended a republic in spite of the incredulity of "certain Greeks," he is alluding to objections that had been raised on the first publication of his work, and not to the criticism passed on the authority from which he is quoting. The most natural explanation of

[1] *Ueber die Entstehungszeit des herodotischen Geschichtswerkes*, 2d edition, 1878.
[2] i. 1.

the fact that whereas some passages in the book were clearly composed or revised in Southern Italy, others appear to have been written in Asia Minor or Attica, is, that it underwent two editions. The passages which imply a residence in Southern Italy are always, as Professor Rawlinson says, parenthetical (except, perhaps, vi. 127), and can be omitted without injury to the sense;[1] while it is difficult to conceive that the vanity of a Greek could have been satisfied with writing a book and not publishing it for years.

Kirchhoff, indeed, has argued ably to prove that the work was brought out piecemeal. As the promise of a digression on Assyrian history in i. 106, 184, is not fulfilled in the third book (ch. 150), where we should expect it, he concludes that a considerable interval of time elapsed between the composition and publication of the two passages, and that Herodotos had meanwhile forgotten his promise. As Bachof,[2] however, remarks, the Assyrian power had been destroyed by the Medes, not by the Persians, and therefore the history of it could not well enter into the plan of his work. Moreover, in iv. 1 Herodotos actually refers to one of the very passages in which the "Assyrian History" is mentioned, so that his memory could not have been so short as Kirchhoff imagines. Kirchhoff places the composition of this first part of the work at Athens before B.C. 442, when Sophoklês brought out his *Antigonê*, in which a reminiscence appears of the history of the wife of Intaphernês (see iii. 119, note 6), and when Herodotos received the gift of 10 talents for his work from the Athenian people.[3] Bachof reasonably wonders how an author who intended to write the history of the Persian War could have published a fragment which did not reach even as far as the occasion of its beginning. Kirchhoff brings Herodotos to Athens for the second time after the commencement of the Peloponnesian War on

[1] For those written in Southern Italy see iii. 160 (*end*); iv. 99; v. 77 (*end*); vi. 127 (where the list begins with Italy); vii. 114 (*end*); ix. 73 (*end*). For the others see i. 142, where the Ionian cities are enumerated from south to north, iii. 90, ii. 7. Stein suggests that iv. 81 was written before the visit of Herodotos to Delphi, as otherwise he would have compared the great bowl presented by Kroesos (i. 51) with the Skythian cauldron.

[2] *Die Ἀσσύριοι Λόγοι des Herodotos* (Fleckeisen's *Jahrb.* 1877). But it must be remembered that Herodotos understands Babylonia as well as the kingdom of Nineveh under the name of Assyria so that he must have regarded the Babylonian empire as merely a continuance of the Assyrian.

[3] The vote was moved by Anytos, according to Dyillos, an Athenian historian of the fourth century B.C., quoted by the Pseudo-Plutarch (*De Malig. Herod.* ii. p. 862 A; see Euseb. *Chron. Can.* ii. p. 339.)

the strength of a comparison between the funeral oration of Periklês and the metaphor of the spring put into the mouth of Gelon (vii. 162), and makes him remain there till B.C. 428. During this second visit he supposes bks. v. 77–ix. to have been written.

Kirchhoff's dates are accepted by Bauer,[1] who, however, believes that what Kirchhoff calls the composition of the second part of the History was really its final redaction. He assumes that Herodotos had by him a number of individual histories — the Lydian, the Egyptian, the Skythian, the Libyan, and the Persian — which he had written at various times. These were pieced together into a connected whole, the first part (to the middle of the 5th book) in Thurii, the second part in Athens. It was the history of the expedition of Xerxês which was read to the Athenian people in B.C. 445, soon after the composition of the Egyptian history.[2]

Bauer's theory no doubt contains an element of fact. Herodotos must have written his history in parts. The existence of such episodes as that on Egypt goes far to prove it; but the references to the Assyrian history, which was never incorporated into the work, make it almost a certainty.[3] The Assyrian history cannot well have been expunged by Herodotos when he revised (or redacted) his book, and there is no satisfactory evidence that it formed a separate volume. Nevertheless the Assyrian portion of the history of Ktêsias seems to have been composed with the view of confuting the statements on Assyrian matters which had been current under the name of Herodotos. We must, therefore, assume that Herodotos had actually written a work on Assyria similar to that on Egypt, and that while he embodied the whole of his Egyptian volume into his great work, he introduced from his Assyrian volume only that portion which related to the Babylonian empire, together with a passage or two which bore on the earlier chronology of Assyria. The whole volume, perhaps, fell after his death into the hands of friends, who, without publishing it, let it be known what its author had said about Assyrian history. It is even possible that Herodotos may have read this and other fragments which went to form his general history to private circles of friends. Hence the reply of Ktêsias in the form of a counter Assyrian history.

[1] *Die Entstehungszeit des herodotischen Geschichtswerkes*, 1878.

[2] Bauer's hypothesis, so far as it assumes that the history of the campaign of Xerxês (bks. vii.–ix.) was written before bks. i.–vi., is successfully overthrown by Bachof, *Quæstiuncula Herodotea* (Eisenach, 1880).

[3] See i. 106, note 1.

The detached parts, which we thus suppose were woven into a harmonious whole, must themselves have been based in great measure upon notes. Herodotos must have gone about, pencil and measuring-tape in hand, examining the relics preserved in temples, noting down the replies he received to his questions from dragomen, Greek priests, and the descendants of great men to whom he was introduced, or measuring the size of the buildings he visited, and the large blocks of stone which excited his wonder. He appeals to the testimony of his own eyesight and observation; to the offerings and famous relics preserved in temples, like the fetters of the Spartans at Tegea, or the monuments to the Greeks who fell at Thermopylæ; to Greek inscriptions like the forged Kadmeian ones at Thebes; to oracles like those delivered to Kroesos; to tradition; to eyewitnesses[1] and personal intercourse with those who had taken part in the events described, or were related to those who had done so, like Thersander[2] and Arkhias[3]; to Egyptian priests, or rather half-caste dragomen; to Persian and Phœnician writers[4]; to Greek poets—Arkhilokhos (i. 12), Solôn (v. 113), Sapphô (ii. 135), Alkæos (v. 95), Simonides of Keos (v. 102, vii. 228), Anakreôn (iii. 121), Pindar (iii. 38), Lysistratos (viii. 96), Æskhylos (ii. 156), Phrynikhos (vi. 21), Aristeas (iv. 13), Homer and Hesiod (ii. 117, iv. 32, v. 67, ii. 53), Olen (iv. 35), Musæos and Bakis (vii. 6, viii. 20, 77, 96, ix. 43)—and to earlier Greek historians and geographers. Among the monuments he saw were many inscribed ones, such as the stem of twisted serpents on which stood the tripod dedicated to Apollo by the Greek victors at Platæa, and which is now in the Hippodrome at Constantinople; or the tablet of Mandroklês in the temple of Hêrê at Samos;[5] or the two columns erected by Dareios and engraved with Greek and Assyrian (*i. e.* Persian) characters.[6] The example of the Kadmeian inscriptions at Thebes, however, shows that Herodotos could not distinguish between forgeries and genuine texts even where he had to deal with Greek inscriptions; and we must be therefore careful in accepting his statements on the strength of supposed epigraphic evidence where we do not exactly know what it was. Besides monuments of this kind it is probable that he used official registers preserved in temples, like the *ἀναγραφαὶ* of Sparta.[7] If the latter gave

[1] iii. 115, iv. 16.
[2] ix. 16. [3] iii. 55.
[4] See i. 1, i. 95, i. 214.
[5] iv. 88. [6] iv. 87.
[7] Plut. *Vit. Ages.* 19. Comp. also the *ἀρχαῖα γράμματα* of Elis (Paus. v. 4, 4); the list of Olympian victors (Paus. v. 8, 3); the list of Karnean victors at Sparta (Athen. xiv. p. 635 E); the registers of Argos and Sikyon (Plut. *De Mus.* p.

the length of each king's reign as well as his name, they may explain the fact that Herodotos places 900 years between himself and Hêraklês (ii. 145) instead of 630, which, according to his own mode of reckoning dates (ii. 142), would be the time required for the twenty-one generations from Hêraklês to Leônidas (vii. 204). The oracles probably formed part of the oral tradition from which he drew so largely, though, as the oracles ascribed to Musæos and Bakis were in writing, it is possible that a written compilation of the oracles of Delphi had been made before his time (see i. 47). We are no doubt indebted to tradition for a good deal of the folklore which lends to his pages so great a charm. That Herodotos borrowed from Persian and Phœnician writers he expressly states himself; and as the style as well as the doctrines of the early Ionic philosophers presuppose an acquaintance with Oriental literature, while Herodotos was born a Persian subject, it might be concluded that both he and his countrymen in Asia Minor were not so ignorant of Persian—the English of the day—or of Phœnician—the language of trade,—as is ordinarily supposed. It is quite clear, too, that the account of the Persian satrapies given in the third book is taken from an official list. But there is nothing else to show that Herodotos was acquainted with any other language than his own, and the mistakes he makes in his translations of Persian words prove that he could not have understood the Persian language. The same evidence is also borne by Ktêsias.[1] That persons must have been found in Asia Minor able to speak both Greek and Persian is of course evident—in no other way could the Persian government of the Greek states there have been carried on; but they were probably of no high station in life—mere clerks, in fact, who made a livelihood, like the dragomen in Egypt, out of their linguistic acquirements. To learn the language of their conquerors was unpatriotic, and if the trouble were undergone for the sake of gain "banausic." Possibly Semitic settlers were found to perform the same office of interpreters between the Greeks and their masters that was undertaken by the Jews in Spain for the Arab students of Greek literature. In any case there must have been Greek translations of Persian and Phœnician books, as well as of official documents, from which Herodotos derived his statements; and the fact that they were translations may explain why he always speaks of his Oriental authorities in the plural. The Hellenic poets, on the other hand,

1134); and that of the Athenian archons (Polyb. xii. 12, 1). For the value to be assigned to the list of Olympian victors see Mahaffy in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, ii. 1 (1881), pp. 164 *sq.*

[1] See i. 1, note 1.

formed part of the Greek's education, and were the texts upon which the teaching of γράμματα was based. Herodotos had no doubt committed a good deal of their compositions to heart, and an apt quotation was not likely to be less esteemed in the ancient world than in the modern. Hence it is that while Hekatæos is the only Greek prose-writer quoted by name—and that only for the sake of disparagement—Herodotos makes a show of his acquaintance with the poets of his nation. A good knowledge of standard poetry was as much the mark of a cultivated gentleman as it was in the English society of the last century. It is therefore somewhat strange that Sophoklês, the fashionable tragedian of the day, should not once be named, more especially as there are evidences of conscious allusions to Herodotos on the part of the poet, who is even said to have written a poem in his honour.[1] But it is precisely the fact that Sophoklês was the fashionable poet of the day which explains the silence of Herodotos. His tragedies had not formed part of the school education of Herodotos; he had learned no passages from them, and was consequently unable to quote them. Nor did a knowledge of a poet about whom every one was talking bring with it the same reputation of learning as a knowledge of prehistoric worthies like Musæos and Bakis.

The relation of Herodotos towards his predecessors in prose literature was a very different one. They were his rivals whom he wished to supplant. There was no *éclat* to be gained by showing himself familiar with their names. His chief aim was to use their materials without letting the fact be known. He tries to impress upon the reader his own superiority to the older prose-writers; he boasts of accepting only what he has heard from eyewitnesses (iii. 115, iv. 16), and names Hekatæos only when he thinks he can confute him or make him appear ridiculous. And yet it is certain that he is largely indebted to Hekatæos for his information, and that in Egyptian matters more particularly he has drawn without scruple on the work of the writer

[1] Plut. *Op.* ii. p. 785 A, edit. Reiske. The poem began: Ὠδὴν Ἡροδότῳ τεύξεν Σοφοκλῆς ἑτέων ὢν Πέντ' ἐπὶ πεντήκοντα. See iii. 119, note 6, and cf. Hanna, "Beziehungen des Sophokles zu Herodot" (Brünn, 1875), and Nieberding, "Sophokles und Herodot" (Neustadt, 1875). The lynx eyes of commentators have discovered plagiarisms from Sophoklês in ii. 35 and iii. 119. On the other hand, Sophoklês seems really to allude to Herodotos not only in the passage above referred to, assuming it to be genuine, but also where the habits of the Egyptians are attacked and human misery is described in *Œd. Col.* 337 *sq.* and 1211 *sq.*, as well as in *Fr.* 380, where mention is made of the invention of games to allay the pangs of hunger, and perhaps *Fr.* 967, where the inundation of the Nile is ascribed to the melting of the snow.

he desired to supersede.[1] Herodotos wrote for a young and growing society, not a decrepit and decaying one; and just as the surest mode of securing the circulation of a book in ancient Egypt, or in the earlier centuries of our own era, was to ascribe it to an older author, so the passport to fame among the Greek reading public in the age of Herodotos was the affectation of novelty and contemptuous criticism of older writers. The treatment Hekatæos has suffered at the hands of Herodotos—and which Herodotos himself was soon to suffer by a just retribution—prepares us to expect a similar treatment in the case of other authors whose works have been laid under contribution while their names have been suppressed. This expectation is verified by passages like ii. 15, 17, iv. 36, 42, where other writers on the same subject, supposed to be well known to his audience, are sneered at; or by the reference in vi. 55 to the genealogy-makers, who did not come into competition with Herodotos, and are therefore compassionately allowed to be still read.

Among the writers who had preceded Herodotos were Akusilaos of Argos, Eudêmos of Paros, Eugæôn or Eugeôn of Samos, Hekatæos and Dionysios of Milêtos, Kharôn of Lampsakos, Xanthos of Sardes, Dêmoklês of Phygela, Biôn and Deiokhos of Prokonnêsos, Amelêsagoras or Melêsagoras of Khalkêdôn, Pherekydês of Leros, and Skylax of Karyanda.[2] Hekatæos we know he used; even in the ancient world it was notorious that he had "stolen" from that author the descriptions of the phœnix, the hippopotamus, and the crocodile.[3] The "Persian History" of Dionysios, which extended from the reign of Kyros to that of Xerxes, may have suggested to Herodotos the original idea of his own,[4] while Eugæôn was probably the source from which he

[1] See Wiedemann, "Geschichte Aegyptens von Psammetich I. bis auf Alexander den Grossen" (1880), pp. 82 *sq.*

[2] Hellanikos survived Herodotos and must have written after him, as he alluded to the battle of Arginussæ (B.C. 406) in his *Atthis*, and, according to the Schol. on Sophoklês (*Phil.* 201) and Porphyry (ap. Euseb. *Præp. Ev.* x. p. 466 B), read and copied Herodotos. J. Bass, in his monograph, "Ueber das Verhaltniss Hêrodot's und Hellanikos'" (*Wiener Studien*, i. 1879), decides that no use of the one by the other can be detected.

[3] Porphyr. ap. Euseb. *Præp. Ev.* x. 3. As Wiedemann remarks, the descriptions are so discordant with actual facts that no two writers could have hit upon them independently, and show that Herodotos did not make his statements from personal observation, as he professes to have done.

[4] Dionysios is said to have stated that Danaos brought the alphabet to Greece. This seems to be the reason why Herodotos insists at such length and with an appeal to his own experience that it was brought by Kadmos (v. 58-61).

derived his account of Polykratês. The digression on Æsop (ii. 134), which is dragged into the narrative much out of its place, seems to be directed against Eugæôn, who had made the fabulist a Thrakian. Kharôn not only traversed the same ground as Herodotos, but also introduced into his history the same pieces of folklore, as, for example, the dream of Astyages[1] which Herodotos must either have borrowed from him or taken from a common source. His special work on Lampsakos, however, does not seem to have been known to the Halikarnassian historian, who would otherwise have seen the point of the threat of Krœsos to cut down Lampsakos "like a fir" (πίτυς); Pityusa, according to Kharôn, having been the original name of his native city.[2] On the other hand, Kharôn's list of the Spartan magistrates seems almost certainly alluded to in vi. 55, where he is included among other genealogers. The notes of Skylax, again, subsequently worked up with other materials into a Periplus, must have lain at the disposal of Herodotos, who mentions the explorer by name as well as his voyage (iv. 44), and from them he no doubt derived much of his information about the far East.[3] Whether he laid Xanthos, the Lydian historian, under contribution is more doubtful. His Lydian history presupposes the use of documents which gave the succession and dates of the Lydian kings and dynasties; but it must be noted that it practically begins with the period when the kingdom of Sardes was first brought into close contact with the Greeks, and deals mostly with the wars between the Mermnadæ and the Ionians. On the other hand, the account of the colonisation of Etruria given by Herodotos seems an intentional contradiction of the narrative of Xanthos,[4] and Ephoros expressly asserts that the latter writer "gave Herodotos the starting-point" of his history.[5] We must not forget that although there were no publishers or printing-presses in the age of Herodotos, public libraries were not altogether unknown;[6] Periklês at Athens was

[1] Tertull. *De Arian.* 46.

[2] Plut. *De Virt. Mul.* p. 255 A. Dêiokos of Kyzikos had made the same statement (*Frg.* 10, ed. Müll.)

[3] See iii. 100, note 5.

[4] See i. 94, note 2.

[5] *Fr.* 102, ed. Professor Rawlinson thinks that if Herodotos had used Xanthos he would have noticed "the peculiar physical appearances in the interior of Lydia" described by the Lydian writer. But the Lydia of Herodotos did not extend so far, being confined to the plains of Sardes and Magnesia. The case is different with Dêmoklês, who wrote specially on the *Volcanic Phenomena in Asia Minor* (Strab. i. p. 85), a work which it is plain Herodotos did not use.

[6] As the library of Peisistratos at Athens and that of Polykratês at Samos. In these libraries we may see an illustration of the Asiatising tendencies of the tyrants. Libraries had long existed in

surrounded by literary men, and books were at any rate cheaper than travelling.

Such, then, were the sources from which Herodotos drew his materials, which must have taken their final shape not later than B.C. 426, the latest possible date for the desertion of Zôpyros to the Athenian side (iii. 160). No event subsequent to this is mentioned, since vi. 68 does not imply the death of Artaxerxes, and the last occurrence alluded to, the date of which is certain, is the betrayal of the Spartan and Korinthian ambassadors to the Athenians (vii. 133-137) in the autumn of B.C. 430.[1] Kirchhoff holds that the death of Herodotos took place two years after this at Athens, to which he returned shortly after the Delian earthquake at the beginning of the Peloponnesian War,[2] and where he saw the Propylæa (v. 77), which were not finished till B.C. 431. Professor Mahaffy remarks that the little said by Herodotos about the affairs of Magna Græcia, which had been treated by Hippys of Rhegium and Antiokhos of Syracuse, is "a strong argument against the composition of his work at Thurii in his later years;"[3] but it must be remembered that the history of the West, scarcely affected as it was by the great war, did not come within the scope of his work.

(2.) Classical scholars have long since determined to reverse the popular verdict of antiquity which found expression in the treatise of the Pseudo-Plutarch, and to acquit Herodotos of the charge of conscious dishonesty. Mr. Blakesley, indeed, has brought powerful arguments to show that Thukydides and others considered Herodotos one of the λογόποιοι, whose aim was not to instruct but to please, and has tried both to substantiate their judgment and to prove that Herodotos was in no way a more trustworthy writer than Marco Polo or even De Foe. Professor Mahaffy, too, while agreeing with the current opinion, nevertheless ventures to suggest that the attack made by the Pseudo-Plutarch has "perhaps not been sufficiently considered;"[4] but it has been reserved for an Egyptologist, Dr. Wiedemann, to make it plain that the charge brought against Herodotos was not undeserved, and that the "blame" (μῶμος) which,

Babylonia, Assyria, Phœnicia, Jerusalem (Prov. xxv. i.), and, as we now know, Kappadokia, from which two clay tablets, one in the Louvre and the other in the British Museum, have been brought, while others have been procured at Kaisariyeh by Mr. Ramsay. For the contrary view cf. Paley, *Bibliographia Græca* (1881).

[1] Thukyd. ii. 67.

[2] Thuk. ii. 8. as compared with Herodotus, vi. 98.

[3] *History of Classical Greek Literature*, ii. p. 26.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 38.

according to his epitaph, caused him to fly from Halikarnassos had been justly provoked.

The speeches put into the mouths of many of his characters bear the impress of his own ideas and have always been recognised as his own compositions. But it is usually assumed that they rest on a basis of fact, and are merely what Herodotos supposed might have been said on the occasion of a real event. Our confidence in this assumption is, however, shaken when we find, firstly, that they are generally intended to convey a moral lesson, and, secondly, that where we can test the event believed to underlie them it turns out to be imaginary. Thus the discussion of the seven conspirators after the murder of the Magian cannot be reconciled with the actual facts, and chronological considerations make it very doubtful, to say the least, whether Solôn could ever have visited the court of Krœsos. There are many other passages in which Herodotos has introduced a legend or preferred one version of a tale, not because he heard it from an eyewitness, as, when he is trying to disparage his predecessors, he ostentatiously asserts was his invariable rule,[1]—not, indeed, upon any critical grounds whatsoever,—but simply because it agreed with his philosophical creed, or struck his admiration of "smartness," or, finally, because it threw a doubt on the statements of earlier historians. Out of the various stories told of the birth and rise of Kyros he selects one which is a pure myth, and the folklore he has substituted for Egyptian history, or the legends he tells of the way in which the precious gums of Arabia were collected, warn us against accepting a statement which *may* be true merely because it is in Herodotos. The tale of the phœnix which he plagiarised from Hekatæos is a convincing proof how little he really cared for first-hand evidence, and how ready he was to insert any legend which pleased his fancy, and to make himself responsible for its truth.

But the conclusions to be drawn from his descriptions of the crocodile and hippopotamus are yet more damaging to his veracity. Not only did he take them from Hekatæos without acknowledgment, but he repeats all the errors of his text while endeavouring all the time to leave the impression on the reader's mind that they are the result of his own observation. This teaches us to be careful about accepting his testimony in other cases where he seems to claim the credit due to personal experience, but where we cannot test his state-

[1] See iii. 115.

ments. It prepares us also for an affectation of knowledge which leads him sometimes to make erroneous assertions, sometimes to conceal real ignorance, and is in every case misleading. Thus, to judge from the way in which he writes, Herodotos must have been a marvellous linguist, able to converse freely with Egyptians, Phœnicians (ii. 44), Arabians (iii. 108), Carthaginians (iv. 43), Babylonians (i. 181-183), Skythians (iv. 5, 24), Taurians (iv. 103), Kolkhians (ii. 104), Thrakians (v. 10), Karians and Kaunians (i. 171-172), and Persians. Yet when he ventures to explain words belonging to any of these languages he generally makes mistakes and simply displays his total ignorance of them (as, for example, when giving an interpretation of the names of the Persian kings, vi. 98). In ii. 104, 105, he assumes an acquaintance with the languages of both Egypt and Kolkhis, and pronounces them to be alike—a verdict which may be put by the side of his other assertion that Egyptian resembled the chirping of birds (ii. 57). When, however, we find him further calling the Kolkhians woolly-haired and black-skinned, we begin to doubt whether he could have visited the country at all, much less have made enquiries of its inhabitants. The doubt is confirmed if we look more closely into what we find elsewhere in his narrative. From time to time, when speaking of Egypt, he alludes to a god whose name he will not mention, he says, for religious reasons.[1] The god in question is shown by the context to be Osiris; and, as Wiedemann remarks, the only religious scruple the Greek traveller could have had against pronouncing the name of a deity which was constantly in every native's mouth, and was perpetually meeting his eyes on numberless monuments, and in fact is mentioned by Herodotos himself elsewhere, must have been ignorance. Herodotos or his authorities had not caught the name when taking notes, but instead of confessing the fact "the father of history" deliberately deceives his readers. It is no wonder, therefore, if after this we can further convict him of what, in these days, would be termed literary dishonesty of a most serious character, inasmuch as it affects the credit and veracity of a considerable portion of his work. Herodotos wishes his readers to believe that he had visited Upper as well as Lower Egypt. It is true that, except perhaps in one passage,[2] he never actually says that he did so

[1] See ii. 3, note 9.

[2] ii. 29. In ii. 3 I have bracketed the words ἐς Θήβας τε καί, which I believe to have been inserted by a copyist. Heliopolis alone, and not Thebes, was near enough to Memphis for Herodotos to "turn into" in order to test what was told him at Memphis. His reason for

in so many words, but he does his best to convey the impression, and in one place (ii. 142-143) resorts to a kind of verbal legerdemain in order to effect his object. Here he gives the reader to understand that the 345 statues Hekatæos had seen at Thebes two generations previously were the same as the 341 statues Herodotos saw—as the preceding chapters show—at Memphis, and at the same time contrasts his own superior modesty and wisdom with the ignorant vanity of the older historian whom he now names for the first time.[1] There is clear evidence that Herodotos never ascended the Nile higher than the Fayûm. Had he done so he would not have lavished such praise upon the labyrinth and been silent over the wonderful buildings of Thebes, nor would he have gravely repeated the story—due, probably, to the misunderstanding of his dragoman—which made the Nile rise at "the city" of Elephantinê.[2] But Hekatæos had visited Thebes, and if he were to be supplanted it was needful that Herodotos too should have been at least equally far. This is the only excuse for the deliberate falsehood in ii. 29, where he declares that he "came as an eyewitness as far as the city of Elephantinê." In calling Elephantinê a city, however, instead of an island, he betrays the real facts of the case, and it may be hoped that the Angelican MS. (*prima manu*) [B], which omits the clause, represents the original text of Herodotos (see ii. 29, note 7).

So flagrant an example of dishonesty excites our distrust of the extended travels to which Herodotos implicitly lays claim. The suspicions aroused by his extraordinarily inappropriate description of the Kolkhians are confirmed, and we are inclined to doubt whether what Herodotos has to tell us of the eastern part of the Black Sea was not derived from others—from those "eyewitnesses" of whom he was so proud. At any rate, as Mr. Bunbury remarks,[3] there is no evidence that Herodotos ever travelled as far as Susa, the expression used of the Eretrians at Arderikka—that they remained there up to his own time (vi. 119)—being the very same as that used of the Barkæans in Baktria (iv. 204), a country which few would be disposed to maintain was visited by him. Moreover, the difficulties connected with the description of the royal road from Sardes to Susa[4] can only be explained on the supposition that it was borrowed from another

doing so was that "the people of Heliopolis were considered the best authorities." There is no reference to the Thebans.

[1] See notes 2, 5, and 7 on the passage.

[2] See ii. 29, note 7.

[3] *History of Ancient Geography*, i. pp. 234-235.

[4] v. 52.

work. Not only are the numbers given for each day's journey inconsistent with the final summing up, "but if the Gyndes be taken as the frontier between Armenia and Matiene, the enormous extension thus given to Armenia is altogether at variance with the distance assigned to this part of the route; the march through Assyria, from the river Gyndes to the neighbourhood of Mosul—the lowest point at which the road could well have crossed the Tigris—being alone fully equal to the 56 parasangs allowed to Armenia, thus leaving the whole intermediate space, from the Euphrates to the Tigris, unaccounted for;" while the extension given to Armenia "is equally at variance with the extent assigned to it in the description of the Satrapies."[1] It may be added that no one who had actually crossed the Gyndes would have thought that its waters had been dissipated into 360 rivulets by Kyros, as Herodotos does in i. 189-190.[2]

As Herodotos does not describe any other road to the East, and it is pretty evident that he never travelled along this particular one, we must conclude that he never visited Assyria and Babylonia. This will explain his comparative silence about such important and interesting countries as Syria and Assyria Proper. Yet, just as much as in the case of Upper Egypt, he has endeavoured to produce the impression that he had visited Babylonia and conversed there with Khaldean priests, and his endeavour has been so successful as to deceive the majority of his commentators. One passage, in fact, i. 183, where he wishes it to be inferred that he did not see the golden statue of Bel at Babylon *because* it had been removed by Xerxes, is as flagrant a piece of prevarication as his statement about the 341 images he saw in Egypt. It is true he does not positively assert that he was in Babylonia, but it is the natural inference from his words. The prevarication would have more easily escaped detection if he had said he did not see the temple itself, as well as the image it contained, since it had been destroyed by Xerxes (Arrian, vii. 17) at the same time that the Persian king had carried away the statue. But unluckily Herodotos did not know this, and accordingly describes the temple at length, leaving it to be understood that he had carefully examined it himself. It is doubtful, however, whether he intended to mean by the words ὡς ἔλεγον οἱ Χαλδαῖοι in the same chapter, "as they told me when I was there," since they *might* signify "as they used to say;" and we can afford him the benefit of the doubt. But when he says in chapter 193

[1] Bunbury, i. p. 253.

[2] See note 1 on the passage.

that he will not mention the size of the millet and sesamê plants, "knowing well that those who had not gone so far as Babylonia" would not believe what had been stated of the luxuriance of the vegetation there, he is again trying to convey a false impression, even though his words may be quoted from another author. We have not to read far to see that Herodotos could not himself have been in Khaldea. Apart from the historical misstatements—two of which, relating to the sieges undergone by Babylon, could hardly have been made by a visitor to the spot[1]—a writer who speaks of "immense stones" in Babylonia,[2] who does not know the real site of Opis,[3] and describes imaginary cuttings near Arderikka, a place probably quite as imaginary,[4] who asserts that the walls of Babylon had been destroyed by Dareios,[5] and fancies that rain falls but seldom in the country,[6] stands self-convicted of never having visited the district he undertakes to describe. No one, indeed, who had done so would have called Babylonia Assyria,[7] or have confused the Babylonian with the Assyrian empire. The name of Assyria was never used by the Babylonians of the age of Nebuchadrezzar and his successors, much less by those of the Persian period. It must have been derived by Herodotos from his antiquarian researches among older Greek writers when working up the materials for his Assyrian history, and have come down from a time when Gyges was a vassal of Assur-bani-pal or Sardanapalos, and the Assyrian power was influencing the fortunes of Lydia and Ionia.[8] Ktêsias had good reason for accusing Herodotos of errors in his Assyrian history; and if we may judge from the specimens of it incorporated in his work, its disappearance is no great loss.

(3.) The conclusion we are driven to, accordingly, is that Mr. Blakesley is right in considering Herodotos a mere λογόποιος. He pilfered freely and without acknowledgment; he assumed a knowledge he did not possess; he professed to derive information from personal experience and eyewitnesses which really came from the very sources

[1] See i. 192, note 4; iii. 159, note 7.

[2] i. 186, note 1.

[3] i. 189, note 8.

[4] i. 185, note 5.

[5] iii. 159, note 7.

[6] i. 193, note 8.

[7] i. 178.

[8] In ii. 150 Herodotos confesses that the legend he tells of Sardanapalos was derived from "a passage (λόγῳ) quoted from" an earlier λόγιος or "proser" (see . 1, note 1). Λόγος is here used in the sense in which Herodotos uses it of his own work (ii. 38, v. 36), and does not mean "tradition" or "report." Stein is clearly not justified in drawing from the passage the inference that Herodotos had visited Assyria before he travelled in Egypt. Nineveh was an uninhabited ruin in the time of Herodotos, so there could have been no dragoman there to fill his note-books with folklore.

he seeks to disparage and supersede; he lays claim to extensive travels which are as mythical as those of the early philosophers; and he introduces narratives or selects particular versions of a story, not because they were supported by good authority, but because they suited the turn of his mind, and fitted into the general tenor of his work. With such evidences, then, of unveracity staring us in the face, it becomes a question how far we can trust his statements and accept his authority in historical or topographical matters. In order to answer it we must first distinguish between the countries he can be proved to have visited, and those which there is good evidence to show that he did not. After all, he need not have been ashamed of the extent of his travels; if they could not rival those of Hekatæos or Skylax, they had certainly extended over the greater part of the civilised portion of the Mediterranean. Like a true Greek, Herodotos kept as near the sea as possible; we have no proof that he ever penetrated far inland. He had visited Greece and its sacred shrines, making a pilgrimage as far as Dôdôna, and probably coasting along the shores of Thrakê from Athos to Byzantion. He had been as far south in Egypt as Lake Mœris, had sailed along the shores of Palestine and Syria, touching at Tyre, Beyrût,[1] Kypros,[2] and Rhodes,[3] like a modern tourist returning from Egypt by an Austrian Lloyd steamer, had apparently stayed at Kyrênê, and had made the acquaintance of the chief islands of the Ægean, including of course Dêlos. He had resided in Magna Græcia, and probably also, as the legend of his life asserts, in Samos.[4] The western coast of Asia Minor was naturally well known to him. He was born at Halikarnassos, and was acquainted with Lydia and its capital Sardes, with Ephesos and the Kaikos, and probably with the Troad as well.[5]

Except in Egypt, and at Tyre and Sardes, he was not necessarily brought into contact with any but a Greek-speaking population; in Egypt and Syria, as well as at Sardes, he had to depend upon dragomen; but his voyages were doubtless performed in Greek boats. Egypt, Syria, and Lydia apart, therefore, he had no difficulty in picking up information, and no need of consulting any but Greek authorities. As regards what may be termed the Greek portion of his

[1] ii. 44, ii. 106.

[2] i. 199.

[3] ii. 182.

[4] Stein notes that the account in vi. 13 *sq.* betrays an attempt to excuse as far as possible the disgraceful conduct of the Samians at Ladê. See also i. 70; ii. 168; iii. 26, 39 *sq.*, 54 *sq.*, 60, 120 *sq.*; iv. 43, 88, 152; v. 112; vi. 22 *sq.*; viii. 85; ix. 106.

[5] See ii. 10, vii. 43.

history, accordingly, we may allow his statements the credibility that is usually claimed for them.

His account of the nations on the western coast of Asia Minor stands on a somewhat different footing. The history of Lydia, if drawn from first-hand sources, must have rested on the authority of persons who spoke a different language from his own, but for reasons already alleged (p. xxiii) it is probable that this was not the case, and that he made use of Greek documents or traditions. Of Karia he was able to speak from personal experience; the relatives and friends of his boyhood lived on Karian soil, and what he tells us of Karian manners and traditions, as well as of the Kaunians and their language, may be accepted without questioning. With Samos he shows a special acquaintance, and he may well have laid the history of Eugæôn under contribution (see p. xxiii). For the coasts of the Ægean as well as for Greece we may consider Herodotos both to be a witness at first hand, and to have supplemented his own experience by the use of the best authorities he could find. No doubt he did not exercise much criticism in dealing with the latter, and as he never gives references to the books he employed, we cannot distinguish between matter which comes from really trustworthy sources and that which does not. No doubt, too, his own observation was not very exact, and he may very possibly have made mistakes in repeating what he had read or heard. But these are drawbacks to which most ancient authors are subject.

It is very different, however, when we come to the East. In Egypt he was a mere tourist, unable to speak the language of the country, and furnished with no introductions to cultivated natives. He was left to the mercies of half-caste dragomen[1] and the inferior servants of the temples, who were allowed to gain a little *bakshîsh* by showing them to inquisitive Greeks. Herodotos dignifies them with the name of priests; but the Egyptian priest did not speak the language of the Greek barbarian. Every traveller will know what a strange idea he would carry away with him of the history and character of the monuments he visits, and the manners and customs of the country, if he had to depend on what he was told by his guides and *ciceroni*. How little Herodotos saw of the higher society of Egypt may be gathered

[1] Like the Maltese in modern times, the Karians acted as interpreters between the natives and the traveller. A bronze Apis, now in the Bûlak museum, has upon it a bilingual inscription in hieroglyphics and Karian, the hieroglyphics stating that it was dedicated to Apis by "Perâm the dragoman." Perâm is not an Egyptian name, and may be compared with the Karian name Pirômis in

from his assertions that the Egyptians used only bronze cups,[1] and did not eat wheaten bread.[2] Of course what he saw himself he may be supposed to describe with fair accuracy; but we can seldom tell what he really did see himself, or what he is not merely making the reader believe he had seen. Moreover, his attitude towards Hekatæos on a question like the causes of the rise of the Nile raises the suspicion that he may have treated his predecessors as Ktêsias treated him, admitting a legend on any or no evidence simply because it contradicted what they had written. It is only necessary to read through the notes on the second book to see that the majority of the statements made by Herodotos about Egyptian matters are now known to be false, and that there are many in which we can trace a deliberate intention to deceive. It is just the same with his notices of Babylonia, or Assyria as he erroneously terms it; and his knowledge even of Persian history, manners, religion, and language is equally defective. Here, however, his shortcomings are redeemed by the use of official documents, like the list of the satrapies, or the description of the royal road to Susa. How these came into his hands it is useless to enquire. His birth at Halikarnassos may have enabled him to obtain them from a government clerk who had translated them into Greek, or they may have been contained in one of the books which he consulted for his history. He certainly did not understand Persian himself, and there is no sign of his being acquainted with Persians of social position, unless it were Zôpyros the son of Megabyzos.[3] As regards Persian history, therefore, we cannot expect him to have been so well informed as Ktêsias, who had access to the royal archives—the διφθεραὶ βασιλικαί[4]—of the empire. And in his account of Persia, as of Babylonia and Egypt, the affectation of a knowledge he did not possess, and concealment of the sources from which he derived his information, still further diminish his authority. Consequently it is only where his statements are confirmed by the native monuments which modern research has brought to light that we can rely upon them; in other cases, where they are not proved to be false by monumental or internal evidence, we must adopt towards them the attitude of mind of the ancient sceptics. Egyptology and Assyriology have made it impossible for us ever again to accept the unsupported assertions of Herodotos in matters pertaining to the East.

The long controversy which has raged over the credibility of

the inscription of Halikarnassos (see ii. 143, note 8).

[1] ii. 37. [2] ii. 36. [3] iii. 160. [4] Diod. Sic., ii. 32.

Herodotos has thus been brought to an end by the discoveries of recent years. It only remains to say a few words on the character assigned by the same discoveries to his critic Ktêsias, since on this will depend our view of the questions upon which, when Herodotos and Ktêsias are at variance, the monuments as yet throw no light. In the first place, then, it is quite clear that Ktêsias really based his history on Persian materials. The greater part of his Assyrian history consists of Assyro-Babylonian myths rationalised and transformed in the manner peculiar to the Persians, of which Herodotos gives us an illustration in the legend of Iô.[1] Semiramis is the Assyrian Aphroditê, Ninos and Ninyas are Nineveh and its inhabitants; and the names given to many of their successors, such as Arios, Armamithrês, and Mithraos, are Persian titles or divine names. It is significant that Baleus, the Assyrian *bilu*, "lord," is said to have been also called Xerxês, the Persian Khshayárshá, from *khshaya*, which existed by the side of *khshâyathiya*, "king."[2] In the second place, when we come to Persian history, we find several statements made by Ktêsias which disagree with those of other classical authorities, but have been unexpectedly verified by recent discoveries. Thus he makes the reign of Dareios last only thirty-one (or thirty-two) years, the real length of it according to the Babylonian contract-tablets, which place his accession in B.C. 517. On the other hand, there are other assertions which are shown to be untrue, as, for example, that the Magian usurpation did not take place until after the death of Kambysês. On this point Herodotos was in the right. But it must be remembered that the loss of the original works of Ktêsias makes it difficult to determine how far he has reported his authorities correctly, or yielded to the desire of contradicting Herodotos at the expense of truth. At any rate it is certain that he was justified in claiming for his history the authority of Persian documents, and that many of the charges of falsehood brought against him must be laid, not upon him, but upon his eastern friends. His history of Assyria is much like the Egyptian history of mediæval Arab writers, clothed only in a Greek dress.

The Language of Herodotos.

For the peculiarities of the language of Herodotos the student may be referred to the admirable summary prefixed to the smaller edition

[1] See i. 1, note 1.

[2] Benfey and Oppert explain *ars-sha* by the Zend *ars-na*, "eye." Baleus may represent *Bilu-esir*, "Bel the director."

of Stein.[1] It was formerly supposed that his native dialect must have been a Doric one, Halikarnassos being a Doric colony, and his residence in Samos was called in to explain his use of Ionic. The discovery by Mr. C. T. Newton of a decree issued by the assembly of the Halikarnassians and Salmakiteans along with the tyrant Lygdamis, the contemporary of Herodotos, which is written in Ionic, has shown that we have no need of this hypothesis, and that Ionic was, in the age of the historian, the language of his native town.[2] The only Dorisms which occur in it are Ἁλικαρνατ(έων) and Παννάτιος, survivals from a time when Doric was still spoken in the place. It is similarly only in the case of proper names like Ἄγις, Ἀριστέας, Λευτυχίδης, that any traces of a Doric dialect are found in the MSS. of Herodotos, since γαμόροι for the Ionic γημόροι is not only used by Æskhylos (*Suppl.* 613), but is merely quoted by Herodotos from the Doric dialect of Sicily (vii. 155); while ἀνέωνται for ἀνεῖνται (ii. 165) is really an old Ionic form which survived in Doric alone of the spoken Greek dialects into the literary age.[3]

[1] Vol. i. pp. li.-lix. See also Struve, *Quæstiones de dial. Herodoti*, Works, ii. pp. 323 *sq.*: Dindorf, preface to edition of Herodotos (Paris, Didot, 1844): Lhardy, *Quæstionum de dial. Herodoti* (Berlin, 1844-6): Bredow, *Quæstionum Criticarum de dialecto Herod.* (Leipzig, 1846): Abicht, *Uebersicht über den Herodotischen Dialekt* (Leipzig, 1874); *Quæstionum de dialecto Herod.*, Specimen I. (Göttingen, 1859); Stein, Preface to edit. of Herodotos, vol. i. pp. xliv *sq.* (Berlin, 1869); *Herodotos; sein Leben und sein Geschichtswerk* (Berlin, 1870), 2d edit., 1877: Brandt, *De Modorum apud Herodotum usu* (Cöthen, 1872-3): Merzdorf, "Quæstiones Grammaticæ de vocalium in dialecto Herodotea concursu modo admisso modo evitato," and "Vocalverkürzung vor Vocalen und quantitative Metathesis im Ionischen," in Curtius' *Studien*, viii. pp. 127-222 (1878), and ix., pp. 201-244 (1876) [the result of the author's study being that the New Ionic has not that love of "resolved" vowels usually ascribed to it, and that the true relation of the Herodotean to the Homeric dialect is that of sisters sprung from a common old Ionic which came itself like Attic from a primitive "Pan-Ionic"]: Heilmann, *De infinitivi syntaxi Herodotea* (Giessen, 1879): and especially Erman, "De Titulorum Ionicorum dialecto" in Curtius's *Studien zur griechischen und lateinischen Grammatik*, v. 2 (1872), pp. 251-310. The introduction to Lebaigue's *Récits d'Hérodote* (Paris, Berlin, 1881) may also be consulted.

[2] The inscription is published in the *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature*, ix. 2 (1867). Another longer text, of apparently the same date, and recording the registration of lands and houses that had been forfeited to the gods, also found at Halikarnassos, is published by Mr. Newton in *Essays on Art and Archæology* (1880), p. 427 *sq.*, and is not contained in the list of Ionic inscriptions given by Erman. It is particularly important on account of the number of Karian names preserved in it. Another copy of the text has been published in the *Bulletin de Correspondance hellénique*.

[3] Some of the MSS. give ἀνέονται here. Stephanus first restored ἀνέωνται. Cf. ἀφέωκα. Ἐ-ω-κα for ἑ-ω-α is to ἧμι as πέ-ποιθ-α to πείθω.

The dialect used by Herodotos is known as New Ionic, to distinguish it from the Old Ionic of Homer, as well as the Middle Ionic represented by a few forms, also found in Homer, which stand midway between those of the Old and those of the New. Thus, for instance, the genitive of the o- declension in *-ου*, like *δημοῦ*, must have been derived from the older genitive in *-οιο* through an intermediate stage in which the semi-vowel was lost, leaving only the two o's, which afterwards coalesced into the diphthong *-ου*. Examples of this intermediate form were first pointed out in Homer by Ahrens, who detected them in such passages as *Il.* ii. 325, xv. 66; *Od.* i. 70, x. 60. Homer, however, contains not only Old and Middle Ionic forms, but New Ionic forms as well; and on closer inspection it will be seen that the archaic portion of his vocabulary, in which, for example, the digamma is preserved, is comparatively small, the greater part of his language being in no way distinguishable from the dialect of Herodotos. It is often assumed that this is in great measure due to conscious imitation of the Epic dialect on the part of Herodotos; and Stein accordingly, in the summary above referred to, gives a number of words and grammatical forms which he is supposed to have borrowed from Epic literature. But, as Mr. Paley has pointed out, many of these words, such as *ἀλλοφρονεῖν*, *ἀνηκουστεῖν*, *παραβάλλεσθαι*, *ἀτεόντες*, belong to prose rather than to poetry; while others either present no special characteristics of antiquity, or form an integral part of the structure of the language which Herodotos employs. The oracles, moreover, quoted by Herodotos, which belong to the generation immediately preceding his own, cannot be distinguished from the hexameters of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* in either language, style, or metre. The sharp line of division, accordingly, which has been drawn between the language of Homer and that of Herodotos cannot be maintained; nor are we justified in believing that the language of Herodotos embodied archaic words and grammatical forms which he had derived from his study of Epic poetry. The archaisms of Homer are rather survivals from earlier poetry, embedded, like flies in amber, in the current language of a later date.[1]

[1] For the relation of the dialects of Homer and Herodotos see Merzdorf, "Vocalverkürzung und Metathesis in Ionischen," quoted above; Hofer, "Ueber die Verwandtschaft des herodotischen Stiles mit dem homerischen"; and especially Paley, "On the comparatively late date and composite character of our Iliad and Odyssey" in the *Transactions of the Cambridge Philosophical Society*, xi. 2 (1869), pp. 379-383. Mr. Paley compares a large number of similar passages, words, and grammatical forms used by Homer and Herodotos; thus *αἰνῶς* (Herod.

Herodotos tells us that in his time four different dialects were spoken in Ionia (i. 142); the inscriptions that have been preserved, however, are too scanty, or the differences were too slight, to allow us to substantiate his statement. Enough have been discovered, nevertheless, to show us what were the general peculiarities of the Ionic

iv. 61, *Il.* 3, 158), ἀγίνεον (iii. 97, *Il.* 18, 493), ἀελπτέοντες (vii. 168, *Il.* 7, 310), ἀλλοφρονῆσαι (v. 85, *Il.* 23, 698), ἀμφιδρυφέας (vi. 77, *Il.* 2, 700), ἀνακλῖναι (v. 16, *Il.* 5, 751), ἀνεῖναι (iv. 180, *Il.* vi. 256), ἀνακοντίζειν (iv. 181, *Il.* 5, 113), ἀνηκουστῆσαι (vi. 14, *Il.* 15, 236), ἀτέοντες (vii. 223, *Il.* 20, 332), οἱ ἀμφὶ (vii. 223, *Il.* 3, 146), ἀποθύμιον ποιῆσαι (vii. 168, *Il.* 14, 261), ἐπὶ γήραος οὐδῷ (iii. 14, *Il.* 22, 60), δαιτυμόνες . . ἐπάσαντο (i. 73; *Od.* 7, 102; *Il.* 1, 464), ἀρίστους διακριδόν (iv. 53, *Il.* 12, 103), εὔργεε (i. 127, *Il.* 3, 351), ἐπιφράζεται (vi. 61, *Od.* 15, 444), ζωάγρια (iii. 36, *Il.* 18, 407), ἠγορόωντο vi. 11, *Il.* iv. 1), ζωρότερον (vi. 84, *Il.* 9, 203), ἐκτῆσθαι (i. 155, *Il.* 9, 402), ἐθηεῦντο (iii. 136, *Il.* 7, 443), ἐπεθήκαντο (vii. 125, *Il.* 10, 30), ἀναπλῆσαι κακά (v. 4, *Il.* 8, 354), κεκακωμένην (iii. 14, *Od.* 6, 137), κροταλίζειν (ii. 60, *Il.* 11, 160), κεχαρηκὼς (iii. 27, *Il.* 7, 312), κουρίδιος (i. 135, *Il.* 1, 113), λαισήια (vii. 91, *Il.* 12, 426), λόγος ὑγιὴς (i. 8, *Il.* 8, 524), νηήσας (i. 50, *Il.* 9, 358), ὀτρέοισι (iv. 180, *Il.* 15, 491), ἐπαλιλλόγητο (i. 118, *Il.* 1, 126), παραβαλλόμενος (vii. 10, *Il.* 9, 322), πεπόλισται (v. 52, *Il.* 20, 216), πρόκροσσαι (vii. 188, *Il.* 14, 35), προκατίζων (i. 14, *Il.* 2, 463), σημάντορες (vii. 81, *Il.* 4, 431), σαυρωτῆρος (vii. 41, *Il.* 10, 152), φρήτρη (i. 125, *Il.* 2, 362). Also the frequent use of substantives in -οσύνη and -ὑς, adjectives in -ήμων, genitives in -εω, reduplicated perfects like ἀραιρημένος, ἠρήρειστο, the future in -έω, 3d persons pl. in -αται, and the modification of verbs in -αω into -εον (as ἤρτεον, ὠρεόντες). To these we may add the use of the later εἶμεν for ἔσμεν, the omission of the temporal augment, ἔωθα for εἴωθα, ἦια, ἦισαν, φύλακος and μάρτυρος for φύλαξ and μάρτυς, ἱστίη for ἑστία, the lost aspirate in μετάλμενος, ἐπάλμενος, ἐπίστιον, and αὐτόδιον, the iteratives in -σκον, and μιν. In the first three books of Herodotos, again, we find the following parallels to Homer:—The adverbial ἐπίκλησιν (i. 19, *Il.* 18, 487), the omission of ἄν after πρὶν ἢ and πρότερον ἢ (i. 19, iv. 172), φίλον εἶναι (i. 87, etc., *Il.* 2, 116), οἷά τε (i. 93, *Il.* 7, 280, *Od.* 11, 535), μετὰ δέ (i. 128, *Od.* 21, 231), ἀμφὶ with the dative (i. 140, etc., *Od.* 4, 151), ἀνείπειν "to announce" (i. 152; *Il.* 7, 416; 9, 649; *Od.* 16, 340), οὐκ ἀπώνητο (i. 168, *Od.* 11, 322), πρὸς ἠῶ τε καὶ ἠλίου ἀνατολάς (i. 201; cp. *Il.* 12, 209; *Od.* 13, 240), οἶνος ἀνῆκε (μιν) (i. 213, *Il.* 2, 71), ψάμμῳ κατειλυμένον (ii. 8, *Od.* 14, 136), γέρανοι φεύγουσαι τὸν χειμῶνα, etc. (ii. 22, *Il.* 3, 3, where it appears in a simile not in the body of the narrative as in Herodotos), οὐκ ἀδαὴς ἀλλ' ἔμπειρος (ii. 49; cp. *Od.* 2, 170), δηλήμονες (ii. 74, *Od.* 18, 85), ὅκως τε (ii. 108, like the Homeric ὅτε τε, ὅτα τε, etc.), πολυτροπίη (ii. 121 ε, *Od.* 1, 1), οὐρανομήκης (ii. 138, *Od.* 5, 239), κατὰ μὲν—κατὰ δέ (ii. 141, iii. 36, 126, etc., *Il.* 23, 79), ὁσίη [ἐστι] (ii. 171, *Od.* 16, 423), the repetition of the subject by ὅ γε (ii. 173, *Il.* 3, 409, etc.), μηχανεόμενος κακὰ (iii. 15, *Od.* 17, 499), διεχέετο "was dissolved" (iii. 16, *Il.* 7, 316), κεφαλή "person" (iii. 29, *Il.* 8, 281), παρθένα τε καὶ ἡλθεον (iii. 48, *Il.* 18, 593), πέρι θύμῳ ἐχόμενος (iii. 50), εἶσε ἄγων (iii. 61, *Od.* 1, 130), ἀϊστώσει (iii. 69, *Od.* 10, 259), ἁρά τε ἕδραμον πάλιν (iii. 78, *Il.* 5, 599), προσθεῖναι τὰς θύρας (iii. 78; cp. *Il.* 14, 169), ἐμφῦσα (iii. 109, *Od.* 1, 381), ὑπέκ (iii. 116, *Il.* 4, 465, etc.), ἐντὸς ἀπέργουσαι (iii. 116, *Il.* 2, 845), ἄνδρας ὑπείσας (iii. 126, cp. *Il.* 6, 189), ὑποστὰς ἐπιτελέσειε (*Il.* 10, 303, *Od.* 3, 99), πάλλομένων of drawing lots (iii. 128, *Il.* 15, 190), and the zeugma ἔπος τε καὶ ἔργον (iii. 135, *Il.* 19, 242; cp. Pind. *Pyth.* iv. 104).

dialect as spoken in Ionia and at Halikarnassos in the sixth and fifth centuries B.C.—that is, in the age of Herodotos. We find that the symbol of the aspirate had come to express the long *ἑ*, from which we may infer that the aspirate had been lost in Ionic pronunciation. The use of the *ν ephelkystikon* exhibits the same inconstancy as in older Attic, though it is more frequent in the earlier than in the later inscriptions, so that the editors who have expunged it from the text of Herodotos have fallen into error. The Halikarnassian inscription lately published by Mr. Newton, has *αἰεί*, not *ἀεί*; and Stein has been proved to be right in defending the forms *κεῖνος* and *θέλω* against Dindorf and Bredow. On the other hand, *τάοτα* appears for *ταῦτα* at Halikarnassos, and, as Erman points out, the coalescence of *ε* with a following *ε*, *η*, or *ει* into one syllable, distinguished the dialect of Miletos and the Khalkidian colonies as far back as the sixth century B.C., that of Halikarnassos in the middle of the fifth century, that of Eubœa in the beginning of the fifth century, and that of Thasos in the beginning of the fourth. E and o are not contracted into a single syllable until we come to the middle of the fourth century B.C., when the diphthong *ευ* makes its appearance, probably through the influence of the Attic *ου*; and *εω* is written in full except when preceded by *ν* and *ι*. Consequently Dindorf and Abicht must be wrong in always writing the full form *εω* in the texts of Herodotos, as well as Stein and Bredow, who admit the elision of *ε* only where another *ε* precedes.[1] The contracted form *ἰρός* for *ἱερός*, again, does not appear before the fourth century B.C., and should therefore be expunged from the editions of Herodotos, while we find *γέας* instead of *γῆς*. We also meet with forms of the dative plural like *ῆσιν*, *Νύμφῃσιν*, *Δίοισιν*, by the side of *τοῖς Θεοῖς τούτοις*, but the genitive singular of the o-declension always ends in *ου*. Stems in *ι* and *υ* form their genitives in *ιος* and *υος*, until we come to the fourth century, when the Attic *εως* first creeps in. On the other hand, so-called Attic forms like *Ἀναξίλεως* occur in the oldest Ionic inscriptions. At Halikarnassos the dative singular is *πόλει*, *τείχει*. From stems in *εος* we get *Πλουτῆος*, *Πριηνῆι* as well as *Ἀχιλλέος*. Coming to the verb we find Lhardy justified in rejecting *ἔχον* from the text of Herodotos by *εἶχον*, *εἶχεν* in the Halikarnassian inscriptions; the participle of the substantive verb is *ἐών*, *ἐόντος*—the contracted form not coming into use till late in the fourth century;

[1] See Dindorf, *Commentatio de dial. Herod.* (1844), p. xi.; Abicht, *Uebersicht über d. Her. Dialekt*, p. 32; Stein, *Herodotos*, p. liii.; Bredow, *Quæstionum criticarum de dial. Herod.*, p. 218.

and ἦ, not ἔη, is met with at Halikarnassos. Here, too, we find ὅπου, not ὅκου, which suggests that the labial found in Homer is not due to Attic influence, and that the guttural of Herodotos did not come from the dialect spoken in his birthplace.

This raises the question whether we are justified in correcting the text of Herodotos in accordance with the evidence of the Ionic inscriptions of his age. The existence of dialects in Ionia at the time, and our ignorance as to which of these Herodotos may have used, or whether he combined forms found in two or more of them, teach us the necessity of caution. But on the other hand the evidence of our MSS. is not consistent, and is frequently uncertain; the oldest of them can hardly be earlier than the tenth century of our era, and the errors introduced by copyists, or ignorant grammarians bent on restoring what they supposed to be Ionic forms, are necessarily numerous. In an inscription we are, at all events, secure of having the very words that were written by the engraver. Where, therefore, a grammatical form may be considered to have been used throughout Ionia in the time of Herodotos by the concurrent testimony of the inscriptions found in various localities, we ought to have no hesitation in preferring it to the traditional form handed down in our texts, supposing this to be different. Thus, for example, the contracted form of the participle of εἰμι given here and there in the MSS. is clearly proved by the inscriptions to belong to a later period, and to have no right to appear in the pages of Herodotos.

On the other hand, Merzdorf objects that a distinction should be made between the more popular and negligent language of inscriptions, and the more careful mode of expression adopted by a literary man. But it is only on the tombstones of the poorer class of people that such a negligent kind of language is likely to appear. Public decrees and official texts would certainly be composed in as careful a style as the work of a literary man; indeed, considering their importance and public character, as well as their comparative brevity, they would probably be written still more carefully. We do not usually find the language of Parliament or the law-courts either popular or simple. At the same time there was no such gulf between the literary language of Herodotos and the ordinary speech of the day, as was the case in the Alexandrian period. Indeed, we now and then come upon awkwardnesses of grammar, to use a mild term, which would not have been tolerated in a public document.[1] Old forms and words are quite as likely to occur in inscriptions as in the history of Herodotos. At

[1] *e.g.* singular verb for plural (σχῆμα Πινδαρικόν), i. 26, ii. 66 (ταῦτα δὲ γινόμενα).

the same time, Stein is doubtless right in protesting against the assumption that the language of Herodotos must be uniform. Modern writers, who vary the spelling of a few words in their MSS., should not require a greater uniformity in the "father of history." But it is also clear that this variation should be kept within bounds. In a large proportion of instances it is more reasonable to suppose it due to the mistakes of copyists, or the zeal of grammarians, than to the author himself.

The inscriptions, then, must be allowed to amend the text in either one of two cases. When they show that a later form did not come into use in Ionic until the fourth century B.C., all examples to the contrary must be excised from the pages of Herodotos. Thus the contraction of αἰεί into ἀεί, of ἱερός into ἱρός, of γέας into γῆς, of εο into ευ, and of εω into ω, is proved to belong to a period later than his. Where, again, they present us with a later form which is found in the MSS. side by side with an older one, we are warranted in considering that both may have come from the pen of the author. On the other hand, we cannot expunge older forms from the text merely because they do not occur in the extant inscriptions. The co-existence of datives like Δίοσιν and Θεοῖς makes it plain that in literary documents earlier and later forms might be used together; while we cannot be sure that the earlier forms did not exist in one of the Ionic dialects even in the age of Herodotos, although unrepresented by the inscriptions we possess, or that they were not derived from the older Ionic writers, who had formed the style and literary language which Herodotos followed. Hence it is that we cannot venture to reject examples in which ε does not coalesce with a following ε, η, and ει when they are supported by the united authority of the MSS.

With this limitation and under these conditions, the testimony of the inscriptions has been allowed its full weight in the text adopted in this present volume, however heretical such a procedure may be thought by textual critics.[1] Stein's text has been taken as a basis, or

[1] Where the epigraphic evidence is incomplete, however, I have allowed the MSS. the benefit of the doubt. Accordingly I have not altered the datives singular of proper names like Μέμφι, Μοίρι, Σάϊ, Σμέρδι, or Stein's ῥέῃ in ii. 99. Similarly I have kept forms like κυνέῃ, χρυσέῃν, στερεήν, ἀδελφεήν, θηλέης (ii. 35), δεηθῆναι (ii. 132), ἐδεήθη and δεησόμενος (iii. 44), θεήσασθαι, θεησόμενος (i. 69), and ἀξιοθέητος, all of which can be defended on etymological grounds. I have also kept πλέῃ in iii. 138. Γενεή, of course, stands on a different footing. Τάστα does not necessarily carry with it ταύτῃ (i. 114), τοιαῦτα, ἐνθαῦτα, τοσαῦτα, etc., and γέας implies only γέᾳ, not γέα and γέαν. The iteratives ποιέεσκον (i. 36), ἀπαιρέεσκον (i. 186), and πωλέεσκε (i. 196), are old literary forms for which there is no monumental evidence, and δέεσθαι in iii. 47 occurs in a proverb.

rather followed throughout, except where corrected by the evidence of the inscriptions. No other text can compete with it for accuracy, completeness, and critical tact. Those of Baehr—the second edition of which was published in 1856—and of Abicht are altogether superseded by it. The earlier editions, from the *princeps* of Aldus, printed in 1502, downwards, are only historically valuable; students who are curious about them will find a list of them in Baehr (vol. iv. pp. 491 *sq.*, 2d edition). Stein has brought out two editions: a smaller one, with annotations on the text, in the Egyptian part of which he was assisted by Brugsch Pasha (4th edition, Berlin, 1877), and a larger critical one (Berlin, 1869), in which the various readings of the MSS. are given and classified, as well as the fragments of lexicography and the scholia which have been preserved. The introduction contains a full account of the MSS. in question, and discusses their relative merit and testimony, with a protest against the attempt to harmonise all the forms given by them. Stein considers the two oldest codices now extant, the Medicean (A) of the tenth century, and the Angelican (B) of the eleventh century, to be alike derived from a MS. which was itself copied from an older one, which was also the ultimate source, but by a different channel, of the Florentine MS. (C). This lost original, which he calls X, stood by the side of another lost original termed Ψ, which was the source, among other MSS., of the Parisian (P), the Vatican (R), and the Sancroftian (S). The latter, though made the basis of Gaisford's text, is of comparatively late date. Stein pronounces the text of X to have been "rough" and broken, but of value on account of its high antiquity; while that of Ψ was freer from *lacunæ* and errors, but full of interpolations. He follows Abicht in making the Medicean MS. the ground work of his edition. Those who wish further details must consult his introduction.

Stein also promises us a lexicon to Herodotos. This is much needed, as the *Lexicon Herodoteum* of Schweighaüser is based on a text which is now obsolete. Something better is required for settling the question of the relation of the Homeric to the Herodotean dialect, or of the indebtedness of the latter to Attic grammar. We have yet to determine how far Hermogenês was right in saying[1] of Hekataeos, τῇ διαλέκτῳ δὲ ἀκράτῳ Ἰάδι καὶ οὐ μεμιγμένῃ χρησάμενος οὐδὲ κατὰ Ἡρόδοτον ποικίλῃ.

For the place of Herodotos in Greek literature see Mahaffy's *History of Greek Literature*, 2d edition (1883), vol. ii.

[1] *De Id.*, p. 399.

HERODOTOS.

BOOK I.

Ἡροδότου Ἁλικαρνησσέος ἱστορίης ἀπόδεξις ἥδε, ὡς μήτε τὰ 1
γενόμενα ἐξ ἀνθρώπων τῷ χρόνῳ ἐξίτηλα γένηται, μήτε ἔργα
μεγάλα τε καὶ θωυμαστά, τὰ μὲν Ἕλλησι τὰ δὲ βαρβάροισι
ἀποδεχθέντα, ἀκλεᾶ γένηται, τά τε ἄλλα καὶ δι' ἣν αἰτίην
ἐπολέμησαν ἀλλήλοισι.

Περσέων μέν νυν οἱ λόγιοι[1] Φοίνικας αἰτίους φασὶ γενέσθαι

[1] We know from other sources that the Persians had historians who occupied themselves with the history of foreign nations. Ktêsias, the gainsayer of Herodotos, professed to draw his information from the Persian archives and historians; and the Persian forms of several of the names he gives, as well as the fact that much of what he calls Assyrian "history" is really a rationalised account of Assyrian mythology, show that there was much truth in his claim. As in the case of Assyria, so also in the case of Greece, if we may judge from the specimen in the text, the Persian writers seem to have troubled themselves with little else than the myths of their neighbours, which they rationalised after the fashion of the Abbé Banier. Hence Herodotos was fully justified in calling them λόγιοι "prosers." The alphabet in which they wrote is unknown to us, since the cuneiform alphabet introduced by Darius Hystaspis was used only for public monuments. How Herodotos came to be acquainted with their statements is difficult to conjecture, since he was not likely to have a better knowledge of the Persian language than he had of Egyptian. The Greeks were notoriously bad linguists, and Themistoklês stands almost alone in learning Persian. In fact Ktêsias implied that Herodotos was not acquainted with the contents of Persian literature. Though born, according to Dionysios of Halikarnassos, a little before the Persian wars, he was a mere child when the deliverance of the Asiatic Greeks took place. At the same time, passages like iii. 80, or i. 95, may imply a closer acquaintance with the Persian language and literature upon his part than we are inclined to suppose. From what follows, however, he would seem to have had much the same knowledge of the statements of Phœnician historians as he had of those of Persia. It is possible, therefore, that Greek translators of foreign literature, like Menander of Ephesos, already existed among the Asiatic Greeks of his day. At any rate the earliest Ionic philosophers derived their doctrines from Babylonia through the medium of either the Phœnicians or the Lydians. The systems of Thales and Anaximander, for instance, had long been anticipated in Babylonia, where they fitted in with the mythology and

τῆς διαφορῆς. τούτους γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἐρυθρῆς καλεομένης θαλάσσης ἀπικομένους ἐπὶ τήνδε τὴν θάλασσαν,[2] καὶ οἰκήσαντας τοῦτον τὸν χῶρον τὸν καὶ νῦν οἰκέουσι, αὐτίκα ναυτιλίῃσι μακρῇσι ἐπιθέσθαι, ἀπαγινέοντας δὲ φορτία Αἰγύπτιά τε καὶ Ἀσσύρια[3] τῇ τε ἄλλῃ ἐσαπικνεῖσθαι καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐς Ἄργος· τὸ δὲ Ἄργος τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον προεῖχε ἅπασι τῶν ἐν τῇ νῦν Ἑλλάδι καλεομένῃ χώρῃ· ἀπικομένους δὲ τοὺς Φοίνικας ἐς δὴ τὸ Ἄργος[4]

theological and philosophic development of the country. The style of the earliest Greek writers is as oriental as their matter. The short sentences, either devoid of conjunctions or connected by the simple "and," are Semitic, not Greek, in character. So, too, are the obscure and oracular utterances of a Hêrakleitos.

[2] The "Red Sea" of Herodotos is the Indian Ocean, including the Persian Gulf. According to vii. 89, the Phœnicians themselves asserted that they came from the Assyrian Gulf. The same is asserted by Strabo, i. 2, 35; xvi. 3, 4; 4, 27; Justin, xviii. 3, 2; Pliny, N. H. iv. 36; Dion. Periegetes, 906; Solinus, *Polyhist.* 26; [Steph. Byz. *s. v.* Ἄζωτος]; Schol. to Hom. Od. iv. 84. Kepheus, *i.e.* Kef-t, the Egyptian name of Phœnicia, is made a Babylonian monarch, who gave his name to the Chaldeans (Hellanikos, *Fr.* 159, 160, ed. Müller). Justin says that the Phœnicians migrated from their old homes on account of an earthquake, and settled by "the Assyrian Lake" (the Sea of Nedjif). Strabo places Phœnician cities in the islands of Tyros and Arados (*Bahrein*), in the Persian Gulf. But the similarity of name probably gave rise to the whole legend, the true name of the island of Tyros being Tylos (according to Ptolemy and Pliny), while Tyre was properly *Tsur*, "the rock." The Phœnician Arados was really Arvad. The tradition, however, rested on fact, since philological evidence shows that the primitive seat of the Semites was in Arabia, on the western side of the Euphrates (see Hommel, "Die Namen der Saügethiere bei den Südsemitischen Völkern," 1879; Guidi, "Della Sede primitiva dei Popoli Semitici," 1879), whence the Phœnicians moved westward, settling on the coast, which they called Canaan, or "the lowlands," in contradistinction to the "highlands" of Aram. Agenor (Baal), the father of Phœnix, was also called Khna, and Philo Byblios stated that Khna changed his name to Phœnix (Euseb. *Præp. Ev.* i. 10). Eupolemos made Kanaan the father of Phœnix (Euseb. *Præp. Ev.* ix. 17); while S. Augustine says that the Phœnician settlers in Africa called themselves Canaanites (*Ep. ad Rom.* Op. iii. p. 932). Phœnicia is called Canaan on a coin of Laodikeia, and in Isaiah xxiii. 11 (A. V., "merchant city").

[3] This is strictly true, and shows that the legends quoted by Herodotos had a historical basis. Phœnician art and culture are a mixture of Egyptian and "Assyrian" (*i.e.* Babylonian), and the discoveries made at Mykênæ and on other prehistoric sites show that the objects brought to Greece by Phœnician traders were partly Babylonian and partly Egyptian in character.

[4] This statement, again, has been confirmed by Dr. Schliemann's excavations at Mykênæ, if we understand by Argos the Argolis, with its feudal capitals of Tiryns, Mykênæ, and Argos, which mark successive epochs in the history of Akhæan power and civilisation. In the Peloponnêsos, at all events, the Akhæan dynasty of Mykênæ took the lead. The Argolis was naturally the first part of the country to which the art and culture of Asia were brought across the sea. It is noteworthy that Argos is here made

τοῦτο διατίθεσθαι[5] τὸν φόρτον. πέμπτῃ δὲ ἢ ἕκτῃ ἡμέρῃ ἀπ' ἧς ἀπίκοντο, ἐξεμπολημένων σφι σχεδὸν πάντων, ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν γυναῖκας ἄλλας τε πολλὰς καὶ δὴ καὶ τοῦ βασιλέος θυγατέρα· τὸ δέ οἱ οὔνομα εἶναι, κατὰ τωὐτὸ τὸ καὶ Ἕλληνες λέγουσι, Ἰοῦν[6] τὴν Ἰνάχου. ταύτας στάσας κατὰ πρύμνην τῆς νεὸς ὠνείσθαι τῶν φορτίων τῶν σφι ἦν θυμὸς μάλιστα· καὶ τοὺς Φοίνικας διακελευσαμένους ὁρμῆσαι ἐπ' αὐτάς. τὰς μὲν δὴ πλέονας τῶν γυναικῶν ἀποφυγεῖν, τὴν δὲ Ἰοῦν σὺν ἄλλῃσι ἁρπασθῆναι. ἐσβαλομένους δὲ ἐς τὴν νέα οἴχεσθαι ἀποπλέοντας ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου. οὕτω μὲν Ἰοῦν ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἀπι- 2
κέσθαι λέγουσι Πέρσαι, οὐκ ὡς Ἕλληνες, καὶ τῶν ἀδικημάτων πρῶτον τοῦτο ἄρξαι. μετὰ δὲ τάοτα Ἑλλήνων τινάς (οὐ γὰρ ἔχουσι τοὔνομα ἀπηγήσασθαι) φασὶ τῆς Φοινίκης ἐς Τύρον προσσχόντας ἁρπάσαι τοῦ βασιλέος τὴν θυγατέρα Εὐρώπην·[7] εἶησαν δ' ἂν οὗτοι Κρῆτες. τάοτα μὲν δὴ ἴσα πρὸς ἴσα σφι[8] γενέσθαι, μετὰ δὲ τάοτα Ἕλληνας αἰτίους τῆς δευτέρης ἀδικίης

the leading power of prehistoric Hellas, and not Kadmeian Thebes, which Greek legends connected with the dissemination of the alphabet and Phœnician civilisation, or the neighbouring capital of the Minyans at Orkhomenos. The extent of the Akropolis on the latter site shows that at one time the Minyan power must have been as great as that of the Akhæans; while the beehive tomb, known as the Treasury of Minyas, proves that the period in question coincided with the latter portion of the prehistoric period of Mykênæ. It is clear, therefore, that the Minyans of northern Greece must have been quite as powerful a people as the Akhæans, and at the same time (as was natural, from the proximity of Phœnician Thebes) a more cultured people, but only during the later part of the prehistoric age in Argolis. The statement, accordingly, made by Herodotos, which relates to the beginning and not to the close of Akhæan supremacy, is strictly accurate.

[5] *διατίθεσθαι* "arrange for sale." Cp. ch. 194; also Od. 15, 415.

[6] Iô may be derived, like *Ἰάονες*, from the root *ya*, "to go," and signify "the wanderer." At any rate, she was originally the moon goddess, watched by Argos, "the bright" sky, with his myriad eyes of stars. When the name of the city Argos (really derived from a different root from that of *ἀργός*, *Ἀργώ*, *ἀργεννός*, *argentum*, etc.) was confounded with the old epithet of the sky, the myth of Iô was localised in the Argolis, and Iô herself made the daughter of the Argive river, Inakhos.

[7] Eurôpa was the Phœnician moon goddess, Astarte or Ashtoreth, "with the crescent horns," wooed by the sun god, whose symbol was the bull. Hence she was the daughter of Phœnix, "the Phœnician," also called Khna, "Canaan," or Agenor, the Greek rendering of the Phœnician Baal Melkarth, and the sister of Kadmos, "the eastern." The name Eurôpa was first given to "the broad" plain of Thebes, occupied in early times by Phœnician Kadmeians, and from hence was gradually extended to denote the whole of the European continent. The legends connected with the name of Minos show that Krête was at one time occupied by Phœnician settlements.

[8] *ἴσα σφι*, etc., "tit for tat." Cp. ix. 48; Soph. *Antig.* 142.

γενέσθαι· καταπλώσαντας γὰρ μακρῇ νηὶ ἐς Αἰάν τε τὴν Κολχίδα καὶ ἐπὶ Φᾶσιν ποταμόν, ἐνθεῦτεν, διαπρηξαμένους καὶ τἆλλα τῶν εἵνεκεν ἀπίκατο, ἁρπάσαι τοῦ βασιλέος τὴν θυγατέρα Μηδείην. πέμψαντα δὲ τὸν Κόλχων βασιλέα ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα κήρυκα αἰτεῖν τε δίκας τῆς ἁρπαγῆς καὶ ἀπαιτεῖν τὴν θυγατέρα. τοὺς δὲ ὑποκρίνασθαι ὡς οὐδὲ ἐκεῖνοι Ἰοῦς τῆς Ἀργείης ἔδοσάν σφι δίκας τῆς ἁρπαγῆς· οὐδὲ ὧν αὐτοὶ δώσειν
3 ἐκείνοισι. δευτέρῃ δὲ λέγουσι γενεῇ μετὰ τάοτα Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Πριάμου, ἀκηκοότα τάοτα, ἐθελῆσαί οἱ ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος δι' ἁρπαγῆς γενέσθαι γυναῖκα, ἐπιστάμενον πάντως ὅτι οὐ δώσει δίκας· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐκείνους διδόναι. οὕτω δὴ ἁρπάσαντος αὐτοῦ Ἑλένην, τοῖσι Ἕλλησι δόξαι πρῶτον πέμψαντας ἀγγέλους ἀπαιτεῖν τε Ἑλένην καὶ δίκας τῆς ἁρπαγῆς αἰτεῖν. τοὺς δὲ προϊσχομένων τάοτα πρόφερειν σφι Μηδείης τὴν ἁρπαγήν, ὡς οὐ δόντες αὐτοὶ δίκας οὐδὲ ἐκδόντες ἀπαιτεόντων βουλοίατό σφι
4 παρ' ἄλλων δίκας γίνεσθαι. μέχρι μὲν ὧν τούτου ἁρπαγὰς μούνας εἶναι παρ' ἀλλήλων, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου Ἕλληνας δὴ μεγάλως αἰτίους γενέσθαι· προτέρους γὰρ ἄρξαι στρατεύεσθαι ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην ἢ σφέας ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην. τὸ μέν νυν ἁρπάζειν γυναῖκας ἀνδρῶν ἀδίκων νομίζειν ἔργον εἶναι, τὸ δὲ ἁρπασθεισέων σπουδὴν ποιήσασθαι τιμωρεῖν ἀνοήτων, τὸ δὲ μηδεμίαν ὥρην ἔχειν ἁρπασθεισέων σωφρόνων· δῆλα γὰρ δὴ ὅτι, εἰ μὴ αὐταὶ ἐβούλοντο, οὐκ ἂν ἡρπάζοντο. σφέας μὲν δὴ τοὺς ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίης λέγουσι Πέρσαι ἁρπαζομενέων τῶν γυναικῶν λόγον οὐδένα ποιήσασθαι. Ἕλληνας δὲ Λακεδαιμονίης εἵνεκεν γυναικὸς στόλον μέγαν συναγεῖραι καὶ ἔπειτα ἐλθόντας ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην τὴν Πριάμου δύναμιν κατελεῖν. ἀπὸ τούτου αἰεὶ ἡγήσασθαι τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν σφίσι εἶναι πολέμιον· τὴν γὰρ Ἀσίην καὶ τὰ ἐνοικέοντα ἔθνεα [βάρβαρα] οἰκηιέονται οἱ Πέρσαι, τὴν δὲ Εὐρώπην καὶ τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ἤγηνται κεχωρίσθαι.

5 Οὕτω μὲν Πέρσαι λέγουσι γενέσθαι, καὶ διὰ τὴν Ἰλίου ἅλωσιν εὑρίσκουσι σφίσι ἐοῦσαν τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς ἔχθρης τῆς ἐς τοὺς Ἕλληνας. περὶ δὲ τῆς Ἰοῦς οὐκ ὁμολογέουσι Πέρσῃσι οὕτω Φοίνικες· οὐ γὰρ ἁρπαγῇ σφέας χρησαμένους λέγουσι ἀγαγεῖν αὐτὴν ἐς Αἴγυπτον, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐν τῷ Ἄργει ἐμίσγετο τῷ ναυκλήρῳ τῆς νεός· ἐπεὶ δ' ἔμαθε ἔγκυος ἐοῦσα, αἰδεομένη τοὺς τοκέας οὕτω δὴ ἐθελοντὴν αὐτὴν τοῖσι Φοίνιξι συνεκπλῶσαι, ὡς ἂν μὴ κατάδηλος γένηται.

Τάοτα μὲν νυν Πέρσαι τε καὶ Φοίνικες λέγουσι· ἐγὼ δὲ περὶ μὲν τούτων οὐκ ἔρχομαι ἐρέων ὡς οὕτω ἢ ἄλλως κως τάοτα

ἐγένετο, τὸν[9] δὲ οἶδα αὐτὸς πρῶτον ὑπάρξαντα ἀδίκων ἔργων ἐς τοὺς Ἕλληνας, τοῦτον σημήνας προβήσομαι ἐς τὸ πρόσω τοῦ λόγου, ὁμοίως σμικρὰ καὶ μεγάλα ἄστεα ἀνθρώπων ἐπεξιών. τὰ γὰρ τὸ πάλαι μεγάλα ἦν, τὰ πολλὰ σμικρὰ αὐτῶν γέγονε· τὰ δὲ ἐπ' ἐμέο ἦν μεγάλα, πρότερον ἦν σμικρά. τὴν ἀνθρωπηίην ὦν ἐπιστάμενος εὐδαιμονίην οὐδαμὰ ἐν ωὐτῷ μένουσαν, ἐπιμνήσομαι ἀμφοτέρων ὁμοίως.

Κροῖσος ἦν Λυδὸς μὲν γένος παῖς δὲ Ἀλυάττεω, τύραννος δὲ 6
ἐθνέων τῶν ἐντὸς Ἅλυος ποταμοῦ, ὃς ῥέων ἀπὸ μεσαμβρίης μεταξὺ Συρίων[1] τε καὶ Παφλαγόνων ἐξίει πρὸς βορέην ἄνεμον ἐς τὸν Εὔξεινον καλεόμενον πόντον. οὗτος ὁ Κροῖσος βαρβάρων πρῶτος τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν τοὺς μὲν κατεστρέψατο Ἑλλήνων ἐς φόρου ἀπαγωγήν, τοὺς δὲ φίλους προσεποιήσατο. κατεστρέψατο μὲν Ἴωνάς τε καὶ Αἰολέας καὶ Δωριέας τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ, φίλους δὲ προσεποιήσατο Λακεδαιμονίους. πρὸ δὲ τῆς Κροίσου ἀρχῆς πάντες Ἕλληνες ἦσαν ἐλεύθεροι· τὸ γὰρ Κιμμερίων[2] στράτευμα τὸ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰωνίην ἀπικόμενον Κροίσου ἐὸν πρεσβύτερον οὐ

[9] *i.e.* Kroesos. The scepticism of Herodotos in regard to the assertions of oriental writers seems to have been in the mind of Ktesias when he claimed superior authority for his own statements as being derived from the Persian archives. The history given by Herodotos is parodied by Aristoph. *Akharn.* 523 *sq.*

[1] The Syrians here are the "White Syrians" of Strabo, whom the Greek geographer contrasts with the Black Syrians, or Semitic Arameans, east of the Amanus (Strab. pp. 533. 544, 737. See Schol. ad Apoll. Rhod. i. 948). We now know that they were really the Hittites of Carchemish, who did not belong to the Semitic race at all, and had originally descended from the mountainous region of the north. They have left monuments behind them at Boghaz Keui (? Pteria) and Eyuk (? Tavium), on the east bank of the Halys. Herodotos tells us (i. 72, vii. 72) that the inhabitants of Kappadokia and Kilikia were Syrians, and Hittite remains in the shape of sculptures and inscriptions have been found in these countries. The tribes inhabiting them probably belonged to the same race as the Hittites, and spoke cognate dialects. Sinôpê, according to Skymnos of Khios (943), was founded among the Syrians, and a promontory a little to the north of Sinôpê was called Syrias. Pindar (Fr. 150, ed. Bergk) speaks of "a spear-armed Syrian host" at the mouth of the Thermôdôn, meaning the Amazons, the Hittite priestesses of the Asiatic goddess, Nana-Istar of Babylon, and Atargatis of Carchemish, whose worship they had carried to Ephesos and the west.

[2] For the Kimmerians, the Gimirrai of the Assyrian inscriptions, and their inroads in Asia Minor, see Appendix IV. What Eusebios calls the first capture of Sardes by the Kimmerians in B.C. 1078 is probably a tradition of the conquest of Lydia and Sardes by the Hittites before the rise of the dynasty of the Hêrakleids. It is possible that the same event is meant by Strabo (i. p. 90), when he says that the Kimmerian chief Lygdamis ruled in Kilikia—a Hittite district—while his followers overran Lydia and captured Sardes. According to Hesykhios, Lygdamis burnt the temple of Artemis.

καταστροφὴ ἐγένετο τῶν πολίων ἀλλ' ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς ἁρπαγή.
7 ἡ δὲ ἡγεμονίη οὕτω περιῆλθε, ἐοῦσα Ἡρακλειδέων, ἐς τὸ γένος τὸ Κροίσου, καλεομένους δὲ Μερμνάδας. ἦν Κανδαύλης, τὸν οἱ Ἕλληνες Μυρσίλον[3] ὀνομάζουσι, τύραννος Σαρδίων, ἀπόγονος δὲ Ἀλκαίου τοῦ Ἡρακλέος. Ἄγρων μὲν γὰρ ὁ Νίνου τοῦ Βήλου τοῦ Ἀλκαίου[4] πρῶτος Ἡρακλειδέων βασιλεὺς ἐγένετο Σαρδίων, Κανδαύλης δὲ ὁ Μύρσου ὕστατος. οἱ δὲ πρότερον Ἄγρωνος βασιλεύσαντες ταύτης τῆς χώρης ἦσαν ἀπόγονοι Λυδοῦ τοῦ Ἄτυος, ἀπ' ὅτεο ὁ δῆμος Λύδιος ἐκλήθη ὁ πᾶς οὗτος, πρότερον Μηίων καλεόμενος.[5] παρὰ τούτων Ἡρακλεῖδαι ἐπιτραφθέντες ἔσχον τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐκ θεοπροπίου,[6] ἐκ δούλης τε τῆς Ἰαρδάνου γεγονότες καὶ Ἡρακλέος,[7] ἄρξαντες μὲν ἐπὶ δύο τε καὶ εἴκοσι

[3] The father of Kandaulês was Myrsos (Melês in Eusebios). The termination *-ilos*, therefore, seems to have been gentilic in Lydian. Καν-δαύλης was identified with Hêrmes or Hêraklês by Hesykhios, and is translated σκυλλοπνίκτης (Tzetzes in Cramer, *Anecd. Oxon.* 3, 351); cp. κύων, *canis*, *hound*, Skt. *çvan*. Tzetzes quotes a line from Hippônax: Ἑρμῆ κυνάγχα, Μηονιστὶ Καυδαῦλα. Nikolaos Damascenus calls Kandaulês Sadyattês.

[4] The words ὁ Νίνου—Ἀλκαίου have dropped out of the text in three late MSS. (Stein's R *b d*). As the Assyrians knew nothing of the country west of the Halys before the reign of Assur-bani-pal, and Assur-bani-pal states that when the ambassadors of Gyges arrived at Nineveh (B.C. 660) none knew who they were, or had heard the name of Lydia (*Luddi*), or could interpret their language, the names of Ninos (Nineveh) and Bêlos (Bel-Merodach of Babylon) cannot refer to an early Assyrian conquest of Lydia. Babylonian art and culture, however, as modified at Carchemish, the Hittite capital, was carried by the Hittites throughout Asia Minor at the time to which the rise of the Herakleid dynasty would go back, according to the chronology of Herodotos; and as Carchemish is called "Ninus vetus" by Ammianus Marcellinus (xiv. 8; see, too, Diod. ii. 3, 7), it is clear that the genealogy given in the text is a legendary reminiscence of the Hittite occupation of Lydia and introduction of civilisation and writing among the nations of the west. The Herakleids would seem to have grown into power when the Hittite empire began to decay and could no longer support the satraps of Sardes. Hêraklês, the sun god of Babylonia and Assyria, the Melkarth of Tyre, had been adopted by the Hittites into their system of worship, like the Asiatic goddess, and then carried into Asia Minor. Hence we find the Lydian name of the deity to have been Sandan (Joh. Lydus, *De Mag.* iii. 64), the Sandan, Sandês, or Sandakos of the Kilikians and Hittites. With Alkaios, "the strong one," comp. the Alkimos of Xanthos.

[5] The name of Mêies or Mæônes may be connected with the Lydian μωῦς "earth." Comp. also the name of Mæander.

[6] Probably a confusion with the oracle delivered to Gyges (ch. 13).

[7] Iardanos was the husband, or, according to other accounts, the father, of Omphalê, which may perhaps be the Lydian (or Hittite) name of the Asiatic goddess (the Ephesian Artemis or Kybelê). Hêraklês or Sandan, the sun god, while serving Omphalê, had a son Akelis (or Agelaos) by Malis, or Damalis, one of her slaves (Hellan. *Fr.* 102). According to Diodoros (iv. 31), Hêraklês first had Kleodæos by a slave, then Lamos by Omphalê.

γενεὰς ἀνδρῶν ἔτεα πέντε καὶ πεντακόσια, παῖς παρὰ πατρὸς ἐκδεκόμενος τὴν ἀρχήν, μέχρι Κανδαύλεω τοῦ Μύρσου.[8] οὗτος 8
δὴ ὢν ὁ Κανδαύλης ἠράσθη τῆς ἑωυτοῦ γυναικός, ἐρασθεὶς δὲ
ἐνόμιζέ οἱ εἶναι γυναῖκα πολλὸν πασέων καλλίστην. ὥστε δὲ
τάοτα νομίζων, ἦν γάρ οἱ τῶν αἰχμοφόρων Γύγης ὁ Δασκύλου
ἀρεσκόμενος μάλιστα, τούτῳ τῷ Γύγῃ καὶ τὰ σπουδαιέστερα τῶν
πρηγμάτων ὑπερετίθετο ὁ Κανδαύλης καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸ εἶδος τῆς
γυναικὸς ὑπερεπαινέων. χρόνου δὲ οὐ πολλοῦ διελθόντος (χρῆν
γὰρ Κανδαύλῃ γενέσθαι κακῶς) ἔλεγε πρὸς τὸν Γύγην τοιάδε.
"Γύγη, οὐ γάρ σε δοκέω πείθεσθαί μοι λέγοντι περὶ τοῦ εἴδεος
τῆς γυναικός (ὦτα γὰρ τυγχάνει ἀνθρώποισι ἐόντα ἀπιστότερα
ὀφθαλμῶν), ποιει ὅκως ἐκείνην θεήσεαι γυμνήν"· ὁ δ' ἀμβώσας
εἶπε "δέσποτα, τίνα λέγεις λόγον οὐκ ὑγιέα, κελεύων με δέσποιναν
τὴν ἐμὴν θεήσασθαι γυμνήν; ἅμα δὲ κιθῶνι ἐκδυομένῳ συνεκ-
δύεται καὶ τὴν αἰδῶ γυνή. πάλαι δὲ τὰ καλὰ ἀνθρώποισι
ἐξεύρηται, ἐκ τῶν μανθάνειν δεῖ· ἐν τοῖσι ἓν τόδε ἐστί, σκοπεῖν
τινὰ τὰ ἑωυτοῦ. ἐγὼ δὲ πείθομαι ἐκείνην εἶναι πασέων γυναικῶν
καλλίστην, καὶ σέο δέομαι μὴ δεῖσθαι ἀνόμων." ὁ μὲν δὴ λέγων 9
τοιαῦτα ἀπεμάχετο, ἀρρωδέων μή τί οἱ ἐξ αὐτῶν γένηται κακόν,
ὁ δ' ἀμείβετο τοῖσιδε. "θάρσει, Γύγη, καὶ μὴ φοβέο μήτε ἐμέ,
ὡς σέο πειρώμενος λέγω λόγον τόνδε, μήτε γυναῖκα τὴν ἐμήν, μή
τί τοι ἐξ αὐτῆς γένηται βλάβος. ἀρχὴν γὰρ ἐγὼ μηχανήσομαι
οὕτω ὥστε μηδὲ μαθεῖν μιν ὀφθεῖσαν ὑπὸ σέο. ἐγὼ γάρ σε ἐς
τὸ οἴκημα ἐν τῷ κοιμώμεθα ὄπισθε τῆς ἀνοιγομένης θύρης στήσω.

[8] The average of twenty-three years to a reign seems a long one. Herodotos does not mean that a generation lasted only twenty-three years, but that, as son succeeded father regularly, the twenty-two reigns corresponded to twenty-two generations. Xanthos, the Lydian historian, mentioned among them the reigns of Kamblês or Kamblitas, who ate his wife while asleep, and Akiamos, whose general, Askalos, founded Askalon, where Mopsos or Moxos, the Lydian, drowned the goddess Atargatis in the sacred lake. Nikolaos Damascenus makes Tylôn, Sadyattês, and Lixos the successors of Omphalê. Eusebios (*Chron. Can.* i. 15) makes the four predecessors of Kandaulês, (1) Alyattês, (2) Ardys for thirty-six years, (3) Alyattês II. for fourteen years, and (4) Melês for twelve years. In Nikolaos Damascenus the order is Adyattês I., Ardys, Adyattês II., Melês, and Myrsos, the father of Sadyattês, by whom Kandaulês must be meant. In the reign of Ardys a feud broke out between the Herakleidæ and the Mermnadæ, then represented by Daskylos, son of Gygês, the favourite of Ardys, who was murdered by Adyattês II. In the fifth generation the Mermnad Gygês avenged the murder, excited by fear of punishment for the insult he had offered to the daughter of the Mysian prince, Arnossos, whom he had been sent to bring to Lydia in order that she might be married to the Lydian king. Considering the meaning of the name Kandaulês, and his identification with the Greek Hermês, it is possible that it was a nickname given to a prince whom Nikolas calls by his real name, Sadyattês.

μετὰ δ' ἐμὲ ἐσελθόντα παρέσται καὶ ἡ γυνὴ ἡ ἐμὴ ἐς κοῖτον. κεῖται δὲ ἀγχοῦ τῆς ἐσόδου θρόνος· ἐπὶ τοῦτον τῶν ἱματίων κατὰ ἓν ἕκαστον ἐκδύνουσα θήσει, καὶ κατ' ἡσυχίην πολλὴν παρέξει τοι θεήσασθαι. ἐπεὰν δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ θρόνου στείχῃ ἐπὶ τὴν εὐνὴν κατὰ νώτου τε αὐτῆς γένῃ,[9] σοὶ μελέτω τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν ὅκως μή σε
10 ὄψεται ἰόντα διὰ θυρέων." ὁ μὲν δὴ ὡς οὐκ ἐδύνατο διαφυγεῖν, ἦν ἕτοιμος· ὁ δὲ Καυδαύλης, ἐπεὶ ἐδόκει ὥρη τῆς κοίτης εἶναι, ἤγαγε τὸν Γύγεα ἐς τὸ οἴκημα, καὶ μετὰ τάοτα αὐτίκα παρῆν καὶ ἡ γυνή. ἐσελθοῦσαν δὲ καὶ τιθεῖσαν τὰ εἵματα ἐθηεῖτο ὁ Γύγης. ὡς δὲ κατὰ νώτου ἐγένετο ἰούσης τῆς γυναικὸς ἐς τὴν κοίτην, ὑπεκδὺς ἐχώρει ἔξω. καὶ ἡ γυνὴ ἐπορᾷ μιν ἐξιόντα. μαθοῦσα δὲ τὸ ποιηθὲν ἐκ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς οὔτε ἀνέβωσε αἰσχυνθεῖσα οὔτε ἔδοξε μαθεῖν, ἐν νόῳ ἔχουσα τίσεσθαι τὸν Καυδαύλεα· παρὰ γὰρ τοῖσι Λυδοῖσι, σχεδὸν δὲ καὶ παρὰ τοῖσι ἄλλοισι βαρβάροισι,
11 καὶ ἄνδρα ὀφθῆναι γυμνὸν ἐς αἰσχύνην μεγάλην φέρει. τότε μὲν δὴ οὕτω οὐδὲν δηλώσασα ἡσυχίην εἶχε· ὡς δὲ ἡμέρη τάχιστα ἐγεγόνει, τῶν οἰκετέων τοὺς μάλιστα ὥρα πιστοὺς ἐόντας ἐωυτῇ, ἑτοίμους ποιησαμένη ἐκάλει τὸν Γύγεα. ὁ δὲ οὐδὲν δοκέων αὐτὴν τῶν πρηχθέντων ἐπίστασθαι ἦλθε καλεόμενος· ἐώθει γὰρ καὶ πρόσθε, ὅκως ἡ βασίλεια καλέοι, φοιτᾶν. ὡς δὲ ὁ Γύγης ἀπίκετο, ἔλεγε ἡ γυνὴ τάδε. "νῦν τοι δυῶν ὁδῶν παρεουσέων, Γύγη, δίδωμι αἵρεσιν, ὁκοτέρην βούλεαι τραπέσθαι. ἢ γὰρ Καυδαύλεα ἀποκτείνας ἐμέ τε καὶ τὴν βασιληίην ἔχε τὴν Λυδῶν, ἢ αὐτόν σε αὐτίκα οὕτω ἀποθνήσκειν δεῖ, ὡς ἂν μὴ πάντα πειθόμενος Καυδαύλῃ τοῦ λοιποῦ ἴδῃς τὰ μή σε δεῖ. ἀλλ' ἤτοι κεῖνόν γε τὸν τάοτα βουλεύσαντα δεῖ ἀπόλλυσθαι ἢ σὲ τὸν ἐμὲ γυμνὴν θεησάμενον καὶ ποιήσαντα οὐ νομιζόμενα." ὁ δὲ Γύγης τέως μὲν ἀπεθωύμαζε τὰ λεγόμενα, μετὰ δὲ ἱκέτευε μή μιν ἀναγκαίῃ ἐνδεῖν διακρῖναι τοιαύτην αἵρεσιν. οὔκων δὴ ἔπειθε, ἀλλ' ὥρα ἀναγκαίην ἀληθέως προκειμένην ἢ τὸν δεσπότεα ἀπολλύναι ἢ αὐτὸν ὑπ' ἄλλων ἀπόλλυσθαι· αἱρεῖται αὐτὸς περιεῖναι. ἐπειρώτα δὴ λέγων τάδε. "ἐπεί με ἀναγκάζεις δεσπότεα τὸν ἐμὸν κτείνειν οὐκ ἐθέλοντα, φέρε ἀκούσω τέῳ καὶ τρόπῳ ἐπιχειρήσομεν αὐτῷ." ἡ δὲ ὑπολαβοῦσα ἔφη "ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ μὲν χωρίου ἡ ὁρμὴ ἔσται ὅθεν περ καὶ ἐκεῖνος ἐμὲ ἐπεδέξατο γυμνήν,
12 ὑπνωμένῳ δὲ ἡ ἐπιχείρησις ἔσται." ὡς δὲ ἤρτυσαν τὴν ἐπιβουλήν, νυκτὸς γενομένης (οὐ γὰρ μετίετο ὁ Γύγης, οὐδέ οἱ ἦν ἀπαλλαγὴ οὐδεμία, ἀλλ' ἔδει ἢ αὐτὸν ἀπολωλέναι ἢ Καυδαύλεα)

[9] "You are behind her."

εἵπετο ἐς τὸν θάλαμον τῇ γυναικί. καί μιν ἐκείνη, ἐγχειρίδιον δοῦσα, κατακρύπτει ὑπὸ τὴν αὐτὴν θύρην. καὶ μετὰ τάοτα ἀναπαυομένου Καυδαύλεω ὑπεκδύς τε καὶ ἀποκτείνας αὐτὸν ἔσχε καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τὴν βασιληίην Γύγης· [τοῦ καὶ Ἀρχίλοχος ὁ Πάριος κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον γενόμενος ἐν ἰάμβῳ τριμέτρῳ ἐπεμνήσθη].[1] ἔσχε δὲ τὴν βασιληίην καὶ ἐκρατύνθη 13
ἐκ τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖσι χρηστηρίου. ὡς γὰρ δὴ οἱ Λυδοὶ δεινὸν ἐποιέοντο τὸ Καυδαύλεω πάθος καὶ ἐν ὅπλοισι ἦσαν, συνέβησαν ἐς τὠυτὸ οἵ τε τοῦ Γύγεω στασιῶται καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ Λυδοί, ἢν μὲν τὸ χρηστήριον ἀνέλῃ μιν βασιλέα εἶναι Λυδῶν, τὸν δὲ βασιλεύειν, ἢν δὲ μή, ἀποδοῦναι ὀπίσω ἐς Ἡρακλείδας τὴν ἀρχήν. ἀνεῖλέ τε δὴ τὸ χρηστήριον καὶ ἐβασίλευσε οὕτω Γύγης. τοσόνδε μέντοι εἶπε ἡ Πυθίη, ὡς Ἡρακλείδῃσι τίσις ἥξει ἐς τὸν πέμπτον ἀπόγονον Γύγεω. τούτου τοῦ ἔπεος Λυδοί τε καὶ οἱ βασιλεῖς αὐτῶν λόγον οὐδένα ἐποιέοντο, πρὶν δὴ ἐπετελέσθη.

Τὴν μὲν δὴ τυραννίδα οὕτω ἔσχον οἱ Μερμνάδαι τοὺς 14
Ἡρακλείδας ἀπελόμενοι, Γύγης δὲ τυραννεύσας ἀπέπεμψε ἀναθήματα ἐς Δελφοὺς οὐκ ὀλίγα, ἀλλ᾽ ὅσα μὲν ἀργύρου ἀναθήματά ἐστι οἱ πλεῖστα ἐν Δελφοῖσι,[2] πάρεξ δὲ τοῦ ἀργύρου χρυσὸν ἄπλετον ἀνέθηκε ἄλλον τε καὶ τοῦ μάλιστα μνήμην ἄξιον ἔχειν + ἐστί, κρητῆρές οἱ ἀριθμὸν ἓξ χρύσεοι ἀνακέαται. ἑστᾶσι δὲ οὗτοι ἐν τῷ Κορινθίων θησαυρῷ, σταθμὸν ἔχοντες τριήκοντα τάλαντα· ἀληθέι δὲ λόγῳ χρεώμενῳ οὐ Κορινθίων τοῦ δημοσίου ἐστὶ ὁ θησαυρός, ἀλλὰ Κυψέλου τοῦ Ἠετίωνος. οὗτος δὲ ὁ

[1] This sentence is regarded as spurious by Wesseling and Stein. Aristotle (*Rhet.* iii. 17) and Plutarch (*Mor.* ii. 470 c) quote from Arkhilokhos the following line, which was put into the mouth of one of his characters: Οὔ μοι τὰ Γύγεω τοῦ πολυχρύσου μέλει (*Fr.* 25, ed. Bergk). Arkhilokhos also referred to the destruction of Magnesia by the Kimmerians, and is stated to have been a contemporary of Gyges, and therefore, as Gelzer has shown (*Das Zeitalter des Gyges*), to have flourished B.C. 687-53. We learn from the Assyrian inscriptions that the Kimmerians first invaded Lydia in the reign of Gyges, not of Ardys, as Herodotos supposed. With the name of Gygês (Assyrian, Gugu; Hebrew, Gog), compare the Karian names Gygos and Ida-gygos in the Halikarnassian inscription published by Newton (*Essays on Art and Archæology*, pp. 427 *sq.*)

[2] "Most of the silver offerings at Delphi were his." Silver seems to have had a special attraction for the Hittites, whose monuments in Asia Minor are usually met with in the neighbourhood of old silver mines, and their fancy for the metal may have been communicated to the Lydians. In the time of Herodotos gold was to silver as 13½ to 1 (not 13 to 1, as stated in iii. 95, see Mommsen: "Note sur la système métrique des Assyriens," appended to the "Hist. Mon. Rom.," ed. Blacas, i. p. 407); in that of Plato and of Xenophon 10 to 1, owing to the quantity of gold introduced into Greece by the Persian War. See, too, Liv. 38, 11. Under Theodosius II. it was as 18 to 1.

Γύγης πρῶτος βαρβάρων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν ἐς Δελφοὺς ἀνέθηκε ἀναθήματα μετα Μίδην τὸν Γορδίω Φρυγίης βασιλέα.[3] ἀνέθηκε γὰρ δὴ καὶ Μίδης τὸν βασιλήιον θρόνον ἐς τόν προκατίζων ἐδίκαζε, ἐόντα ἀξιοθέητον· κεῖται δὲ ὁ θρόνος οὗτος ἔνθα περ οἱ τοῦ Γύγεω κρητῆρες. ὁ δὲ χρυσὸς οὗτος καὶ ὁ ἄργυρος τὸν ὁ Γύγης ἀνέθηκε, ὑπὸ Δελφῶν καλεῖται Γυγάδας ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀναθέντος ἐπωνυμίην.

Ἐσέβαλε μέν νυν στρατιὴν καὶ οὗτος, ἐπείτε[4] ἦρξε, ἔς τε Μίλητον καὶ ἐς Σμύρνην[5] καὶ Κολοφῶνος τὸ ἄστυ εἷλε· ἀλλ'

[3] Midas and Gordios are common names among the Phrygian kings. Phrygians and Greeks were allied in both language and race; and myths which became part of Greek mythology told of a Gordios who was raised from a peasant to be a king, and tied a knot about the yoke of his cart which could be undone only by him who was destined to be lord of Asia; as well as of a Midas who turned all that he touched into gold, and of whom the reeds whispered that his ears had become those of an ass because he had esteemed the singing of Pan above that of Apollo. Another Midas is made by Eusebios to have ascended the throne in B.C. 738. He married Damodikê, daughter of Agamemnôn, the Greek king of Kymê, and seems to have been the Midas meant by Herodotos. He killed himself by drinking bull's blood when Phrygia was invaded by the Kimmerians. He is probably to be distinguished from the Midas whose tomb was adorned with a bronze image of a girl (Plato, *Phædr.* 264 D). Among the tombs of the Phrygian kings in the valley of Doghanlü (between Yazili Kaia and Sidi Ghazi, the ancient Prymnêssos and Midæon) is one at Kumbet, with an inscription of two lines in Phrygian letters, which reads (1) Ates Arkiaevais Akenanogavos Midai gavagtaei vanaktei edaes; (2) Baba Memevais Proitavos kphi Zanavezos Sikeneman elaes. This may be translated: "Ates Arkiaevas, the son of Akenanos, built this for Midas the . . the king: Baba Memevais, the son of Proitas, and Zanavezos, a native of Sikan, planned it." See Mr. W. M. Ramsay's paper on the *Phrygian Inscriptions* in the "Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society" for 1882. During his visit to Phrygia in 1881 he recopied the inscriptions already known, found others, and discovered a new Phrygian necropolis near Ayazeen, twenty miles south of that of Midas.

[4] *ἐπεί τε*, like *ὅστε*, *ὅστις τε*, *οἷός τε*, *ὅσος τε*, *ὥστε*, *ὡσεί τε*, *ἅτε*, *ἵνα τε*. Ὥστε, "and so," shows how the use of the enclitic originated in the primitively demonstrative sense of the relative. Ἐπεί is a compound of the preposition *ἐπ'* for *ἐπί*, used like the Sanskrit prefix *api*, and *εἰ* for *Fει*, *i.e.* *σFει*, from the same root as the reflexive Sanskrit pronoun *swa*, the Latin *sui* and *si*. The original *ἐπ-Fεί* explains the occasional length of the first syllable of *ἐπεί* in Homer.

[5] This was Old Smyrna, on a hill above Burnabat, on the north side of the Bay of Smyrna. The modern Smyrna had no existence till the age of Alexander the Great and his successors. Old Smyrna was said to have been built by the Amazons, in whom we may see a tradition of the Hittite occupation of Lydia, along with Ephesos, Kymê, and Myrina. The name of the part of Ephesos which owed its foundation to the Amazons was Samorna or Smyrna, and Myrina is apparently the same word, initial *σ* being lost, as in *μικρός* for *σμικρός*. The tomb of the Amazon Myrina was pointed out in the Troad (*Il.* ii. 814). The Amazons were primarily the priest-

οὐδὲν γὰρ μέγα ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἄλλο ἔργον ἐγένετο βασιλεύσαντος δυῶν δέοντα τεσσεράκοντα ἔτεα, τοῦτον μὲν παρήσομεν τοσαῦτα ἐπιμνησθέντες, Ἄρδυος δὲ τοῦ Γύγεω μετὰ Γύγην βασιλεύσαντος μνήμην ποιήσομαι. οὗτος δὲ Πριηνέας τε εἷλε ἐς Μίλητόν τε ἐσέβαλε, ἐπὶ τούτου τε τυραννεύοντος Σαρδίων Κιμμέριοι ἐξ ἠθέων ὑπὸ Σκυθέων τῶν νομάδων ἐξαναστάντες ἀπίκοντο ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην καὶ Σάρδις πλὴν τῆς ἀκροπόλιος εἷλον.[6]

Ἄρδυος δὲ βασιλεύσαντος ἐνὸς δέοντα πεντήκοντα ἔτεα 16
ἐξεδέξατο Σαδυάττης ὁ Ἄρδυος, καὶ ἐβασίλευσε ἔτεα δυώδεκα, Σαδυάττεω δὲ Ἀλυάττης. οὗτος δὲ Κυαξάρῃ τε τῷ Δηιόκεω ἀπογόνῳ ἐπολέμησε καὶ Μήδοισι, Κιμμερίους τε ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίης ἐξήλασε, Σμύρνην τε τὴν ἀπὸ Κολοφῶνος κτισθεῖσαν εἷλε, ἐς Κλαζομενάς τε ἐσέβαλε. ἀπὸ μέν νυν τούτων οὐκ ὡς ἤθελε, ἀπήλλαξε, ἀλλὰ προσπταίσας μεγάλως· ἄλλα δὲ ἔργα ἀπεδέξατο ἐὼν ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ ἀξιαπηγητότατα τάδε. ἐπολέμησε Μιλησίοισι, 17
παραδεξάμενος τὸν πόλεμον παρὰ τοῦ πατρός. ἐπελαύνων γὰρ ἐπολιόρκεε τὴν Μίλητον τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. ὅκως μὲν εἴη ἐν τῇ γέῃ καρπὸς ἀδρός, τηνικαῦτα ἐσέβαλλε τὴν στρατιήν· ἐστρατεύετο δὲ ὑπό συρίγγων τε καὶ πηκτίδων καὶ αὐλοῦ γυναικηίου τε καὶ ἀνδρηίου.[7] ὡς δὲ ἐς τὴν Μιλησίην ἀπίκοιτο, οἰκήματα μὲν τὰ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀγρῶν οὔτε κατέβαλλε οὔτε ἐνεπίμπρη οὔτε θύρας ἀπέσπα, ἔα δὲ κατὰ χώρην ἑστάναι· ὁ δὲ τά τε δένδρεα καὶ τὸν καρπὸν τὸν ἐν τῇ γέῃ ὅκως διαφθείρειε, ἀπαλλάσσετο ὀπίσω. τῆς γὰρ θαλάσσης οἱ Μιλήσιοι ἐπεκράτεον, ὥστε ἐπέδρης μὴ εἶναι ἔργον τῇ στρατιῇ. τὰς δὲ οἰκίας οὐ κατέβαλλε ὁ Λυδὸς

esses of the Asiatic goddess whose worship the Hittites introduced into western Asia Minor. Smyrna, originally an Æolic colony, became Ionic through the treachery of the Kolophonians. See ch. 150. Mimnermos, the elegiac poet, celebrated the repulse of Gyges by the Smyrnæns, according to Pausanias (ix. 29, 2).—Ἄστυ is the unwalled lower city as opposed to the Acropolis (cp. 5, and *Od.* i. 3).

[6] This is a mis-statement, since we learn from the Assyrian inscriptions that the invasion of Lydia by the Kimmerians took place during the reign of Gyges, who sent two of their chiefs whom he had captured in battle as a present to the Assyrian monarch, and was afterwards slain himself by them. It is probable that the submission both of Gyges and of his successor Ardys to Nineveh was due to the pressure of the Kimmerian invasion. With Ardys compare the Karian name Ardyssis in the Halikarnassian inscription.

[7] Not "flutes masculine and feminine," *i.e.* of lower and higher pitch, as Böttiger and Rawlinson, but "flutes of men and women," as Aulus Gellius (*Noct. Attic.* i. 11). If the first interpretation is adopted, Herodotos would mean the Lydian μάγαδις (of two octaves of different pitch), the masculine flute denoting the deeper tones of the instrument, the feminine flutes the higher notes (cp. the *tibia sinistra* and *dextra* of the Romans).

τῶνδε εἵνεκα, ὅκως ἔχοιεν ἐνθεῦτεν ὁρμεόμενοι τὴν γέαν σπείρειν τε καὶ ἐργάζεσθαι οἱ Μιλήσιοι, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐκείνων ἐργαζομένων
18 ἔχοι τι καὶ σίνεσθαι ἐσβάλλων. τάδε ποίων ἐπολέμει ἔτεα ἕνδεκα, ἐν τοῖσι τρῶματα μεγάλα διφάσια Μιλησίων ἐγένετο, ἔν τε Λιμενηίῳ χώρης τῆς σφετέρης μαχεσαμένων καὶ ἐν Μαιάνδρου πεδίῳ. τὰ μέν νυν ἓξ ἔτεα τῶν ἕνδεκα Σαδυάττης ὁ Ἄρδυος ἔτι Λυδῶν ἦρχε, ὁ καὶ ἐσβάλλων τηνικαῦτα ἐς τὴν Μιλησίην τὴν στρατιήν· Σαδυάττης οὗτος γὰρ καὶ ὁ τὸν πόλεμον ἦν συνάψας· τὰ δὲ πέντε τῶν ἐτέων τὰ ἑπόμενα τοῖσι ἓξ Ἀλυάττης ὁ Σαδυάττεω ἐπολέμει ὃς παραδεξάμενος, ὡς καὶ πρότερόν μοι δεδήλωται,[8] παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς τὸν πόλεμον προσεῖχε ἐντεταμένως, τοῖσι δὲ Μιλησίοισι οὐδαμοὶ Ἰώνων τὸν πόλεμον τοῦτον συνεπελάφρυνον ὅτι μὴ Χῖοι μοῦνοι. οὗτοι δὲ τὸ ὅμοιον ἀντιποδιδόντες ἐτιμωρέοντο· καὶ γὰρ δὴ πρότερον οἱ Μιλήσιοι τοῖσι
19 Χίοισι τὸν πρὸς Ἐρυθραίους πόλεμον συνδιήνεικαν. τῷ δὲ δυωδεκάτῳ ἔτει λῆϊσυ ἐμπιπραμένου ὑπὸ τῆς στρατιῆς συνηνείχθη τι τοιόνδε γενέσθαι πρῆγμα· ὡς ἄφθη τάχιστα τὸ λήιον, ἀνέμῳ βιώμενον ἄψατο νηοῦ Ἀθηναίης ἐπίκλησιν Ἀσσησίης, ἀφθεὶς δὲ ὁ νηὸς κατεκαύθη. καὶ τὸ παραυτίκα μὲν λόγος οὐδεὶς ἐγένετο, μετὰ δὲ τῆς στρατιῆς ἀπικομένης ἐς Σάρδις ἐνόσησε ὁ Ἀλυάττης. μακροτέρης δέ οἱ γινομένης τῆς νούσου πέμπει ἐς Δελφοὺς θεοπρόπους, εἴτε δὴ συμβουλεύσαντός τεο, εἴτε καὶ αὐτῷ ἔδοξε πέμψαντα τὸν θεὸν ἐπείρεσθαι περὶ τῆς νούσου. τοῖσι δέ ἡ Πυθίη ἀπικομένοισι ἐς Δελφοὺς οὐκ ἔφη χρήσειν πρὶν ἢ τὸν νηὸν τῆς Ἀθηναίης ἀνορθώσωσι, τὸν ἐνέπρησαν χώρης τῆς
20 Μιλησίης ἐν Ἀσσησῷ. Δελφῶν οἶδα ἐγὼ οὕτω ἀκούσας γενέσθαι· Μιλήσιοι δὲ τάδε προστιθεῖσι τούτοισι, Περίανδρον[9] τὸν Κυψέλου ἐόντα Θρασυβούλῳ τῷ τότε Μιλήτου τυραννεύοντι ξεῖνον ἐς τὰ μάλιστα, πυθόμενον τὸ χρηστήριον τὸ τῷ Ἀλυάττῃ γενόμενον, πέμψαντα ἄγγελον κατειπεῖν, ὅκως ἄν τι προειδὼς
21 πρὸς τὸ παρεὸν βουλεύηται. Μιλήσιοι μέν νυν οὕτω λέγουσι

[8] Nietzsch (*Abhandlung über Herodot*, Bielefeld, 1873) tries to show that out of thirty-five references in Herodotos to what he has previously said five follow so quickly on the original statement as to lead to the supposition either that something has been expunged from the text when revised by Herodotos, or that something has been dropped which has been inserted further on. The five references are this one, iv. 16, 79, v. 35, and ii. 14. Here Nietzsch thinks the account of the war with Kyaxarês, now in chh. 73 *sq.*, stood in the 1st edition in ch. 17 before ἐπελαύνων γάρ, the words τὰ μὲν νυν ἓξ ἔτεα, etc., being added by the author when preparing his 2d edition.

[9] Periander succeeded his father as tyrant of Korinth about B.C. 625 to 585.

γενέσθαι. Ἀλυάττης δέ, ὡς οἱ τάοτα ἐξαγγέλθη, αὐτίκα ἔπεμπε κήρυκα ἐς Μίλητον βουλόμενος σπονδὰς ποιήσασθαι Θρασυβούλῳ τε καὶ Μιλησίοισι χρόνον ὅσον ἂν τὸν νηὸν οἰκοδομῇ. ὁ μὲν δὴ ἀπόστολος ἐς τὴν Μίλητον ἦν, Θρασύβουλος δὲ σαφέως προπεπυσμένος πάντα λόγον, καὶ εἰδὼς τὰ Ἀλυάττης μέλλοι ποιήσειν, μηχανᾶται τοιάδε. ὅσος ἦν ἐν τῷ ἄστει σῖτος καὶ ἑωυτοῦ καὶ ἰδιωτικός, τοῦτον πάντα συγκομίσας ἐς τὴν ἀγορὴν προεῖπε Μιλησίοισι, ἐπεὰν αὐτὸς σημήνῃ, τότε πίνειν τε πάντας καὶ κώμῳ χρᾶσθαι ἐς ἀλλήλους. τάοτα δὲ ἐποίεί τε καὶ 22
προαγόρευε Θρασύβουλος τῶνδε εἵνεκεν, ὅκως ἂν δὴ ὁ κῆρυξ ὁ Σαρδιηνὸς ἰδών τε σωρὸν μέγαν σίτου κεχυμένον καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐν εὐπαθείῃσι ἐόντας ἀγγείλῃ Ἀλυάττῃ. τὰ δὴ καὶ ἐγένετο· ὡς γὰρ δὴ ἰδών τε ἐκεῖνα ὁ κῆρυξ καὶ εἴπας πρὸς Θρασύβουλον τοῦ Λυδοῦ τὰς ἐντολὰς ἀπῆλθε ἐς τὰς Σάρδις, ὡς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, δι' οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἐγένετο ἡ διαλλαγή. ἐλπίζων γὰρ ὁ Ἀλυάττης σιτοδείῃν τε εἶναι ἰσχυρὴν ἐν τῇ Μιλήτῳ καὶ τὸν λεὼν τετρύσθαι ἐς τὸ ἔσχατον κακοῦ, ἤκουε τοῦ κήρυκος νοστήσαντος ἐκ τῆς Μιλήτου τοὺς ἐναντίους λόγους ἢ ὡς αὐτὸς κατεδόκεε. μετὰ δὲ ἥ τε διαλλαγή σφι ἐγένετο ἐπ' ᾧ τε ξείνους ἀλλήλοισι εἶναι καὶ συμμάχους, καὶ δύο τε ἀντὶ ἑνὸς νηοὺς τῇ Ἀθηναίῃ οἰκοδόμησε ὁ Ἀλυάττης ἐν τῇ Ἀσσησῷ, αὐτός τε ἐκ τῆς νούσου ἀνέστη. κατὰ μὲν τὸν πρὸς Μιλησίους τε καὶ Θρασύβουλον πόλεμον Ἀλυάττῃ ὧδε ἔσχε.

Περίανδρος δὲ ἦν Κυψέλου παῖς, οὗτος ὁ τῷ Θρασυβούλῳ 23
τὸ χρηστήριον μηνύσας. ἐτυράννευε δὲ ὁ Περίανδρος Κορίνθου· τῷ δὴ λέγουσι Κορίνθιοι (ὁμολογέουσι δέ σφι Λέσβιοι) ἐν τῷ βίῳ θῶυμα μέγιστον παρασχεῖν, Ἀρίονα τὸν Μηθυμναῖον ἐπὶ δελφῖνος ἐξενειχθέντα ἐπὶ Ταίναρον, ἐόντα κιθαρῳδὸν τῶν τότε ἐόντων οὐδενὸς δεύτερον, καὶ διθύραμβον πρῶτον ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν ποιήσαντά τε καὶ ὀνομάσαντα καὶ διδάξαντα ἐν Κορίνθῳ.[1] τοῦτον τὸν Ἀρίονα λέγουσι, τὸν πολλὸν τοῦ χρόνου 24

[1] The dithyramb, originally a hymn to Dionysos, sung by a band of revellers, was adapted to the system of Doric choruses and danced by fifty boys or men round an altar. Hence its name of cyclic chorus. Hellanikos, Aristotle, and others agree with Herodotos in ascribing its invention to Arion; later writers made Lasos of Hermionê its inventor; while, according to the Scholiast on Pindar, *Ol.* xiii. 25, Pindar, who here implies that it was invented by the Lesbian Arion, elsewhere traces its origin in one passage to Naxos, in another to Thebes. It was really older than Arion, as a fragment of Arkhilokhos in Athenæus (*Deip.* xiv. 6, p. 628) refers to it, and is itself of a dithyrambic character; but Arion probably introduced some alterations in its use. Hence he was said to be the son of

διατρίβοντα παρὰ Περιάνδρῳ, ἐπιθυμῆσαι πλῶσαι ἐς Ἰταλίην τε καὶ Σικελίην, ἐργασάμενον δὲ χρήματα μεγάλα θελῆσαι ὀπισω ἐς Κόρινθον ἀπικέσθαι. ὁρμᾶσθαι μέν νυν ἐκ Τάραντος, πιστεύοντα δέ οὐδαμοῖσι μᾶλλον ἢ Κορινθίοισι μισθώσασθαι πλοῖον ἀνδρῶν Κορινθίων. τοὺς δὲ ἐν τῷ πελάγει ἐπιβουλεύειν τὸν Ἀρίονα ἐκβαλόντας ἔχειν τὰ χρήματα. τὸν δὲ συνέντα τοῦτο λίσσεσθαι, χρήματα μέν σφι προϊέντα, ψυχὴν δὲ παραιτεόμενον. οὔκων δὴ πείθειν αὐτὸν τούτοισι, ἀλλὰ κελεύειν τοὺς πορθμέας ἢ αὐτὸν διαχρᾶσθαί μιν, ὡς ἂν ταφῆς ἐν γέᾳ τύχῃ, ἢ ἐκπηδᾶν ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν τὴν ταχίστην. ἀπειληθέντα δὴ τὸν Ἀρίονα ἐς ἀπορίην παραιτήσασθαι, ἐπειδή σφι οὕτω δοκέοι, περιιδεῖν αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ σκευῇ πάσῃ στάντα ἐν τοῖσι ἐδωλίοισι ἀείσαι· ἀείσας δὲ ὑπεδέκετο ἑωυτὸν κατεργάσασθαι. καὶ τοῖσι ἐσελθεῖν γὰρ ἡδονὴν εἰ μέλλοιεν ἀκούσεσθαι τοῦ ἀρίστου ἀνθρώπων ἀοιδοῦ, ἀναχωρῆσαι ἐκ τῆς πρύμνης ἐς μέσην νέα. τὸν δὲ ἐνδύντα τε πᾶσαν τὴν σκευὴν καὶ λαβόντα τὴν κιθάρην, στάντα ἐν τοῖσι ἐδωλίοισι διεξελθεῖν νόμον τὸν ὀρθιον,[2] τελευτῶντος δὲ τοῦ νόμου ῥῖψαι μιν ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν ἑωυτόν, ὡς εἶχε, σὺν τῇ σκευῇ πάσῃ. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀποπλεῖν ἐς Κόρινθον, τὸν δὲ δελφῖνα λέγουσι ὑπολαβόντα ἐξενεῖκαι ἐπὶ Ταίναρον. ἀποβάντα δὲ αὐτὸν χωρεῖν ἐς Κόρινθον σὺν τῇ σκευῇ, καὶ ἀπικόμενον ἀπηγεῖσθαι πᾶν τὸ γεγονός. Περίανδρον δὲ ὑπὸ ἀπιστίης Ἀρίονα μὲν ἐν φυλακῇ ἔχειν οὐδαμῇ μετιέντα, ἀνακῶς δὲ ἔχειν τῶν πορθμέων. ὡς δὲ ἄρα παρεῖναι αὐτούς, κληθέντας ἱστορεῖσθαι εἴ τι λέγοιεν περὶ Ἀρίονος. φαμένων δέ ἐκείνων ὡς εἴη τε σῶς περὶ Ἰταλίην καί μιν εὖ πρήσσοντα λίποιεν ἐν Τάραντι, ἐπιφανῆναί σφι τὸν

Kyklôn. Little is known of him beyond the myth related in the text, which had attached itself to him in popular legend. The myth appears in another form in the story of Orpheus, as well as in that of Apollo Delphinios, who, in the guise of a dolphin, urged the Kretan ship through the sea until the sailors reached the shore, where they were bidden to become the priests and founders of the shrine of Delphi, the oracle of the god of song. The resemblance between the name of the *dolphin* (δελφίν) and that of Delphi, derived from the "twin" peaks of Parnassos above it, no doubt originated the latter tale, and gave rise to the device of a dolphin on the coins of Delphi, and a belief in the connection believed to exist between the dolphin and the musical followers of Apollo. The primitive myth, which told of the effect of music on beasts and outward nature, seems to have referred to the wind.

[2] According to the Scholiast on Aristophanes (*Achar.* 16), the Orthian was in a high key. Compare the Homeric ὄρθια ἠΰσε, "she cried shrilly." Νόμος, from νέμω "to distribute," means "share," then "arrangement" or "order," and so "custom" (what is arranged) and "the arrangement of notes," *i.e.* a musical strain. The Nomos was dedicated to the service of Apollo, as the dithyramb to that of Dionysos.

Ἀ ρίονα ὥσπερ ἔχων ἐξεπήδησε· καὶ τοὺς ἐκπλαγέντας οὐκ ἔχειν
ἐπ ι ἐλεγχομένους ἀρνεῖσθαι. τάοτα μέν νυν Κορίνθιοί τε καὶ
Λι ἰσβιοι λέγουσι, καὶ Ἀρίονος ἐστὶ ἀνάθημα χάλκεον οὐ μέγα
ἐπ ὶ Ταινάρῳ, ἐπὶ δελφῖνος ἐπεὼν ἄνθρωπος.[3]

Ἀλυάττης δὲ ὁ Λυδὸς τὸν πρὸς Μιλησίους πόλεμον διενείκας 25
με τεπειτα τελευτᾷ, βασιλεύσας ἔτεα ἑπτὰ καὶ πεντήκοντα. ἀνέ-
θη ικε δὲ ἐκφυγὼν τὴν νοῦσον δεύτερος οὗτος τῆς οἰκίης ταύτης ἐς
Δι ελφοὺς κρητῆρά τε ἀργύρεον μέγαν καὶ ὑποκρητηρίδιον σιδήρεον
κα λλητόν, θέης ἄξιον διὰ πάντων τῶν ἐν Δελφοῖσι ἀναθημάτων,
Γ αύκου τοῦ Χίου ποίημα, ὃς μοῦνος δὴ πάντων ἀνθρώπων σιδή-
ρο υ κόλλησιν ἐξεῦρε.[4]

Τελευτήσαντος δὲ Ἀλυάττεω ἐξεδέξατο τὴν βασιληίην 26
Κ ροῖσος ὁ Ἀλυάττεω, ἐτέων ἐὼν ἡλικίην πέντε καὶ τριήκοντα,
δς δὴ Ἑλλήνων πρώτοισι ἐπεθήκατο Ἐφεσίοισι. ἔνθα δὴ οἱ
Ἐ φέσιοι πρλιδρκεδμένοι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἀνέθεσαν τὴν πόλιν τῇ Ἀρτέ-
μι δι, ἐξάψαντες ἐκ τοῦ νηοῦ σχοινίον ἐς τὸ τεῖχος· ἔστι δὲ
μ ταξὺ τῆς τε παλαιῆς πόλιος, ἣ τότε ἐπολιορκεῖτο, καὶ τοῦ
νη ροῦ ἑπτὰ στάδιοι.[5] πρώτοισι μὲν δὴ τούτοισι ἐπεχείρησε ὁ

[3] The figure still remained at Tænaros in the time of Ælian (the third century after Christ), with the inscription:—

Ἀθανάτων πομπαῖσιν Ἀρίονα, Κύκλονος υἱόν,
Ἐκ Σικελοῦ πελάγους σῶσεν ὄχημα τόδε.

Crenzer ingeniously supposes that the myth grew out of the figure dedicated by Arion in the temple of Poseidon (on the site of which now stands the ruined church of the Asomatos). The legend of Apollo Delphinios, and the consequent connection between the dolphin and music, may have induced the poet to choose a figure of a dolphin as his offering. The later coins of Methymnê represent Arion sitting on a dolphin.

[4] "Invented the soldering of *iron*." Objects of soldered *bronze* belonging to the prehistoric age have been found by Dr. Schliemann at Hissarlik (Troy) and Mykenæ. Herodotos, however, is mistaken in saying that the art of soldering iron was first invented by Glaukos, since it was known in Egypt at least as early as the eighteenth dynasty, like the art of imbricating or laying plates of metal one over the other. The art of inlaying or damascening metal was also practised by the Egyptians at this early period (Wilkinson's *Ancient Egyptians*, ii. pp. 257-8, ed. Birch). Among the objects found by Dr. Schliemann in the fourth tomb at Mykenæ are a silver knife-blade, with figures of men hunting lions inlaid in gold, and a silver goblet similarly inlaid with gold work. Pausanias, who saw the stand of the vase presented by Alyattes to Delphi, describes it as consisting of "several plates of iron, laid one over the other in the form of steps; the last (those at the top) curving a little outwards. It had the form of a tower, large at the base and decreasing upwards; and the pieces of which it was composed were not fastened either with nails or with pins, but were simply soldered together" (Paus. x. 16, 1). According to Athenæus (*Deip.* v. 13), the vase was inlaid with figures of plants and animals.

[5] The ancient city included Mount Prion or Pion and a portion of Mount

Κροῖσος, μετὰ δὲ ἐν μέρει ἑκάστοισι Ἰώνων τε καὶ Αἰολέω
ἄλλοισι ἄλλας αἰτίας ἐπιφέρων, τῶν μὲν ἐδύνατο μέζονας πα
εὑρίσκειν, μέζονα ἐπαιτιώμενος, τοῖσι δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ φαῦλα ἐπ
27 φέρων. ὡς δὲ ἄρα οἱ ἐν τῇ Ἀσιῇ Ἕλληνες κατεστράφατο
φόρου ἀπαγωγήν, τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν ἐπενόεε νέας ποιησάμενος ἐπιχειρ
τοῖσι νησιώτῃσι. ἐόντων δέ οἱ πάντων ἑτοίμων ἐς τὴν ναυπηγίη
οἱ μὲν Βίαντα λέγουσι τὸν Πριηνέα ἀπικόμενον ἐς Σάρδις, οἱ
Πιττακὸν τὸν Μυτιληναῖον, εἰρομένου Κροίσου εἴ τι εἴη νεώτερ
περὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, εἰπόντα τάδε καταπαῦσαι τὴν ναυπηγίην. "
βασιλεῦ, νησιῶται ἵππον συνωνέονται μυρίην, ἐς Σάρδις τε κ
ἐπὶ σὲ ἐν νόῳ ἔχοντες σταρατεύεσθαι." Κροῖσον δὲ ἐλπίσαν
λέγειν ἐκεῖνον ἀληθέα εἰπεῖν " αἶ γὰρ τοῦτο θεοῖ ποιήσειαν ἐ
νόον νησιώτῃσι, ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ Λυδῶν παῖδας σὺν ἵπποισι." τὸν
ὑπολαβόντα φάναι " ὦ βασιλεῦ, προθύμως μοι φαίνεαι εὔξασθ
νησιώτας ἱππευομένους λαβεῖν ἐν ἠπείρῳ, οἰκότα ἐλπίζων. νησ
ώτας δὲ τί δοκεῖς εὔχεσθαι ἄλλο ἤ, ἐπείτε τάχιστα ἐπύθοντό
μέλλοντα ἐπὶ σφίσι ναυπηγεῖσθαι νέας, λαβεῖν ἀρωμένοι Λυδο
ἐν θαλάσσῃ, ἵνα ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν τῇ ἠπείρῳ οἰκημένων Ἑλλήνω
τίσωνταί σε, τοὺς σὺ δουλώσας ἔχεις;" κάρτα τε ἡσθῆναι Κρο
σον τῷ ἐπιλόγῳ καί οἱ, προσφύως γὰρ δόξαι λέγειν, πειθόμενο
παύσασθαι τῆς ναυπηγίης. καί οὕτω τοῖσι τὰς νήσους οἰκη
μένοισι Ἴωσι ξεινίην συνεθήκατο.

28 Χρόνου δὲ ἐπιγινομένου καὶ κατεστραμμένων σχεδὸν πάντα

Koressos along the cliff, on which remains of early Cyclopean walls can still be traced. The temple lay at the distance of about a mile from the Magnesian Gate, which was westward of it and in the valley midway between Prion and Koressos. It would seem that in the time of Herodotos it had been already enclosed by the city wall, though Xenophon still speaks of the temple as being seven stades from the city (*Ephes.* i. 2). The temple, dedicated to the Asiatic goddess, whom the Greeks identified with their Artemis, has been excavated by Mr. Wood. The original structure went back to the Hittite period; that of which the ruins now remain was, according to Pliny, the eighth. The sixth, commenced by the architects Khersiphron of Krete and his son Metagenes, occupied nearly one hundred years in building, and was destroyed the ve day Socrates drank the hemlock (B. 400). Krœsos had contributed towar its construction. The seventh was bur by Herostratos the same night Alexand the Great was born (B.C. 356).

The local character of Greek religio is strikingly illustrated by the actio of the Ephesians. The rope locally co nected the temple with the city, an so placed the latter under the protectio of the goddess. Compare Thukyd. ii 104 (where Polykrates dedicates Rhenei to Apollo by connecting it with Delo by a chain). Similarly, the conspirator who had aided Kylon at Athens con nected themselves with the altar of th Eumenides by a cord, and their remova brought a curse upon the house of Me gakles, the Alkmæonid, who ordered it See ch. 61.

τῶν ἐντὸς Ἅλυος ποταμοῦ οἰκημένων (πλὴν γὰρ Κιλίκων καὶ Λυκίων τοὺς ἄλλους πάντας ὑπ' ἑωυτῷ εἶχε καταστρεψάμενος ὁ Κροῖσος), [εἰσὶ δὲ οἵδε, Λυδοί, Φρύγες, Μυσοί, Μαριανδυνοί, Χάλυβες, Παφλαγόνες, Θρήικες οἱ Θυνοί τε καὶ Βιθυνοί, Κᾶρες, Ἴωνες, Δωριεῖς, Αἰολεῖς, Πάμφυλοι,][6] κατεστραμμένων δὲ τούτων [καὶ προσεπικτωμένου Κροίσου Λυδοῖσι], ἀπικνέονται ἐς Σάρδις ἀκμάζουσας πλούτῳ ἄλλοι τε οἱ πάντες ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος σοφισταί,[7] οἳ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ἐτύγχανον ἐόντες, ὡς ἕκαστος 29

[6] Rejected as a gloss by Stein. The Mariandyni lay between the river Sangarios (*Sakaria*) and Herakleia (*Eregli*), separated from the mountain-chain of Asia Minor by the Bithynians. They may have been of Thrakian origin (Strabo, vii. 42). The Khalybes, famous as workers in steel (Æskh. *Pr.* 715) are placed by Pomponius Mela (i. 21) near Sinôpê, so that Herodotos would be right in speaking of them as west of the Halys; Strabo, on the other hand, put them eastward of the Halys, and here Xenophon (*Anab.* iv. 6, 7) met them, to the north-west of Lake Van, adjoining the Skythini and near the Phasis. It would seem, therefore, that they once extended over a large tract of country between longitudes 42° and 35°; as we know, from the Assyrian inscriptions, the Tibareni (or Tubal) and the Moskhi (or Meshech) formerly did. Erzerum would have stood in their territory. The Khalybes were also called Khaldæi by the Greeks (Armenian, Khalti), from their worship of Khaldis, the supreme god of the proto-Armenians who have left cuneiform inscriptions in the neighbourhood of Lake Van. The Thynians occupied the coast eastward of Mysia; the Bithynians being more inland (Pliny, *H. N.* v. 32). Their Thrakian origin is again mentioned by Herodotos (vii. 75). Æolis was the coast-line from the Gulf of Adramyttion to the mouth of the Hermos; Ionia that from the Hermos to Miletos,—the Boghaz Pass, a little to the west of Magnesia ad Sipylum, marking their inland limit; while the Dorians held the south-western extremity of Karia. The coast-land of Pamphylia stretched from Korakêsion to Phasêlis (*Tekrova*). It was inhabited by a mixed population, partly Greek, partly native. The inscription of Sillyon, in the corrupt Greek dialect of the country, has been treated by Mr. Ramsay in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, i. (1880). The Pisidians of Pamphylia are first named by Xenophon. The Kilikia of Herodotos extended far to the north of Mount Tauros, the upper Halys flowing through it (i. 72). For the other nations of Asia Minor, see Appendix IV.

[7] *Sophist* did not acquire a bad sense until after the time of Herodotos. According to Isokrates, Solon was the first who was called a "Sophist." The wise men of Greece were generally attracted to the courts where they could find a patron and the chance of making money; whether the patron was a foreigner or a tyrant mattered little. Solon's travels are not placed beyond the possibility of doubt, and the story told here by Herodotos seems a Greek apologue, intended to contrast the wisdom of the Athenian legislator with the ὕβρις of the Asiatic potentate. It was especially serviceable to Herodotos in his task of showing how the overweening wealth and power of the first great Asiatic monarch the Greeks were acquainted with brought down upon it the νέμεσις of the gods. No reference is made to the visit by Solon in his poems. Krœsos did not begin to reign until B.C. 560, and Amasis (alone) till B.C. 564; and as Solon seems to have been at Athens when Peisistratos made himself tyrant in B.C. 560, it seems

αὐτῶν ἀπικνέοιτο, καὶ δὴ καὶ Σόλων ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος, ὃς Ἀθηναίοισι νόμους κελεύσασι ποιήσας ἀπεδήμησε ἔτεα δέκα, κατὰ θεωρίης πρόφασιν ἐκπλώσας, ἵνα δὴ μή τινα τῶν νόμων ἀναγκασθῇ λῦσαι τῶν ἔθετο. αὐτοὶ γὰρ οὐκ οἷοί τε ἦσαν αὐτὸ ποιῆσαι Ἀθηναῖοι· ὁρκίοισι γὰρ μεγάλοισι κατείχοντο δέκα ἔτεα
30 χρήσεσθαι νόμοισι τοὺς ἄν σφι Σόλων θῆται. αὐτῶν δὴ ὧν τούτων καὶ τῆς θεωρίης ἐκδημήσας ὁ Σόλων εἵνεκεν ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἀπίκετο παρὰ Ἄμασιν καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐς Σάρδις παρὰ Κροῖσον. ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐξεινίζετο ἐν τοῖσι βασιλητοῖσι ὑπὸ τοῦ Κροίσου· μετὰ δὲ ἡμέρῃ τρίτῃ ἢ τετάρτῃ κελεύσαντος Κροίσου τὸν Σόλωνα θεράποντες περιῆγον κατὰ τοὺς θησαυρούς, καὶ ἐπεδείκνυσαν πάντα ἐόντα μεγάλα τε καὶ ὄλβια. θεησάμενον δέ μιν τὰ πάντα καὶ σκεψάμενον ὡς οἱ κατὰ καιρὸν ἦν, εἴρετο ὁ Κροῖσος τάδε. "ξεῖνε Ἀθηναῖε, παρ' ἡμέας γὰρ περὶ σέο λόγος ἀπῖκται πολλὸς καὶ σοφίης [εἵνεκεν] τῆς σῆς καὶ πλάνης, ὡς φιλοσοφέων γῆν πολλὴν θεωρίης εἵνεκεν ἐπελήλυθας· νῦν ὦν ἐπείρεσθαί με ἵμερος ἐπῆλθέ σε εἴ τινα ἤδη πάντων εἶδες ὀλβιώτατον." ὁ μὲν ἐλπίζων εἶναι ἀνθρώπων ὀλβιώτατος τάοτα ἐπειρώτα· Σόλων δὲ οὐδὲν ὑποθωπεύσας ἀλλὰ τῷ ἐόντι χρησάμενος λέγει "ὦ βασιλεῦ, Τέλλον Ἀθηναῖον." ἀποθωυμάσας δὲ Κροῖσος τὸ λεχθὲν εἴρετο ἐπιστρεφέως "κοίῃ δὴ κρίνεις Τέλλον εἶναι ὀλβιώτατον;" ὁ δὲ εἶπε "Τέλλῳ τοῦτο μὲν τῆς πόλιος εὖ ἡκούσης παῖδες ἦσαν καλοί τε κἀγαθοί, καί σφι εἶδε ἅπασι τέκνα ἐκγενόμενα καὶ πάντα παραμείναντα· τοῦτο δὲ τοῦ βίου εὖ ἥκοντι, ὡς τὰ παρ' ἡμῖν,[8] τελευτὴ τοῦ βίου λαμπροτάτη ἐπεγένετο· γενομένης γὰρ Ἀθηναίοισι μάχης πρὸς τοὺς ἀστυγείτονας ἐν Ἐλευσῖνι,[9] βοηθήσας καὶ τροπὴν ποιήσας τῶν πολεμίων ἀπέθανε κάλλιστα, καὶ μιν Ἀθηναῖοι δημοσίῃ τε ἔθαψαν αὐτοῦ τῇ περ ἔπεσε καὶ ἐτίμησαν
31 μεγάλως." ὡς δὲ τὰ κατὰ τὸν Τέλλον προετρέψατο ὁ Σόλων τὸν Κροῖσον εἶπας πολλά τε καὶ ὄλβια, ἐπειρώτα τίνα δεύτερον

questionable whether the account of his travels is not wholly legendary. Büdinger defends the chronology of Herodotos in bringing Solôn and Krœsos together, but not very successfully (*Berichl. Wien. Ak.* 92, pp. 197 *sq.* Comp. a note by Philippi in the *Rhein. Mus. d. Phil.* 36, 3, pp. 472-3).

[8] "After a happy life, as we reckon it," not "after a long life." Εὖ takes the genitive as being the neuter of the old adjective *εὺς, i.e. ἐσὺς*, Sanskrit *su-*, from the root of the substantive verb *εἰμι*.

[9] This shows that the unification of Attica, ascribed in the popular legends to Thêseus, "the establisher," did not take place until shortly before Solon's time, even then. Perhaps it was one of the results of the tyranny of Peisistratos. The hostile relations of the two neighbouring towns of Eleusis and Athens is further indicated in the legend of the war between the Eumolpidæ of Eleusis and the Athenians.

μετ' ἐκεῖνον ἴδοι, δοκέων πάγχυ δευτερεῖα γῶν οἴσεσθαι. ὁ δ' εἶπε "Κλεόβίν τε καὶ Βίτωνα. τούτοισι γὰρ ἐοῦσι γένος Ἀργείοισι βίος τε ἀρκέων ὑπῆν, καὶ πρὸς τούτῳ ῥώμη σώματος τοιήδε· ἀεθλοφόροί τε ἀμφότεροι ὁμοίως ἦσαν, καὶ δὴ καὶ λέγεται ὅδε ὁ λόγος. ἑούσης ὁρτῆς τῇ Ἥρῃ τοῖσι Ἀργείοισι ἔδει πάντως τὴν μητέρα αὐτῶν ζεύγεϊ κομισθῆναι ἐς τὸ ἱερόν, οἱ δέ σφι βόες ἐκ τοῦ ἀγροῦ οὐ παρεγίνοντο ἐν ὥρῃ· ἐκκλησιόμενοί δὲ τῇ ὥρῃ οἱ νεηνίαι ὑποδύντες αὐτοὶ ὑπὸ τὴν ζεύγλην εἷλκον τὴν ἅμαξαν, ἐπὶ τῆς ἁμάξης δέ σφι ὠχεῖτο ἡ μήτηρ, σταδίους δὲ πέντε καὶ τεσσεράκοντα διακομίσαντες ἀπίκοντο ἐς τὸ ἱερόν.[1] τάοτα δέ σφι ποιήσασι καὶ ὀφθεῖσι ὑπὸ τῆς πανηγύριος τελευτὴ τοῦ βίου ἀρίστη ἐπεγένετο, διέδεξέ τε ἐν τούτοισι ὁ θεὸς ὡς ἄμεινον εἴη ἀνθρώπῳ τεθνάναι μᾶλλον ἢ ζώειν. Ἀργεῖοι μὲν γὰρ περιστάντες ἐμακάριζον τῶν νεηνίων τὴν ῥώμην, αἱ δὲ Ἀργεῖαι τὴν μητέρα αὐτῶν, οἷων τέκνων ἐκύρησε· ἡ δὲ μήτηρ περιχαρὴς οὖσα τῷ τε ἔργῳ καὶ τῇ φήμῃ, στᾶσα ἀντίον τοῦ ἀγάλματος εὔχετο Κλεόβι τε καὶ Βίτωνι τοῖσι ἑωυτῆς τέκνοισι, οἵ μιν ἐτίμησαν μεγάλως, τὴν θεὸν δοῦναι τὸ ἀνθρώπῳ τυχεῖν ἄριστόν ἐστι. μετὰ ταύτην δὲ τὴν εὐχὴν ὡς ἔθυσάν τε καὶ εὐωχήθησαν, κατακοιμηθέντες ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ ἱερῷ οἱ νεηνίαι οὐκέτι ἀνέστησαν ἀλλ' ἐν τέλει τούτῳ ἔσχοντο. Ἀργεῖοι δέ σφεων εἰκόνας ποιησάμενοι ἀνέθεσαν ἐς Δελφοὺς ὡς ἀνδρῶν ἀρίστων γενομένων." Σόλων μὲν δὴ εὐδαιμονίης δευτερεῖα ἔνεμε τούτοισι, Κροῖσος δὲ 32
ὑπερχθεὶς εἶπε "ὦ ξεῖνε Ἀθηναῖε, ἡ δ' ἡμετέρη εὐδαιμονίη οὕτω τοι ἀπέρριπται ἐς τὸ μηδὲν ὥστε οὐδὲ ἰδιωτέων ἀνδρῶν ἀξίους ἡμέας ἐποίησας;" ὁ δὲ εἶπε "ὦ Κροῖσε, ἐπιστάμενόν με τὸ θεῖον πᾶν ἐὸν φθονερόν τε καὶ ταραχώδες[2] ἐπειρωτᾷς ἀνθρωπηίων πρηγμάτων πέρι. ἐν γὰρ τῷ μακρῷ χρόνῳ πολλὰ μέν ἐστι ἰδεῖν τὰ μή τις ἐθέλει, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ παθεῖν. ἐς γὰρ ἑβδομήκοντα ἔτεα οὖρον τῆς ζόης ἀνθρώπῳ προτίθημι.[3] οὗτοι ἐόντες ἐνιαυτοὶ

[1] Pausanias saw a sculpture in the temple of Apollo Lykios at Argos, representing Bitôn carrying a bull on his shoulders (ii. 19, and see ii. 20). The mother was said to be Kydippê, priestess of Hêrê (Plut. *Mor.* 109).

[2] Here we have the expression of Herodotos' philosophy, to illustrate which his history was in part written. It embodies the Greek idea that anything which violates the *métron*, or mean, introduces disorder into the *kosmós* of the world, and must therefore be hateful to the gods. The Greek was still keenly interested in political life, and not yet prepared for the assurance of Epikuros, that the gods "care for none of these things." Comp. Pindar, *Isthm.* vi. 39, and the answer of Aristotle, *Met.* i. 2.

[3] Comp. Ps. xc. 10. Medical science and sanitary regulations have of late years considerably lengthened the average of life. See iii. 22, and Solon, *Frg.* 20.

ἑβδομήκοντα παρέχονται ἡμέρας διηκοσίας καὶ πεντακισχιλίας καὶ δισμυρίας, ἐμβολίμου μηνὸς μὴ γινομένου· εἰ δὲ δὴ ἐθελήσει τούτεων τῶν ἐτέων μηνὶ μακρότερον γίνεσθαι, ἵνα δὴ αἱ ὧραι συμβαίνωσι παραγινόμεναι ἐς τὸ δέον, μῆνες μὲν παρὰ τὰ ἑβδομήκοντα ἔτεα οἱ ἐμβόλιμοι γίνονται τριήκοντα πέντε, ἡμέραι δὲ ἐκ τῶν μηνῶν τούτων χίλιαι πεντήκοντα. τουτέων τῶν ἀπασέων ἡμερέων τῶν ἐς τὰ ἑβδομήκοντα ἔτεα, ἐουσέων πεντήκοντα καὶ διηκοσίων καὶ ἑξακισχιλίων καὶ δισμυρίων,[4] ἡ ἑτέρη αὐτέων τῇ ἑτέρῃ ἡμέρῃ τὸ παράπαν οὐδὲν ὅμοιον προσάγει πρῆγμα. οὕτω ὦν Κροῖσε πᾶν ἐστι ἄνθρωπος συμφορῇ. ἐμοὶ δὲ σὺ καὶ πλουτεῖν μέγα φαίνεαι καὶ βασιλεὺς πολλῶν εἶναι ἀνθρώπων· ἐκεῖνο δὲ τὸ εἰρεό με, οὔκω σε ἐγὼ λέγω, πρὶν τελευτήσαντα καλῶς τὸν αἰῶνα πύθωμαι. οὐ γάρ τι ὁ μέγα πλούσιος μᾶλλον τοῦ ἐπ' ἡμέρην ἔχοντος ὀλβιώτερός ἐστι, εἰ μή οἱ τύχη ἐπίσποιτο πάντα καλὰ ἔχοντα εὖ τελευτῆσαι τὸν βίον. πολλοὶ μὲν γὰρ ζάπλουτοι[5] ἀνθρώπων ἀνόλβιοί εἰσι, πολλοὶ δὲ μετρίως ἔχοντες βίου εὐτυχεῖς. ὁ μὲν δὴ μέγα πλούσιος ἀνόλβιος δὲ δυοῖσι προέχει τοῦ εὐτυχέος μοῦνον, οὗτος δὲ τοῦ πλουσίου καὶ ἀνόλβου πολλῆσι. ὁ μὲν ἐπιθυμίην ἐκτελέσαι καὶ ἄτην μεγάλην προσπεσοῦσαν ἐνεῖκαι δυνατώτερος, ὁ δὲ τοῖσιδε προέχει ἐκείνου· ἄτην μὲν καὶ ἐπιθυμίην οὐκ ὁμοίως δυνατὸς ἐκείνῳ ἐνεῖκαι, τάοτα δὲ ἡ εὐτυχίη οἱ ἀπερύκει, ἄπειρός τε ἐστι, ἄνουσος, ἀπαθὴς κακῶν, εὔπαις, εὐειδής. εἰ δὲ πρὸς τούτοισι ἔτι τελευτήσει τὸν βίον εὖ, οὗτος ἐκεῖνος τὸν σὺ ζητεῖς, ὁ ὄλβιος κεκλῆσθαι ἄξιός ἐστι· πρὶν δ' ἂν τελευτήσῃ, ἐπίσχειν, μηδὲ καλεῖν κω ὄλβιον ἀλλ' εὐτυχέα. τὰ πάντα μέν νυν τάοτα συλλαβεῖν ἄνθρωπον ἐόντα ἀδύνατόν ἐστι, ὥσπερ χώρη οὐδεμία κατάρκεῖ πάντα ἑωυτῇ παρέχουσα, ἀλλὰ ἄλλο μὲν ἔχει ἑτέρου δὲ ἐπιδεῖται· ἡ δὲ ἂν τὰ πλεῖστα ἔχῃ, αὕτη ἀρίστη. ὡς δὲ καὶ ἀνθρώπου σῶμα ἓν οὐδὲν αὐτάρκες ἐστι· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἔχει, ἄλλου δὲ ἐνδεές ἐστι· ὃς δ' ἂν αὐτῶν πλεῖστα ἔχων διατελῇ καὶ ἔπειτα τελευτήσῃ εὐχαρίστως

[4] Herodotos was an indifferent calculator, as is further shown by his blunder over the number of years required for the Egyptian dynasties (ii. 142). So we need not be surprised that he here makes the solar year consist of 375 days. Prof. Rawlinson has pointed out that this is due partly to his counting the months at thirty days each, instead of alternately thirty and twenty-nine, and partly to his forgetting that the intercalary month was omitted from time to time — possibly every fourth τριετηρίς.

[5] Borrowed from the Æolic dialect (for διάπλουτος), like the Homeric ζάθεος, ζάκοτος, ζατρεφής, ζαχρηής, ζαμενής, or ζαπληθής and ζάπυρος, which, together with ζάπλουτος, must be regarded as derived from the Epic dialect.

τὸν βίον, οὗτος παρ' ἐμοὶ τὸ οὔνομα τοῦτο ὦ βασιλεῦ δίκαιός ἐστι φέρεσθαι. σκοπεῖν δὲ χρὴ παντὸς χρήματος τὴν τελευτήν, κῇ ἀποβήσεται· πολλοῖσι γὰρ δὴ ὑποδέξας ὄλβον ὁ θεὸς προρρίζους ἀνέτρεψε." τάδε λέγων τῷ Κροίσῳ οὔ κως οὔτε ἐχαρίζετο, οὔτε λόγου μιν ποιησάμενος οὐδενὸς ἀποπέμπεται, κάρτα δόξας ἀμαθέα εἶναι, ὃς τὰ παρεόντα ἀγαθὰ μετεὶς τὴν τελευτὴν παντὸς χρήματος ὁρᾶν ἐκέλευε. 33

Μετὰ δὲ Σόλωνα οἰχόμενον, ἔλαβε ἐκ θεοῦ νέμεσις μεγάλη Κροῖσον, ὡς εἰκάσαι, ὅτι ἐνόμισε ἑωυτὸν εἶναι ἀνθρώπων ἁπάντων ὀλβιώτατον. αὐτίκα δέ οἱ εὐδοντι ἐπέστη ὄνειρος, ὃς οἱ τὴν ἀληθείην ἔφαινε τῶν μελλόντων γενέσθαι κακῶν κατὰ τὸν παῖδα.[6] ἦσαν δὲ τῷ Κροίσῳ δύο παῖδες, τῶν οὔτερος μὲν διέφθαρτο, ἦν γὰρ δὴ κωφός, ὁ δὲ ἕτερος τῶν ἡλίκων μακρῷ τὰ πάντα πρῶτος· οὔνομα δέ οἱ ἦν Ἄτυς. τοῦτον δὴ ὧν τὸν Ἄτυν σημαίνει τῷ Κροίσῳ ὁ ὄνειρος, ὡς ἀπολεῖ μιν αἰχμῇ σιδηρέῃ βληθέντα. ὁ δ' ἐπείτε ἐξηγέρθη καὶ ἑωυτῷ λόγον ἔδωκε, κατάρρωδήσας τὸν ὄνειρον ἄγεται μὲν τῷ παιδὶ γυναῖκα, ἑωθότα δὲ στρατηγεῖν μιν τῶν Λυδῶν οὐδαμῇ ἔτι ἐπὶ τοιοῦτο πρῆγμα ἐξέπεμπε· ἀκόντια δὲ καὶ δοράτια καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα πάντα τοῖσι χρέωνται ἐς πόλεμον ἄνθρωποι, ἐκ τῶν ἀνδρεώνων ἐκκομίσας ἐς τοὺς θαλάμους συνένησε, μή τί οἱ κρεμάμενον τῷ παιδὶ ἐμπέσῃ. ἐχόντος δέ οἱ ἐν χερσὶ τοῦ παιδὸς τὸν γάμον, ἀπικνεῖται ἐς τὰς Σάρδις ἀνὴρ συμφορῇ ἐχόμενος καὶ οὐ καθαρὸς χεῖρας, ἐὼν Φρὺξ μὲν γενεῇ, γένεος δὲ τοῦ βασιληίου. παρελθὼν δὲ οὗτος ἐς τὰ Κροίσου οἰκία κατὰ νόμους τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους καθαρσίου ἐδεῖτο ἐπικυρῆσαι, Κροῖσος δέ μιν ἐκάθηρε· ἔστι δὲ παραπλησίη ἡ κάθαρσις τοῖσι Λυδοῖσι καὶ τοῖσι Ἕλλησι.[7] ἐπείτε δὲ τὰ νομιζόμενα ἐποίησε 34 35

[6] The belief in the prophetic character of dreams was widely spread in the East, and many of the cuneiform tablets now in the British Museum belonged to an ancient Babylonian work on the interpretation of dreams. Thus, "to dream of a bright light presaged fire." Cf. Lenormant, "La Divination et la Science des Présages chez les Chaldéens," 1875.

[7] See Apoll. *Rhod.* iv. 693 *sq.* The assassin seated himself on the hearth under the protection of Ζεὺς ἑπίστιος, thrusting his sword into the ground and covering his face with his hands. His host then sacrificed a sucking-pig, poured the blood and other libations on his hands, calling upon Ζεὺς καθάρσιος, made offerings to the Erinnyes, to the dead person, and to Ζεὺς μειλίχιος, and finally inquired after the name of the assassin and the circumstances of the murder. Adrastos ("he who runs not away" or "may not be escaped," similar to Adrasteia, the title of Nemesis in Bœotia and at Kyzikos) is a Greek, not Phrygian or Lydian name, and points to the Greek origin of the story. Stein suggests that the story of the death of Atys, the son of Krœsos, may have arisen out of that

ὁ Κροῖσος, ἐπυνθάνετο ὁκόθεν τε καὶ τίς εἴη, λέγων τάδε. "ὤνθρωπε, τίς τε ἐὼν καὶ κόθεν τῆς Φρυγίης ἦκων ἐπίστιος ἐμοὶ ἐγένεο; τίνα τε ἀνδρῶν ἢ γυναικῶν ἐφόνευσας;" ὁ δὲ ἀμείβετο "ὦ βασιλεῦ, Γορδίῳ μὲν τοῦ Μίδεώ εἰμι παῖς, ὀνομάζομαι δὲ Ἄδρηστος, φονεύσας δὲ ἀδελφεὸν ἐμεωυτοῦ ἀέκων πάρειμι ἐξεληλαμένος τε ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ ἐστερημένος πάντων." Κροῖσος δέ μιν ἀμείβετο τοῖσιδε. "ἀνδρῶν τε φίλων τυγχάνεις ἔκγονος ἐὼν καὶ ἐλήλυθας ἐς φίλους, ἔνθα ἀμηχανήσεις χρήματος οὐδενὸς μένων ἐν ἡμετέρου. συμφορήν τε
36 ταύτην ὡς κουφότατα φέρων κερδανεῖς πλεῖστον." ὁ μὲν δὴ δίαιταν εἶχε ἐν Κροίσου. ἐν δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ ἐν τῷ Μυσίῳ Ὀλύμπῳ ὑὸς χρῆμα γίνεται μέγα· ὁρμεόμενος δὲ οὗτος ἐκ τοῦ ὄρεος τούτου τὰ τῶν Μυσῶν ἔργα διαφθείρεσκε. πολλάκις δὲ οἱ Μυσοὶ ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐξελθόντες ποιέεσκον μὲν κακὸν οὐδέν, ἔπασχον δὲ πρὸς αὐτοῦ. τέλος δὲ ἀπικόμενοι παρὰ τὸν Κροῖσον τῶν Μυσῶν ἄγγελοι ἔλεγον τάδε. "ὦ βασιλεῦ, ὑὸς χρῆμα μέγιστον ἀνεφάνη ἡμῖν ἐν τῇ χώρῃ, ὃς τὰ ἔργα διαφθείρει. τοῦτον προθυμεόμενοι ἑλεῖν οὐ δυνάμεθα. νῦν ὦν προσδεόμεθα σέο τὸν παῖδα καὶ λογάδας νεηνίας καὶ κύνας συμπέμψαι ἡμῖν, ὡς ἄν μιν ἐξέλωμεν ἐκ τῆς χώρης." οἱ μὲν δὴ τούτων ἐδέοντο, Κροῖσος δὲ μνημονεύων τοῦ ὀνείρου τὰ ἔπεα ἔλεγέ σφι τάδε. "παιδὸς μὲν πέρι τοῦ ἐμοῦ μὴ μνησθῆτε ἔτι· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ὑμῖν συμπέμψαιμι· νεόγαμός τε γάρ ἐστι καὶ τάοτά οἱ νῦν μέλει. Λυδῶν μέντοι λογάδας καὶ τὸ κυνηγέσιον πᾶν συμπέμψω, καὶ διακελεύσομαι τοῖσι Λυδοῖσι εἶναι ὡς προθυμοτάτοισι συνεξελεῖν
37 ὑμῖν τὸ θηρίον ἐκ τῆς χώρης." τάοτα ἀμείψατο· ἀποχρεωμένων δὲ τούτοισι τῶν Μυσῶν ἐπεσέρχεται ὁ τοῦ Κροίσου παῖς ἀκηκοὼς τῶν ἐδέοντο οἱ Μυσοί. οὐ φαμένου δὲ τοῦ Κροίσου τόν γε παῖδά σφι συμπέμψειν, λέγει πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ νεηνίης τάδε. "ὦ πάτερ, τὰ[8] κάλλιστα πρότερόν κοτε καὶ γενναιότατα ἡμῖν ἦν ἔς τε πολέμους καὶ ἐς ἄγρας φοιτέοντας εὐδοκιμεῖν· νῦν δὲ ἀμφοτέρων με τούτων ἀποκλῄσας ἔχεις, οὔτε τινὰ δειλίην μοι παρισὼν οὔτε ἀθυμίην. νῦν τε τέοισί με χρὴ ὄμμασι[8] ἔς τε ἀγορὴν καὶ ἐξ ἀγορῆς φοιτέοντα φαίνεσθαι; κοῖος μέν τις τοῖσι πολιήτῃσι δόξω εἶναι, κοῖος δέ τις τῇ νεογάμῳ γυναικί; κοίῳ δὲ ἐκείνη δόξει ἀνδρὶ συνοικεῖν; ἐμὲ ὦν σὺ ἢ μέτες ἰέναι ἐπὶ τὴν θήρην, ἢ λόγῳ ἀνάπεισον ὅκως μοι ἀμείνω ἐστὶ τάοτα οὕτω ποιεόμενα."

of Atys, the sun-god, slain by the boar's tusk of winter (see Paus. vii. 7).

[8] Tournier (*Rev. de Philologie*, 1878) makes τὰ the relative, and accordingly reads εὐδοκιμέειν, νῦν δή.

[8] "What face must I show."

ἀμείβεται Κροῖσος τοῖσιδε. "ὦ παῖ, οὔτε δειλίην οὔτε ἄλλο 38
οὐδὲν ἄχαρί παριδών τοι ποίω τάοτα, ἀλλά μοι ὄψις ὀνείρου ἐν
τῷ ὕπνῳ ἐπιστᾶσα ἔφη σε ὀλιγοχρόνιον ἔσεσθαι· ὑπὸ γὰρ
αἰχμῆς σιδηρέης ἀπολεῖσθαι. πρὸς ὦν τὴν ὄψιν ταύτην τόν τε
γάμον τοι τοῦτον ἔσπευσα καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ παραλαμβανόμενα οὐκ
ἀποπέμπω, φυλακὴν ἔχων εἴ κως δυναίμην ἐπὶ τῆς ἐμῆς σε ζόης
διακλέψαι. εἰς γάρ μοι μοῦνος τυγχάνεις ἐὼν παῖς· τὸν γὰρ δὴ
ἕτερον διεφθαρμένον τὴν ἀκοὴν οὐκ εἶναί μοι λογίζομαι." ἀμεί-
βεται ὁ νεηνίης τοῖσιδε. "συγγνώμη μὲν ὦ πάτερ τοι, ἰδόντι 39
γε ὄψιν τοιαύτην, περὶ ἐμὲ φυλακὴν ἔχειν· τὸ δὲ οὐ μανθάνεις
ἀλλὰ λέληθέ σε τὸ ὄνειρον,[9] ἐμέ τοι δίκαιόν ἐστι φράζειν. φῂς
τοι τὸ ὄνειρον ὑπὸ αἰχμῆς σιδηρέης φάναι ἐμὲ τελευτήσειν· ὑὸς
δὲ κοίαι μέν εἰσι χεῖρες, κοίη δὲ αἰχμὴ σιδηρέη τὴν σὺ φοβέαι;
εἰ μὲν γὰρ ὑπὸ ὀδόντος τοι εἶπε τελευτήσειν με, ἢ ἄλλου τεο ὅ
τι τούτῳ οἷκε, χρῆν δή σε ποιεῖν τὰ ποιεῖς· νῦν δὲ ὑπὸ αἰχμῆς.
ἐπείτε ὦν οὐ πρὸς ἄνδρας ἡμῖν γίνεται ἡ μάχη, μέτες με."
ἀμείβεται Κροῖσος "ὦ παῖ, ἔστι τῇ με νικᾷς γνώμην ἀποφαίνων 40
περὶ τοῦ ἐνυπνίου. ὡς ὦν νενικημένος ὑπὸ σέο μεταγινώσκω,
μετίημί τέ σε ἰέναι ἐπὶ τὴν ἄγρην." εἶπας δὲ τάοτα ὁ Κροῖσος 41
μεταπέμπεται τὸν Φρύγα Ἄδρηστον, ἀπικομένῳ δέ οἱ λέγει τάδε.
"Ἄδρηστε, ἐγώ σε συμφορῇ πεπληγμένον ἀχάρι, τήν τοι οὐκ
ὀνειδίζω, ἐκάθηρα καὶ οἰκίοισι ὑποδεξάμενος ἔχω, παρέχων
πᾶσαν δαπάνην. νῦν ὦν (ὀφείλεις γὰρ ἐμέο προποιήσαντος
χρηστὰ ἐς σὲ χρηστοῖσί με ἀμείβεσθαι) φύλακα παιδός σε τοῦ
ἐμοῦ χρῄζω γενέσθαι ἐς ἄγρην ὁρμεομένου, μή τινες κατ' ὁδὸν
κλῶπες κακοῦργοι ἐπὶ δηλήσι φανέωσι ὑμῖν. πρὸς δὲ τούτῳ
καὶ σέ τοι χρεὸν ἐστὶ ἰέναι ἔνθα ἀπολαμπρύνεαι τοῖσι ἔργοισι·
πατρώιόν τε γάρ τοι ἐστὶ καὶ προσέτι ῥώμη ὑπάρχει." ἀμεί- 42
βεται ὁ Ἄδρηστος "ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἄλλως μὲν ἔγωγε ἂν οὐκ ἤια ἐς
ἄεθλον τοιόνδε· οὔτε γὰρ συμφορῇ τοιῇδε κεχρημένον οἰκός ἐστι
ἐς ὁμήλικας εὖ πρήσσοντας ἰέναι, οὔτε τὸ βούλεσθαι πάρα,
πολλαχῇ τε ἂν ἴσχοι ἐμεωυτόν. νῦν δέ, ἐπείτε σὺ σπεύδεις
καὶ δεῖ τοι χαρίζεσθαι (ὀφείλω γάρ σε ἀμείβεσθαι χρηστοῖσι),
ποιεῖν εἰμὶ ἕτοιμος τάοτα, παῖδά τε σόν, τὸν διακελεύεαι
φυλάσσειν, ἀπήμονά τοῦ φυλάσσοντος εἵνεκεν προσδόκα τοι
ἀπονοστήσειν." τοιούτοισι ἐπείτε οὗτος ἀμείψατο Κροῖσον, 43
ἦισαν μετὰ τάοτα ἐξηρτυμένοι λογάσι τε νεηνίῃσι καὶ κυσί.

[9] "Now what you do not understand —but the (meaning of the) dream has escaped your notice."—Τὸ ὄν. cannot be a second acc. after λέλ., an otherwise unknown construction. Perhaps Herodotos wrote ἀλλὰ γάρ.

ἀπικόμενοι δὲ ἐς τὸν Ὄλυμπον τὸ ὄρος ἐζήτεον τὸ θηρίον, εὑρόντες δὲ καὶ περιστάντες αὐτὸ κύκλῳ ἐσηκόντιζον. ἔνθα δὴ ὁ ξεῖνος, οὗτος δὴ ὁ καθαρθεὶς τὸν φόνον, καλεόμενος δὲ Ἄδρηστος, ἀκοντίζων τὸν ὗν τοῦ μὲν ἁμαρτάνει, τυγχάνει δὲ τοῦ Κροίσου παιδός. ὁ μὲν δὴ βληθεὶς τῇ αἰχμῇ ἐξέπλησε τοῦ ὀνείρου τὴν φήμην, ἔθει δέ τις ἀγγελέων τῷ Κροίσῳ τὸ γεγονός, ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐς τὰς Σάρδις τήν τέ μάχην καὶ τὸν τοῦ παιδὸς μόρον ἐσήμηνέ
44 οἱ. ὁ δὲ Κροῖσος τῷ θανάτῳ τοῦ παιδὸς συντεταραγμένος μᾶλλόν τι ἐδεινολογείτο ὅτι μιν ἀπέκτεινε τὸν αὐτὸς φόνου ἐκάθηρε. περιημέκτεών δὲ τῇ συμφορῇ δεινῶς ἐκάλει μὲν Δία καθάρσιον, μαρτυρόμενος τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ ξείνου πεπονθὼς εἴη, ἐκάλει δὲ ἑπίστιόν τε καὶ ἑταιρήϊον, τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον ὀνομάζων θεόν, τὸν μὲν ἑπίστιον καλέων, διότι δὴ οἰκίοισι ὑποδεξάμενος τὸν ξεῖνον φονέα τοῦ παιδὸς ἐλάνθανε βόσκων, τὸν δὲ ἑταιρήιον, ὡς
45 φύλακα συμπέμψας αὐτὸν εὑρήκοι πολεμιώτατον. παρῆσαν δὲ μετὰ τοῦτο οἱ Λυδοὶ φέροντες τὸν νεκρόν, ὄπισθε δὲ εἵπετό οἱ ὁ φονεύς. στὰς δὲ οὗτος πρὸ τοῦ νεκροῦ παρεδίδου ἑωυτὸν Κροίσῳ προτείνων τὰς χεῖρας, ἐπικατασφάξαι μιν κελεύων τῷ νεκρῷ, λέγων τήν τε προτέρην ἑωυτοῦ συμφορήν, καὶ ὡς ἐπ' ἐκείνῃ τὸν καθήραντα ἀπολωλεκὼς εἴη· οὐδέ οἱ εἴη βιώσιμον. Κροῖσος δὲ τούτων ἀκούσας τόν τε Ἄδρηστον κατοικτείρει, καίπερ ἐὼν ἐν κακῷ οἰκηίῳ τοσούτῳ, καὶ λέγει πρὸς αὐτόν "ἔχω ὦ ξεῖνε πᾶρα σέο πᾶσαν τὴν δίκην, ἐπειδὴ σεωυτοῦ καταδικάζεις θάνατον. εἰς δὲ οὐ σύ μοι τοῦδε τοῦ κακοῦ αἴτιος, εἰ μὴ ὅσον ἀέκων ἐξεργάσαο, ἀλλὰ θεῶν κού τις, ὅς μοι καὶ πάλαι προ-ἐσήμαινε τὰ μέλλοντα ἔσεσθαι." Κροῖσος μέν νυν ἔθαψε, ὡς οἰκὸς ἦν, τὸν ἑωυτοῦ παῖδα· Ἄδρηστος δὲ ὁ Γορδίῳ τοῦ Μίδεω, οὗτος δὴ ὁ φονεὺς μὲν τοῦ ἑωυτοῦ ἀδελφεοῦ γενόμενος φονεὺς δὲ τοῦ καθήραντος, ἐπείτε ἡσυχίη τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐγένετο περὶ τὸ σῆμα, συγγινώσκομενος ἀνθρώπων εἶναι τῶν αὐτὸς ἥδει βαρυ-συμφορώτατος, ἐπικατασφάζει τῷ τύμβῳ ἑωυτόν.

46 Κροῖσος δὲ ἐπὶ δύο ἔτεα ἐν πένθει μεγάλῳ κατῆστο τοῦ παιδὸς ἐστερημένος. μετὰ δὲ ἡ Ἀστυάγεος τοῦ Κυαξάρεω ἡγεμονίη καταιρεθεῖσα ὑπὸ Κύρου τοῦ Καμβύσεω[9] καὶ τὰ τῶν Περσέων πρήγματα αὐξανόμενα πένθεος μὲν Κροῖσον ἀπέπαυσε, ἐνέβησε δὲ ἐς φροντίδα, εἴ κως δύναιτο, πρὶν μεγάλους γενέσθαι τοὺς Πέρσας, καταλαβεῖν αὐτῶν αὐξανομένην τὴν δύναμιν. μετὰ ὦν τὴν διάνοιαν ταύτην αὐτίκα ἀπεπειρᾶτο τῶν μαντηίων τῶν

[9] B.C. 549. See Appendix V.

τε ἐν Ἕλλησι καὶ τοῦ ἐν Λιβύῃ,[1] διαπέμψας ἄλλους ἄλλῃ, τοὺς μὲν ἐς Δελφοὺς ἰέναι, τοὺς δὲ ἐς Ἄβας τὰς Φωκέων,[2] τοὺς δὲ ἐς Δωδώνην·[3] οἱ δέ τινες ἐπέμποντο παρά τε Ἀμφιάρεων καὶ παρὰ Τροφώνιον, οἱ δὲ τῆς Μιλησίης ἐς Βραγχιδας.[4] τάοτα μέν νυν τὰ Ἑλληνικὰ μαντήια ἐς τὰ ἀπέπεμψε μαντευσόμενος Κροῖσος· Λιβύης δὲ παρὰ Ἄμμωνα ἀπέστειλε ἄλλους χρησομένους. διέπεμπε δὲ πειρώμενος τῶν μαντηίων ὅ τι φρονέοιεν, ὡς, εἰ φρονέοντα τὴν ἀληθείην εὑρεθείη, ἐπείρηταί σφεα δεύτερα πέμπων εἰ ἐπιχειρέοι ἐπὶ Πέρσας στρατεύεσθαι. ἐντειλάμενος δὲ τοῖσι 47
Λυδοῖσι τάδε ἀπέπεμπε ἐς τὴν διάπειραν τῶν χρηστηρίων, ἀπ' ἧς ἂν ἡμέρης ὁρμηθέωσι ἐκ Σαρδίων, ἀπὸ ταύτης ἡμερολογέοντας τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον ἑκατοστῇ ἡμέρῃ χρᾶσθαι τοῖσι χρηστηρίοισι, ἐπειρωτέοντας ὅ τι ποίων τυγχάνοι ὁ Λυδῶν βασιλεὺς Κροῖσος ὁ Ἀλυάττεω· ἄσσα δ' ἂν ἕκαστα τῶν χρηστηρίων θεσπίσῃ, συγγραψαμένους ἀναφέρειν παρ' ἑωυτόν. ὅ τι μέν νυν τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν χρηστηρίων ἐθέσπισε, οὐ λέγεται πρὸς οὐδαμῶν· ἐν δὲ Δελφοῖσι ὡς ἐσῆλθον τάχιστα ἐς τὸ μέγαρον οἱ Λυδοὶ χρησόμενοι τῷ θεῷ καὶ ἐπείρωτεον[5] τὸ ἐντεταλμένον, ἡ Πυθίη ἐν ἑξαμέτρῳ τόνῳ λέγει τάδε.

[1] That of Ammon.

[2] The temple of Apollo of Abæ (cp. Soph. *Œd. Tyr.* 897-899, and Herod. viii. 134) stood on a low hill to the north-west of the height still surrounded with the massive walls of Abæ. The temple was destroyed in the sacred war B.C. 346, and only a single wall of Hellenic masonry now marks its site.

[3] The excavations of M. Karapanos have shown that the oracle of Dodona stood in the valley of Characovista, eleven miles south-west of Yannina, where he has exhumed the remains of the town, the theatre, and the sacred enclosure. (See his *Dodone et ses Ruines*, 2 vols. Paris, 1878.)

[4] The oracle of Amphiaraos was at Orôpos (Paus. i. 34; Liv. 45, 27). See Herod. viii. 134. That of Trophônios was at Lebadeia (*Livadia*), in Bœotia, on the slope of the hill now crowned with the walls of a mediæval fortress, and just above a deep gorge through which a torrent flows. The water, as it passes through the small funnels it has worn in the rocks, produces a whistling sound, which may have first suggested the oracle. The approach to the oracle is now covered with earth, but is probably to be found where the lowest wall of the mediæval fortress approaches the cliff. Brankhidæ, now *Hieronda*, was ten miles from Milêtos. The ruins now existing there belong to the temple built after the destruction of an older one by Xerxes. On either side of the road leading to the port, two miles distant, Mr. Newton found the sitting figures, in an archaic Assyrianising style, which are now in the British Museum. The oracle was a peculiarly Greek institution; the divine in man was called forth by the stimulus of nature, and revealed itself in prophetic song.

[5] "Before they put their questions." —Rawlinson. It must be noted that the oracles were to be "written down and arranged" (*συγγραψαμένους*).

οἶδα δ' ἐγὼ ψάμμου τ' ἀριθμὸν καὶ μέτρα θαλάσσης,
καὶ κωφοῦ συνίημι, καὶ οὐ φωνεῦντος ἀκούω.
ὀδμή μ' ἐς φρένας ἦλθε κραταιρίνοιο χελώνης
ἑψομένης ἐν χαλκῷ ἅμ' ἀρνείοισι κρέεσσιν,
ἦ χαλκὸς μὲν ὑπέστρωται, χαλκὸν δ' ἐπίεσται.[6]

48 τάοτα οἱ Λυδοὶ θεσπισάσης τῆς Πυθίης συγγραψάμενοι οἴχοντο ἀπιόντες ἐς τὰς Σάρδις. ὡς δὲ καὶ ὦλλοι οἱ περιπεμφθέντες παρῆσαν φέροντες τοὺς χρησμούς, ἐνθαῦτα ὁ Κροῖσος ἕκαστα ἀναπτύσσων ἐπώρα τῶν συγγραμμάτων. τῶν μὲν δὴ οὐδὲν προσίετο μιν· ὁ δὲ ὡς τὸ ἐκ Δελφῶν ἤκουσε, αὐτίκα προσεύχετό τε καὶ προσεδέξατο, νομίσας μοῦνον εἶναι μαντήιον τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖσι, ὅτι οἱ ἐξευρήκει τὰ αὐτὸς ἐποίησε. ἐπείτε γὰρ δὴ διέπεμψε παρὰ τὰ χρηστήρια τοὺς θεοπρόπους, φυλάξας τὴν κυρίην τῶν ἡμερέων ἐμηχανήσατο τοιάδε· ἐπινοήσας τὰ ἦν ἀμήχανον ἐξευρεῖν τε καὶ ἐπιφράσασθαι, χελώνην καὶ ἄρνα κατακόψας ὁμοῦ ἥψε
49 αὐτὸς ἐν λέβητι χαλκέῳ, χάλκεον ἐπίθημα ἐπιθείς. τὰ μὲν δὴ ἐκ Δελφῶν οὕτω τῷ Κροίσῳ ἐχρήσθη· κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἀμφιάρεω τοῦ μαντηίου ὑποκρισιν, οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν ὅ τι τοῖσι Λυδοῖσι ἔχρησε ποιήσασι περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τὰ νομιζόμενα (οὐ γὰρ ὧν οὐδὲ τοῦτο λέγεται), ἄλλο γε ἢ ὅτι καὶ τοῦτον ἐνόμισε μαντήιον ἀψευδὲς ἐκτῆσθαι.

50 Μετὰ δὲ τάοτα θυσίῃσι μεγάλῃσι τὸν ἐν Δελφοῖσι θεὸν ἱλάσκετο· κτηνέά τε γὰρ τὰ θύσιμα πάντα τρισχίλια ἔθυσε, κλίνας τε ἐπιχρύσους καὶ ἐπαργύρους καὶ φιάλας χρυσέας καὶ εἵματα πορφύρεα καὶ κιθῶνας, νῆσάς πυρὴν μεγάλην, κατέκαιε,[7] ἐλπίζων τὸν θεὸν μᾶλλόν τι τούτοισι ἀνακτήσεσθαι· Λυδοῖσι τε πᾶσι προεῖπε θύειν πάντα τινὰ αὐτῶν τούτῳ ὅ τι ἔχοι ἕκαστος. ὡς δὲ ἐκ τῆς θυσίης ἐγένετο, καταχεάμενος χρυσὸν ἄπλετον ἡμίπλινθία ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἐξήλαυνε, ἐπὶ μὲν τὰ μακρότερα ποιῶν ἑξα-

[6] "I number the sand and I measure the sea,
And the dumb and the voiceless speak to me:
The flesh of a tortoise, hard of shell,
Boiled with a lamb, is the smell I smell,
In a caldron of brass, with brass cover as well."

The second line refers to the fact that the priestess interrupted the envoys while they were speaking (ἐπειρώτεον). Those who reject the divine inspiration of the oracle have their choice of regarding the story given here as a myth, or of explaining it by the help of mesmerism and clairvoyance. Among the Greeks the tortoise was sacred to Aphroditê. For ψάμμου ἀριθμόν, cp. Pind. *Ol.* ii. 99. Ἐπιέσται is from ἔννυμι.—The Pythian priestess delivered the oracles in early times only once a year, on the 7th of the month Bysios; later, once a month (Plut. *Mor.* 292 F, 398 A).

[7] The waste of good things recorded here reminds us of the holocaust of the luxuries of life made by the women of Florence in consequence of the preaching of Savonarola.

πάλαστα, ἐπὶ δὲ τὰ βραχύτερα τριπάλαστα, ὕψος δὲ παλαστιαῖα,[8] ἀριθμὸν δὲ ἑπτακαίδεκα καὶ ἑκατόν, καὶ τούτων ἀπέφθου χρυσοῦ τέσσαρα, τρίτον ἡμιτάλαντον[9] ἕκαστον ἑλκόντα, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἡμιπλίνθια λευκοῦ χρυσοῦ,[1] σταθμὸν δι τάλαντα. ἐποιεῖτο δὲ καὶ λέοντος εἰκόνα χρυσοῦ ἀπέφθου, ἕλκουσαν σταθμὸν τάλαντα δέκα. οὗτος ὁ λέων, ἐπείτε κατεκαίετο ὁ ἐν Δελφοῖσι νηός, κατέπεσε ἀπὸ τῶν ἡμιπλινθίων (ἐπὶ γὰρ τούτοισι ἵδρυτο), καὶ νῦν κεῖται ἐν τῷ Κορινθίων θησαυρῷ ἕλκων σταθμὸν ἕβδομον ἡμιτάλαντον· ἀπετάκη γὰρ αὐτοῦ τέταρτον ἡμιτάλαντον. ἐπι- 51
τελέσας δὲ ὁ Κροῖσος τάοτα ἀπέπεμπε ἐς Δελφούς, καὶ τάδε ἄλλα ἅμα τοῖσι, κρητῆρας δύο μεγάθει μεγάλους, χρύσεον καὶ ἀργύρεον, τῶν ὁ μὲν χρύσεος ἔκειτο ἐπὶ δεξιὰ ἐσιόντι ἐς τὸν νηόν, ὁ δὲ ἀργύρεος ἐπ' ἀριστερά. μετεκινήθησαν δὲ καὶ οὗτοι ὑπὸ τὸν νηὸν κατακαέντα, καὶ ὁ μὲν χρύσεος κεῖται ἐν τῷ Κλαζομενίων θησαυρῷ, ἕλκων σταθμὸν εἰνατον ἡμιτάλαντον καὶ ἔτι δυώδεκα μνέας, ὁ δὲ ἀγρύρεος ἐπὶ τοῦ προνηίου τῆς γωνίης,[2] χωρέων ἀμφορέας ἑξακοσίους· ἐπικιρνᾶται γὰρ ὑπὸ Δελφῶν θεοφανίοισι.[3] φασὶ δὲ μιν Δελφοὶ Θεοδώρου τοῦ Σαμίου[4] ἔργον εἶναι, καὶ ἐγὼ δοκέω· οὐ γὰρ τὸ συντυχὸν φαίνεταί μοι ἔργον εἶναι. καὶ πίθους τε ἀργυρέους τέσσερας ἀπέπεμψε, οἳ ἐν τῷ Κορινθίων θησαυρῷ ἑστᾶσι, καὶ περιρραντήρια δύο ἀνέθηκε, χρύσεόν τε καὶ ἀργύρεον, τῶν τῷ χρυσέῳ ἐπιγέγραπται Λακεδαιμονίων φαμένων εἶναι ἀνάθημα, οὐκ ὀρθῶς λέγοντες· ἔστι γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο Κροίσου, ἐπέγραψε δὲ τῶν τις Δελφῶν Λακεδαιμονίοισι βουλόμενος χαρίζεσ-

[8] A palm was a little over three inches. Inscriptions show that we must read πάλαστα, not πάλαιστα, the reading of all the MSS. except two.

[9] The MSS. read τρία ἡμιτάλαντα, but the editors have decided that Herodotos did not reckon by half-talents. It is not easy, however, to construe the modern reading. Bähr makes the ingots of pure gold weigh 325 French lbs., and those of pale gold 260 lbs., but his calculations are not wholly certain.

[1] Pale or alloyed gold is the usual material of early gold ornaments found in the eastern part of the Mediterranean. Some ornaments lately discovered in an ancient Lydian tomb on the southern side of Tmôlos are of pale gold. Cp. Soph. *Antig.* 1037.

[2] "The corner of the ante-chapel." See viii. 122. Six hundred *amphoræ* would be more than 5000 gallons.

[3] Wine was mixed with water in it during the festival of the Theophania. The latter is mentioned by Philostratos (*Vit. Apoll.* iv. 31) and Pollux (i. 1, 34).

[4] Theodôros, the architect, according to Pausanias (iii. 12; viii. 14), invented the art of casting in bronze. This, however, was an error of Greek vanity, as the art was practised in Egypt, Assyria, and Phœnicia at an early period. Theodôros was credited with having carved the emerald in the ring of Polykratês. The supposition of K. O. Müller, that there were two Samian artists of this name, is wholly gratuitous, and contrary to the plain words of Pausanias.

θαι, τοῦ ἐπιστάμενος τὸ οὔνομα οὐκ ἐπιμνήσομαι. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν παῖς, δι' οὗ τῆς χειρὸς ῥεῖ τὸ ὕδωρ, Λακεδαιμονίων ἐστί, οὐ μέντοι τῶν γε περιρραντηρίων οὐδετέρου. ἄλλα τε ἀναθήματα οὐκ ἐπίσημα πολλὰ ἀπέπεμψε ἅμα τούτοισι ὁ Κροῖσος, καὶ χευμάτια ἀργύρεα κυκλοτερέα, καὶ δὴ καὶ γυναικὸς εἴδωλον χρύσεον τριπηχύ, τὸ Δελφοὶ τῆς ἀρτοκόπου τῆς Κροίσου εἰκόνα λέγουσι εἶναι.[5] πρὸς δὲ καὶ τῆς ἑωυτοῦ γυναικὸς τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς
52 δειρῆς[6] ἀνέθηκε ὁ Κροῖσος καὶ τὰς ζώνας. τάοτα μὲν ἐς Δελφοὺς ἀπέπεμψε, τῷ δὲ Ἀμφιάρεῳ, πυθόμενος αὐτοῦ τήν τε ἀρετὴν καὶ τὴν πάθην, ἀνέθηκε σάκος τε χρύσεον πᾶν ὁμοίως καὶ αἰχμὴν στερεὴν, πᾶσαν χρυσέην, τὸ ξυστὸν τῇσι λόγχῃσι ἐὸν ὁμοίως χρύσεον· τὰ ἔτι καὶ ἀμφότερα ἐς ἐμὲ ἦν κείμενα ἐν Θήβῃσι καὶ Θηβέων ἐν τῷ νηῷ τοῦ Ἰσμηνίου Ἀπόλλωνος.

53 Τοῖσι δὲ ἄγειν μέλλουσι τῶν Λυδῶν τάοτα τὰ δῶρα ἐς τὰ ἱερὰ ἐνετέλλετο ὁ Κροῖσος ἐπειρωτᾶν τὰ χρηστήρια εἰ στρατεύηται ἐπὶ Πέρσας Κροῖσος καὶ εἴ τινα στρατὸν ἀνδρῶν προσθέοιτο φίλον. ὡς δὲ ἀπικόμενοι ἐς τὰ ἀπεπέμφθησαν οἱ Λυδοὶ ἀνέθεσαν τὰ ἀναθήματα, ἐχρέωντο τοῖσι χρηστηρίοισι λέγοντες "Κροῖσος ὁ Λυδῶν τε καὶ ἄλλων ἐθνέων βασιλεύς, νομίσας τάδε μαντήια εἶναι μοῦνα ἐν ἀνθρώποισι, ὑμῖν τε ἄξια δῶρα ἔδωκε τῶν ἐξευρημάτων, καὶ νῦν ὑμέας ἐπειρωτᾷ εἰ στρατεύηται ἐπὶ Πέρσας καὶ εἴ τινα στρατὸν ἀνδρῶν προσθέοιτο σύμμαχον." οἱ μὲν τάοτα ἐπειρώτεον, τῶν δὲ μαντηίων ἀμφοτέρων ἐς ταὐτὸ αἱ γνῶμαι συνέδραμον, προλέγουσαι Κροίσῳ, ἢν στρατεύηται ἐπὶ Πέρσας, μεγάλην ἀρχὴν μιν καταλύσειν· τοὺς δὲ Ἑλλήνων δυνατωτάτους συνεβούλευόν οἱ ἐξευρόντα, φίλους προσθέσθαι.
54 ἐπείτε δὲ ἀνενειχθέντα τὰ θεοπρόπια ἐπύθετο ὁ Κροῖσος, ὑπερήσθη τε τοῖσι χρηστηρίοισι, πάγχυ τε ἐλπίσας καταλύσειν τὴν Κύρου βασιληίην, πέμψας αὖτις ἐς Πυθὼ, Δελφοὺς δωρεῖται, πυθόμενος αὐτῶν τὸ πλῆθος, κατ' ἄνδρα δύο στατῆρσι[7] ἕκαστον χρυσοῦ. Δελφοὶ δὲ ἀντὶ τούτων ἔδοσαν Κροίσῳ καὶ Λυδοῖσι προμαντηίην καὶ ἀτελείην καὶ προεδρίην, καὶ ἐξεῖναι τῷ
55 βουλομένῳ αὐτῶν γίνεσθαι Δελφὸν ἐς τὸν αἰεὶ χρόνον. δωρη-

[5] It was probably an image of the Asiatic goddess in a seated posture, like the figure in gold-leaf found at Mykênæ and given in Schliemann's *Mycenæ*, No. 273 (p. 182).

[6] "The necklace."

[7] The gold statêr of 20 drachmæ was equivalent to 16s. 3d. The exact words of the oracle, according to Aristotle (*Rhet.* iii. 5), were: Κροῖσος Ἅλυν διαβὰς μεγάλην ἀρχὴν καταλύσει. It is plain that Herodotos must have extracted it, like the other oracles he quotes, from some published collection. The Parian Chronicle puts the embassy in B.C. 556.

σάμενος δὲ τοὺς Δελφοὺς ὁ Κροῖσος ἐχρηστηριάζετο τὸ τρίτον· ἐπείτε γὰρ δὴ παρέλαβε τοῦ μαντηίου ἀληθείην, ἐνεφορείτο αὐτοῦ. ἐπειρώτα δὲ τάδε χρηστηριαζόμενος, εἴ οἱ πολυχρόνιος ἔσται ἡ μουναρχίη. ἡ δὲ Πυθίη οἱ χρᾷ τάδε.

ἀλλ' ὅταν ἡμίονος βασιλεὺς Μήδοισι γένηται,
καὶ τότε, Λυδὲ ποδαβρέ, πολυψήφιδα παρ' Ἕρμον
φεύγειν μηδὲ μένειν μηδ' αἰδεῖσθαι κακὸς εἶναι.[3]

Τούτοισι ἐλθοῦσι τοῖσι ἔπεσι ὁ Κροῖσος πολλόν τι μάλιστα 56
πάντων ἥσθη, ἐλπίζων ἡμίονον οὐδαμὰ ἀντ' ἀνδρὸς βασιλεύσειν Μήδων, οὐδ' ὧν αὐτὸς οὐδὲ οἱ ἐξ αὐτοῦ παύσεσθαί κοτε τῆς ἀρχῆς. μετὰ δὲ τάοτα ἐφρόντιζε ἱστορέων τοὺς ἂν Ἑλλήνων δυνατωτάτους ἐόντας προσκτήσαιτο φίλους, ἱστορέων δὲ εὕρισκε Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ Ἀθηναίους προέχοντας τοὺς μὲν τοῦ Δωρικοῦ γένεος τοὺς δὲ τοῦ Ἰωνικοῦ. τάοτα γὰρ ἦν τὰ προκεκριμένα,[a] ἐόντα τὸ ἀρχαῖον τὸ μὲν Πελασγικὸν[1] τὸ δὲ Ἑλληνικὸν ἔθνος. καὶ τὸ μὲν οὐδαμῇ κω ἐξεχώρησε, τὸ δὲ πολυπλάνητον κάρτα. ἐπὶ μὲν γὰρ Δευκαλίωνος[2] βασιλέος οἴκεε γῆν τὴν Φθιῶτιν, ἐπὶ

3 "When Media's king shall be a mule,
Soft-footed Lydian, by the pool
Of pebbly Hermos fly, nor stay,
Nor dread the coward's name that day."

The Lydians wore shoes, unlike the Greeks, who usually went barefoot or used sandals. Hence the epithet given to Kroesos. The Hermos runs at the distance of 4½ miles from Sardes, between Sardes and the tumuli of Bin Bir Tepè, the burial-place of the Lydian kings.

a "The most distinguished." Cp. ii. 121 ζ.

1 The term "Pelasgian" is used in two senses by the Greek writers—(1) as denoting certain Greek tribes of Thessaly, Thrake, and Mysia, and (2) as equivalent to our own term "prehistoric." In two Homeric passages (*Il.* ii. 681, xvi. 233) it is applied to Akhæan Argos in Thessaly, and to Zeus of Dôdôna, as worshipped by the Thessalian Akhæans. In *Il.* ii. 840-3 the Pelasgians are a tribe of Mysia. In the present passage of Herodotos, as in Thuk. iv. 109, they are regarded as natives of Thrake. But elsewhere in Homer (*Il.* x. 429; *Od.* xix. 177) the "divine Pelasgians" have passed into the region of mythology, and a way has been prepared for the use of the name by later writers to denote those populations of Greece and its neighbourhood which we should now call prehistoric, or whose origin and relationship were unknown. See Herod. i. 146, ii. 56, viii. 44, vii. 94, v. 26, vi. 138. Hence the primitive Arkadians were said to be Pelasgians, the mountains of Arkadia being naturally the last refuge of the aboriginal inhabitants of the Peloponnesos, whom the Greeks displaced. The occurrence of the name among various tribes of Illyrian origin may be explained by Pischel's derivation of the word from the roots we have in *πέραν* and *εἶμι* (*ya*), so that it would simply mean the "emigrants," like "Ionians" (*Ἰάϝονες*) from *ya* "to go."

2 Deukaliôn is formed from Deukalos, like other epithets of the sun-god (Hyperion, Apollon, or Apelion), *δευκα-λὸς* being akin to *Πολυ-δεύκης*, *πολυ-δευκὴς* (*Od.* xix. 521), and the Homeric *ἀ-δευκὴς* "unheroic" and *ἐν-δυκέως* "zealously," from the root *duc* "to lead" (Latin, *duco*). The myth which has attached itself to

δὲ Δώρου τοῦ Ἕλληνος τὴν ὑπὸ τὴν Ὄσσαν τε καὶ τὸν Ὄλυμπον χώρην, καλεομένην δὲ Ἱστιαιῶτιν· ἐκ δὲ τῆς Ἱστιαιώτιδος ὡς ἐξανέστη ὑπὸ Καδμείων,[3] οἴκει ἐν Πίνδῳ Μακεδνὸν καλεόμενον. ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ αὖτις ἐς τὴν Δρυοπίδα μετέβη, καὶ ἐκ τῆς Δρυοπίδος
57 οὕτω ἐς Πελοπόννησον ἐλθὸν Δωρικὸν ἐκλήθη. ἤντινα δὲ γλῶσσαν ἱεῖσαν οἱ Πελασγοί,[4] οὐκ ἔχω ἀτρεκέως εἰπεῖν. εἰ δὲ χρεόν ἐστι τεκμαιρομένους λέγειν τοῖσι νῦν ἔτι ἐοῦσι Πελασγῶν τῶν ὑπὲρ Τυρσηνῶν Κρηστῶνα[5] πόλιν οἰκεόντων, οἳ ὅμουροι κοτε

the name seems to refer to the ark of the sun-god sailing above the floods of winter. Pyrrha, the wife of Deukalion, is "the ruddy" dawn, the time when men rise again to the work of the day. Deukalion was the father of Protogeneia, "the morning," Amphi-ktyon (like Amphion, from the old Greek ἄμφος "a cloud") and Hellên. The latter name results from a confusion between ἕλλη, the Ionic εἴλη "heat" (like ἀργεννός = ἀργεινός), and the national name of the Hellenes.

[3] The Kadmeians are usually in Greek writers the Phœnicians of Thebes, afterwards dispossessed by the Greek Bœotians. Kadmos, their leader, was the son of the Phœnician king Agenor or Khna (*i.e.* Canaan, "the lowlands," a name originally given to the Phœnician coast-land only), and the communicator of the Phœnician alphabet to the Greeks. His wife, Hermionê, is the Semitic Kharmon, Hermon, "the Sanctuary." His name means "the Eastern" or "the ancient god," from the Phœnician *Kedem* ("east" and "ancient"). He was worshipped as a god not only at Thebes (Plut. *Pelopid.* 19), but also at Sparta (Paus. iii. 15), whither the influence of the Phœnician colony on Kythêra had extended, and, under the form of Kadmilos, corrupted into Kasmilos (*Kedem el*, "he who is before God"), was one of the three Kabeiri of Samothrake. The slayer of the dragon, Kadmos, was himself changed into a serpent, and thus is identical with "the old serpent-god" (γέρων ὄφιων) adored in Phœnicia (Nonnios, *Dionysiac.* ii. 274, xli. 352). A figure of the serpent is carved on a rock in the island of Thera, and goes back to the time when the island was a Phœnician colony; while archaic Greek vases represent Kadmos as an old bearded god, furnished with wings, whose human figure terminates in a serpent's tail. It would seem, therefore, that the Phœnicians who colonised Greece and the Ægean carried with them the worship of Kadmos, and might therefore be called Kadmeians wherever they were found. For the Kadmeians at Sparta see Herod. iv. 147, and in Asia Minor, i. 146. The Kadmeians at Athens were said to have been the fugitives from Thebes (Herod. v. 57), but more probably a Phœnician colony existed at Athens in the prehistoric age, the amalgamation of which with the towns on the Akropolis and the Pelasgikon (the modern Pnyx-hill) created Athens. The plural Ἀθῆναι implies the union of more than one community.—By Pindos is meant the city, not the range of mountains.

[4] The Pelasgi of Thrake would have spoken an Illyrian dialect, those of Thessaly a Greek one.

[5] Krêstôn was in Mygdonia in Thrake (see Steph. Byz. *ad voc.*) Its inhabitants are mentioned again in Herod. v. 5. In the time of Thukydides (iv. 109) the Krestonians, Bisaltians, and Edonians bordered on the Khalkidic colonies, and are all termed Pelasgians (so the passage should be rendered). These Pelasgians spoke two languages or dialects, and "belonged to the Tyrsenians, who once inhabited Lemnos and Athens." The latter statement contradicts the assertion of Herodotos that they had come from Thessaly, not from Athens and Lemnos.

ἦσαν τοῖσι νῦν Δωριεῦσι καλεομένοισι (οἴκεον δὲ τηνικαῦτα γῆν τὴν νῦν Θεσσαλιῶτιν καλεομένην), καὶ τῶν Πλακίην τε καὶ Σκυλάκην Πελασγῶν οἰκησάντων ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ, οἳ σύνοικοι ἐγένοντο Ἀθηναίοισι,[6] καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα Πελασγικὰ ἐόντα πολίσματα τὸ οὔνομα μετέβαλε, εἰ τούτοισι τεκμαιρόμενον δεῖ λέγειν, ἦσαν οἱ Πελασγοὶ βάρβαρον γλῶσσαν ἱέντες. εἰ τοίνυν ἦν καὶ πᾶν τοιοῦτο τὸ Πελασγικόν, τὸ Ἀττικὸν ἔθνος ἐὸν Πελασγικὸν ἅμα τῇ μεταβολῇ τῇ ἐς Ἕλληνας καὶ τὴν γλῶσσαν μετέμαθε. καὶ γὰρ δὴ οὔτε οἱ Κρηστωνιῆται οὐδαμοῖσι τῶν νῦν σφέας περιοικεόντων εἰσὶ ὁμόγλωσσοι οὔτε οἱ Πλακιηνοί, σφίσι δὲ ὁμόγλωσσοι· δηλοῦσί τε ὅτι τὸν ἦκαντο γλώσσης χαρακτῆρα μεταβαίνοντες ἐς τάδε τὰ χωρία, τοῦτον ἔχουσι ἐν φυλακῇ. τὸ δὲ Ἑλληνικὸν γλώσσῃ μέν, ἐπείτε ἐγένετο, αἰεί κοτε τῇ αὐτῇ διαχρᾶται,[7] ὡς ἐμοὶ καταφαίνεται εἶναι· ἀποσχισθὲν μέντοι ἀπὸ τοῦ Πελασγικοῦ[8] ἐὸν ἀσθενές, ἀπὸ σμικροῦ τεο τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁρμεόμενον αὔξηται ἐς πλῆθος τῶν ἐθνέων, Πελασγῶν μάλιστα προσκεχωρηκότων αὐτῷ καὶ ἄλλων ἐθνέων βαρβάρων συχνῶν. πρόσθε δὲ ὧν ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ οὐδὲ τὸ Πελασγικὸν ἔθνος, ἐὸν βάρβαρον, οὐδαμὰ μεγάλως αὐξηθῆναι. 58

Τούτων δὴ ὧν τῶν ἐθνέων τὸ μὲν Ἀττικὸν κατεχόμενόν τε καὶ διεσπασμένον ἐπυνθάνετο ὁ Κροῖσος ὑπὸ Πεισιστράτου τοῦ Ἱπποκράτεος τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον τυραννεύοντος Ἀθηναίων.[9] 59

The Tyrsenians of Mygdonia have nothing to do with the Tyrrhenians of northern Italy, except an accidental similarity of name. To draw ethnographical inferences from this is to repeat the error of the ancients, who derived the Tyrrhenians from the Torrhebians of Lydia. Dionysios of Halikarnassos was the author of the blunder which identified Krêstôn with the Etruscan Krotona (Cortona).

[6] "Who had been neighbours of the Athenians." This refers to the tradition that Attika had once been inhabited by a "Pelasgian," *i.e.* a prehistoric, population. Plakia and Skylakê were eastward of Kyzikos (founded B.C. 780 !). Perhaps Herodotos derived his statement about them from Aristeas.

[7] "The Hellenic race has always had the same language ever since it first came into existence."

[8] We must leave Herodotos to harmonise the inconsistent statements that the Hellenic race always spoke the same language, and was a branch of the Pelasgians, which multiplied greatly, and yet that the Pelasgian language differed from the Hellenic, and the Pelasgians themselves were a barbarous people, which never greatly multiplied. His speculations on philology and ethnology are never very profound.

[9] The three periods of the tyranny of Peisistratos extended from B.C. 560 to 527. Herodotos is incorrect in saying that the Athenians were "oppressed and disunited" (not "distracted") under his rule. On the contrary, he had found the country in a state of anarchy, misery, and poverty, in spite of Solon's legislation, and left it united, prosperous, feared abroad, enjoying peace and good laws at home, and intersected with roads; while Athens itself was adorned with public

Ἱπποκράτει γὰρ ἐόντι ἰδιώτῃ καὶ θεωρέοντι τὰ Ὀλύμπια τέρας ἐγένετο μέγα· θύσαντος γὰρ αὐτοῦ τὰ ἱερὰ οἱ λέβητες ἐπεστεῶτες καὶ κρεῶν τε ἐόντες ἔμπλεοι καὶ ὕδατος ἄνευ πυρὸς ἔζεσαν καὶ ὑπερέβαλον. Χίλων δὲ ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος παρατυχὼν καὶ θεησάμενος τὸ τέρας συνεβούλευε Ἱπποκράτει πρῶτα μὲν γυναῖκα μὴ ἄγεσθαι τεκνοποιὸν ἐς τὰ οἰκία, εἰ δὲ τυγχάνει ἔχων, δεύτερα τὴν γυναῖκα ἐκπέμπειν, καὶ εἴ τίς οἱ τυγχάνει ἐὼν παῖς, τοῦτον ἀπειπάσθαι. οὔκων τάοτα παραινέσαντος Χίλωνος πείθεσθαι θέλειν τὸν Ἱπποκράτεα· γενέσθαι οἱ μετὰ τάοτα τὸν Πεισίστρατον τοῦτον, ὃς στασιαζόντων τῶν παράλων καὶ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ πεδίου Ἀθηναίων, καὶ τῶν μὲν προεστεώτος Μεγακλέος τοῦ Ἀλκμέωνος τῶν δὲ ἐκ τοῦ πεδίου Λυκούργου Ἀριστολαΐδεω, καταφρονήσας τὴν τυραννίδα ἤγειρε τρίτην στάσιν, συλλέξας δὲ στασιώτας καὶ τῷ λόγῳ τῶν ὑπεράκρίων προστὰς μηχανᾶται τοιάδε. τρωματίσας ἑωυτόν τε καὶ ἡμιόνους ἤλασε ἐς τὴν ἀγορὴν τὸ ζεῦγος ὡς ἐκπεφευγὼς τοὺς ἐχθρούς, οἵ μιν ἐλαύνοντα ἐς ἀγρὸν ἠθέλησαν ἀπολέσαι δῆθεν,[1] ἐδεῖτό τε τοῦ δήμου φυλακῆς τινος πρὸς αὐτοῦ κυρῆσαι, πρότερον εὐδοκιμήσας ἐν τῇ πρὸς Μεγαρέας γενομένῃ στρατηγίῃ, Νίσαιάν[2] τε ἑλὼν καὶ ἄλλα ἀποδεξάμενος μεγάλα ἔργα. ὁ δὲ δῆμος[3] ὁ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐξαπατηθεὶς ἔδωκέ οἱ τῶν ἀστῶν καταλέξας ἄνδρας, τούτους οἳ δορυφόροι μὲν οὐκ ἐγένοντο Πεισιστράτου, κορυνηφόροι δέ· ξύλων γὰρ κορύνας ἔχοντες εἵποντό οἱ ὄπισθε. συνεπαναστάντες δὲ οὗτοι ἅμα Πεισιστράτῳ ἔσχον τὴν ἀκρόπολιν. ἔνθα δὴ ὁ Πεισίστρατος ἦρχε Ἀθηναίων, οὔτε τιμὰς τὰς ἐούσας συνταράξας οὔτε θέσμια μεταλλάξας, ἐπί τε τοῖσι κατεστεῶσι ἐνεμε τὴν πόλιν κοσμέων καλῶς τε καὶ εὖ. μετὰ δὲ οὐ πολλὸν χρόνον τὠυτὸ φρονήσαντες οἵ τε τοῦ Μεγακλέος στασιῶται καὶ οἱ τοῦ Λυκούργου ἐξελαύνουσί μιν. οὕτω μὲν Πεισίστρατος ἔσχε τὸ πρῶτον Ἀθήνας, καὶ τὴν τυραννίδα

buildings and a library, was the centre of the intellectual life of the day, and possessed a naval supremacy which extended as far as Sigeion and commanded the trade of the Black Sea.

[1] "As he pretended." Cp. ch. 73, vi. 1, vii. 211, etc.

[2] This must be a mistake. According to Plutarch (*Solon*, 8) the war between Megara and Athens took place before the legislation of Solon, B.C. 594. P. would have been too young at that time to have held an important command, while the distinction gained thirty-five years previously can hardly have helped him in his party conflicts. Nissea was the port of Megara.

[3] This shows that Peisistratos was chosen "tyrant" by the people, whose leader and champion he was against the oligarchy. His tyranny, therefore, was not the unpopular and unconstitutional *régime* it was afterwards imagined to be. See ch. 62. As the bodyguard was given by the *dêmos*, the latter could not complain of its being contrary to law.

οὔκω κάρτα ἐρριζωμένην ἔχων ἀπέβαλε. οἱ δὲ ἐξελάσαντες Πεισίστρατον αὖτις ἐκ νέης ἐπ' ἀλλήλοισι ἐστασίασαν. περιελαυνόμενος δὲ τῇ στάσει ὁ Μεγακλέης ἐπεκηρυκεύετο Πεισιστράτῳ, εἰ βούλοιτό οἱ τὴν θυγατέρα ἔχειν γυναῖκα ἐπὶ τῇ τυραννίδι. ἐνδεξαμένου δὲ τὸν λόγον καὶ ὁμολογήσαντος ἐπὶ τούτοισι Πεισιστράτου, μηχανέονται δὴ ἐπὶ τῇ κατόδῳ πρῆγμα εὐηθέστατον, ὡς ἐγὼ εὑρίσκω, μακρῷ, ἐπεί γε ἀπεκρίθη ἐκ παλαιτέρου τοῦ βαρβάρου ἔθνεος τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ἐὸν[4] καὶ δεξιώτερον καὶ εὐήθειης ἠλιθίου ἀπηλλαγμένον μᾶλλον, εἰ καὶ τότε γε οὗτοι ἐν Ἀθηναίοισι τοῖσι πρώτοισι λεγομένοισι εἶναι Ἑλλήνων σοφίην μηχανέονται τοιάδε. ἐν τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Παιανιέι ἦν γυνὴ τῇ οὔνομα ἦν Φύη, μέγαθος ἀπὸ τεσσέρων πηχέων ἀπολείπουσα τρεῖς δακτύλους καὶ ἄλλως εὐειδής. ταύτην τὴν γυναῖκα σκευάσαντες πανοπλίῃ, ἐς ἅρμα ἐσβιβάσαντες καὶ προδέξαντες σχῆμα οἷόν τι ἔμελλε εὐπρεπέστατον φανεῖσθαι ἔχουσα, ἤλαυνον ἐς τὸ ἄστυ, πρόδρομους κήρυκας προπέμψαντες, οἳ τὰ ἐντεταλμένα ἠγόρευον ἀπικόμενοι ἐς τὸ ἄστυ, λέγοντες τοιάδε. "ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, δέκεσθε ἀγαθῷ νόῳ Πεισίστρατον, τὸν αὐτὴ ἡ Ἀθηναίη τιμήσασα ἀνθρώπων μάλιστα κατάγει ἐς τὴν ἑωυτῆς ἀκρόπολιν." οἱ μὲν δὴ τάοτα διαφοιτεόντες ἔλεγον· αὐτίκα δὲ ἔς τε τοὺς δήμους φάτις ἀπίκετο ὡς Ἀθηναίη Πεισίστρατον κατάγει, καὶ οἱ ἐν τῷ ἄστει πειθόμενοι τὴν γυναῖκα εἶναι αὐτὴν τὴν θεὸν προσεύχοντό τε τὴν ἄνθρωπον καὶ ἐδέκοντο Πεισίστρατον. ἀπολαβὼν δὲ τὴν τυραννίδα τρόπῳ τῷ εἰρημένῳ ὁ Πεισίστρατος 61
κατὰ τὴν ὁμολογίην τὴν πρὸς Μεγακλέα γενομένην γαμεῖ τοῦ Μεγακλέος τὴν θυγατέρα. οἷα δὲ παίδων τέ οἱ ὑπαρχόντων νεηνίων[5] καὶ λεγομένων ἐναγέων εἶναι τῶν Ἀλκμεωνιδέων, οὐ βουλόμενός οἱ γενέσθαι ἐκ τῆς νεογάμου γυναικὸς τέκνα ἐμίσγετό οἱ οὐ κατὰ νόμον. τὰ μέν νυν πρῶτα ἔκρυπτε τάοτα ἡ γυνή, μετὰ δὲ εἴτε ἱστορεύσῃ εἴτε καὶ οὐ φράζει τῇ ἑωυτῆς μητρί, ἡ

[4] "Seeing that ever since very ancient times the Hellenes have been distinguished from the barbarians by being." Grote compares the appearance of the god Pan to Pheidippides just before the battle of Marathon (Herod. vi. 105), and infers that the Greeks of this period believed that the gods sometimes visited the earth. The same belief runs through the *Iliad;* in the *Odyssey*, on the contrary, the gods are always invisible, except when they purposely make themselves visible,—a mark of a later date. Herodotos belongs to the sceptical age of the Sophists, and can see nothing but folly in the belief of his forefathers.

[5] "But as he had grown-up sons." Megaklês the Alkmæonid, being arkhon at the time, had slain some of Kylon's followers at the altar of the Eumenides, to which they had attached themselves by a rope, and so brought the curse of the goddesses upon himself and his family. See ch. 26.

δὲ τῷ ἀνδρί. τὸν δὲ δεινόν τι ἔσχε ἀτιμάζεσθαι πρὸς Πεισιστράτου. ὀργῇ δὲ ὡς εἶχε καταλλάσσετο τὴν ἔχθρην τοῖσι στασιώτῃσι.[6] μαθὼν δὲ ὁ Πεισίστρατος τὰ ποιεόμενα ἐπ' ἑωυτῷ ἀπαλλάσσετο ἐκ τῆς χώρης τὸ παράπαν, ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐς Ἐρέτριαν ἐβουλεύετο ἅμα τοῖσι παισί. Ἱππίῳ δὲ γνώμῃ νικήσαντος ἀνακτᾶσθαι ὀπίσω τὴν τυραννίδα, ἐνθαῦτα ἠγείροσαν δωτίνας ἐκ τῶν πολίων αἵτινές σφι προαιδέατό κου τι.[7] πολλῶν δὲ μεγάλα παρασχόντων χρήματα, Θηβαῖοι ὑπερεβάλοντο τῇ δόσει τῶν χρημάτων. μετὰ δέ, οὐ πολλῷ λόγῳ εἰπεῖν, χρόνος διέφυ καὶ πάντα σφι ἐξήρτυτο ἐς τὴν κάτοδον· καὶ γὰρ Ἀργεῖοι μισθωτοὶ ἀπίκοντο ἐκ Πελοποννήσου, καὶ Νάξιός σφι ἀνὴρ ἀπιγμένος ἐθελοντής, τῷ οὔνομα ἦν Λύγδαμις, προθυμίην πλείστην παρείχετο, κομίσας καὶ χρήματα καὶ ἄνδρας. ἐξ Ἐρετρίης δὲ ὁρμηθέντες διὰ ἐνδεκάτου ἔτεος ἀπίκοντο ὀπίσω, καὶ πρῶτον τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἴσχουσι Μαραθῶνα. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ χώρῳ σφι στρατοπεδευομένοισι οἵ τε ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεος στασιῶται ἀπίκοντο ἄλλοι τε ἐκ τῶν δήμων προσέρρεον, τοῖσι ἡ τυραννὶς πρὸ ἐλευθερίης ἦν ἀσπαστότερον.[8] οὗτοι μὲν δὴ συνηλίζοντο, Ἀθηναίων δὲ οἱ ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεος, ἕως μὲν Πεισίστρατος τὰ χρήματα ἤγειρε, καὶ μεταὐτὶς ὡς ἔσχε Μαραθῶνα, λόγον οὐδένα εἶχον· ἐπείτε δὲ ἐπύθοντο ἐκ τοῦ Μαραθῶνος αὐτὸν πορεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὸ ἄστυ, οὕτω δὴ βοηθέουσι ἐπ' αὐτόν. καὶ οὗτοί τε πανστρατιῇ ἦισαν ἐπὶ τοὺς κατιόντας, καὶ οἱ ἀμφὶ Πεισίστρατον, ὡς ὁρμηθέντες ἐκ Μαραθῶνος ἦισαν ἐπὶ τὸ ἄστυ, ἐς ταὐτὸ συνιόντες ἀπικνέονται ἐπὶ Παλληνίδος Ἀθηναίης ἱερόν, καὶ ἀντία ἔθεντο τὰ ὅπλα. ἐνθαῦτα θείῃ πομπῇ χρεώμενος[9] παρίσταται Πεισιστράτῳ Ἀμφί-

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[6] "He made up his quarrel with the opposite party."

[7] "Which were under any obligations to them." Peisistratos had made good use of the wealth derived from his silver-mines on the Strymôn. Five MSS. read προηιδέατο, or προηδέατο. The ending of the 3d pers. pl. pluperf. in -εατο is Homeric and Herodotean,—the termination -ατο, which properly followed a consonant only, being extended by analogy to stems ending in a vowel. The form is New-Ionic, not Old-Ionic. Προαιδέομαι literally means "to be in the condition of an αἰδοῖος to some one on account of services rendered by him." It illustrates the Greek feeling that no one performs an act of kindness except under the supposition that it will be repaid; see iii. 139, note 7.

[8] The comment of Herodotos is unjust. It is clear that the Athenian people hailed Peisistratos as their deliverer from oligarchy and faction-fights; hence the unmolested landing at Marathon, the difficulty the oligarchs had in getting a force together, and the ease with which it was dispersed by Peisistratos. If the people had objected to his coming, he could never have made his way to Athens.

[9] "Under divine inspiration." See iii. 77, iv. 152, viii. 94; also iii. 139, iv. 8, v. 92, i. 86, iii. 153, i. 111. It is

οἱ μὲν δή τινες πρὸς τούτοισι λέγουσι καὶ φράσαι αὐτῷ τὴν Πυθίην τὸν νῦν κατεστεῶτα κόσμον Σπαρτιήτῃσι· ὡς δ' αὐτοὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι λέγουσι, Λυκοῦργον ἐπιτροπεύσαντα Λεωβώτεω, ἀδελφιδέου μὲν ἑωυτοῦ βασιλεύοντος δὲ Σπαρτιητέων, ἐκ Κρήτης ἀγαγέσθαι τάοτα.[6] ὡς γὰρ ἐπετρόπευσε τάχιστα, μετέστησε τὰ νόμιμα πάντα, καὶ ἐφύλαξε τάοτα μὴ παραβαίνειν. μετὰ δὲ τὰ ἐς πόλεμον ἔχοντα, ἐνωμοτίας καὶ τριηκάδας καὶ συσσίτια,[7] πρός τε τούτοισι τοὺς ἐφόρους καὶ γέροντας[8] ἔστησε Λυκοῦργος. οὕτω μὲν μεταβαλόντες εὐνομήθησαν, τῷ δὲ Λυκούργῳ τελευ- 66
τήσαντι ἱερὸν εἱσάμενοι σέβονται μεγάλως. οἷα δὲ ἔν τε χώρῃ ἀγαθῇ καὶ πλήθει οὐκ ὀλίγων ἀνδρῶν, ἀνά τε ἕδραμόν[9] αὐτίκα καὶ εὐθηνήθησαν. καὶ δή σφι οὐκέτι ἀπέχρα ἡσυχίην ἄγειν, ἀλλὰ καταφρονήσαντες Ἀρκάδων κρέσσονες εἶναι ἐχρηστηριάζοντο ἐν Δελφοῖσι ἐπὶ πάσῃ τῇ Ἀρκάδων χώρῃ. ἡ δὲ Πυθίη σφι χρᾷ τάδε.

out the country. The ephors whom he was supposed to have instituted dated only, as we learn from Aristotle, from the time of the first Messenian War, and Grote has shown that the equal division of lands with which Lykurgos was credited was an idea which arose in the age of Agis in the third century B.C. No wonder the oracle hesitated whether to call him god or man.

[6] Aristotle makes him more than 100 years later (B.C. 880), and along with other writers calls him a Prokleid, whereas, according to Herodotos, he would have been an Ageid. Aristotle and others also state that he was regent for Kharilaos, not Labôtas. The peculiarities of the Spartan constitution which turned the state into a military camp were unknown to Krête; the institutions of Krête agreed with those of Sparta only in so far as the latter might be regarded as the common property of the Dorian race (a senate, irresponsible ephors called *kosmi*, an *ekklesia*, Periœki called *ὑπήκοοι*, and public slaves called *μῶλαι*). The Kretans, however, had a public meal known as *ἀνδρία*, furnished at the expense of the state; but they had no kings, and possessed private slaves (*δφαμῶται* or *κληρῶται*).

[7] In the time of Thukydides (v. 68) the Spartan *λόχος* or cohort contained 4 pentekostyes and 512 men, the pentekostys 4 enomotiæ and 128 men. In the time of Xenophon (*Hell.* vi. 4) the lokhos consisted of only 2 pentekostyes, and the pentekostys of only 2 enomotiæ and 50 men. The *trilkas* is mentioned only by Herodotos, and seems to have ceased to exist at the beginning of the Peloponnesian War. The *Syssitia* refers to the public meal (*φειδίτιον*) paid for by those who shared it.

[8] The ephors correspond to the tribunes of the people at Rome, and like the latter, gradually usurped the supreme power in the state. As has been already stated, they were really instituted in the time of Theopompos (Arist. *Pol.* v. 9; Plut. *Lyk.* 7). The *γέροντες* are the thirty members of the Council, which, as a common Dorian institution, must have existed from the very beginning of the Spartan state. Each member was required to be over sixty years of age.

[9] "They (shot) grew up." Ἀνά is used adverbially and separated from its verb, as in Homer, showing that the so-called Homeric tmesis is not necessarily a mark of the Old Ionic dialect. Comp. vii. 156, and *Il.* 18, 56.

'Αρκαδίην μ' αἰτεῖς· μέγα μ' αἰτεῖς· οὔ τοι δώσω.
πολλοὶ ἐν 'Αρκαδίῃ βαλανηφάγοι ἄνδρες ἔασιν,
οἵ σ' ἀποκωλύσουσιν. ἐγὼ δέ τοι οὔτι μεγαίρω.
δώσω τοι Τεγέην ποσσίκροτον ὀρχήσασθαι
καὶ καλὸν πεδίον σχοίνῳ διαμετρήσασθαι.[1]

τάοτα ὡς ἀπενειχθέντα ἤκουσαν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, 'Αρκάδων μὲν τῶν ἄλλων ἀπείχοντο, οἱ δὲ πέδας φερόμενοι ἐπὶ Τεγεήτας ἐστρατεύοντο, χρησμῷ κιβδηλῷ πίσυνοι, ὡς δὴ ἐξανδραποδιούμενοι τοὺς Τεγεήτας. ἐσσωθέντες δὲ τῇ συμβολῇ, ὅσοι αὐτῶν ἐζωγρήθησαν, πέδας τε ἔχοντες τὰς ἐφέροντο αὐτοὶ καὶ σχοίνῳ διαμετρησάμενοι τὸ πεδίον τὸ Τεγεητέων ἐργάζοντο. αἱ δὲ πέδαι αὗται, ἐν τῇσι ἐδεδέατο, ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἦσαν σόαι ἐν Τεγέῃ, περὶ τὸν νηὸν τῆς 'Αλέης 'Αθηναίης κρεμάμεναι.[2]

67 Κατὰ μὲν δὴ τὸν πρότερον πόλεμον συνεχέως αἰεὶ κακῶς ἄεθλεον πρὸς τοὺς Τεγεήτας, κατὰ δὲ τὸν κατὰ Κροῖσον χρόνον καὶ τὴν 'Αναξανδρίδεώ τε καὶ 'Αρίστωνος βασιληίην ἐν Λακεδαίμονι ἤδη οἱ Σπαρτιῆται κατυπέρτεροι τῷ πολέμῳ ἐγεγόνεσαν, τρόπῳ τοιῷδε γενόμενοι. ἐπειδὴ αἰεὶ τῷ πολέμῳ ἐσσοῦντο ὑπὸ Τεγεητέων, πέμψαντες θεοπρόπους ἐς Δελφοὺς ἐπειρώτεον τίνα ἂν θεῶν ἱλασάμενοι κατυπερθε τῷ πολέμῳ Τεγεητέων γενοίατο. ἡ δὲ Πυθίη σφι ἔχρησε τὰ 'Ορέστεω τοῦ 'Αγαμέμνονος ὀστέα ἐπαγαγομένους. ὡς δὲ ἀνευρεῖν οὐκ οἷοί τε ἐγίνοντο τὴν θήκην τοῦ 'Ορέστεω, ἔπεμπον αὖτις τὴν ἐς θεὸν ἐπειρησομένους τὸν χῶρον ἐν τῷ κέοιτο 'Ορέστης. εἰρωτῶσι δὲ τάοτα τοῖσι θεοπρόποισι λέγει ἡ Πυθίη τάδε.

ἔστι τις 'Αρκαδίης Τεγέη λευρῷ ἐνὶ χώρῳ,
ἔνθ' ἄνεμοι πνείουσι δύω κρατερῆς ὑπ' ἀνάγκης,
καὶ τύπος ἀντίτυπος, καὶ πῆμ' ἐπὶ πήματι κεῖται.
ἔνθ' 'Αγαμεμνονίδην κατέχει φυσίζοος αἶα,
τὸν σὺ κομισσάμενος Τεγέης ἐπιτάρροθος ἔσσῃ.[3]

ὡς δὲ καὶ τάοτα ἤκουσαν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἀπείχον τῆς ἐξευρέσιος οὐδὲν ἔλασσον, πάντα διζήμενοι, ἐς ὃ δὴ Λίχης τῶν ἀγαθοεργῶν καλεομένων Σπαρτιητέων ἀνεῦρε. οἱ δὲ ἀγαθοεργοὶ εἰσὶ τῶν

[1] "Arkadia ask you? No such boon I grant.
Many, on acorns fed, that dwell therein
Shall keep you off. And yet I grudge you naught;
Tegea I'll grant to dance with swinging foot,
And the fair plain to measure with the rod."

[2] Athêna Alea was worshipped also at Mantineia, Manthyreia, and Aleia, whence her epithet. See Paus. iii. 5, 6.

[3] "Arkadian Tegea lies upon a plain;
There blow two winds, driven by might and main,
Blow upon blow and stroke on stroke again.
The fruitful soil holds Agamemnon's son;
Fetch him to thee, and Tegea is won."

ἀστῶν, ἐξιόντες ἐκ τῶν ἱππέων[4] αἰεὶ οἱ πρεσβύτατοι, πέντε ἔτεος ἑκάστου· τοὺς δεῖ τοῦτον τὸν ἐνιαυτόν, τὸν ἂν ἐξίωσι ἐκ τῶν ἱππέων, Σπαρτιητέων τῷ κοινῷ διαπεμπομένους μὴ ἑλινύειν ἄλλους ἄλλῃ.[5] τούτων ὦν τῶν ἀνδρῶν Λίχης ἀνεῦρε ἐν Τεγέῃ καὶ συντυχίῃ χρησάμενος καὶ σοφίῃ. ἐούσης γὰρ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ἐπιμιξίης πρὸς τοὺς Τεγεήτας, ἐλθὼν ἐς χαλκήιον ἐθηεῖτο σίδηρον ἐξελαυνόμενον,[6] καὶ ἐν θώυματι ἦν ὁρέων τὸ ποιεόμενον. μαθὼν δέ μιν ὁ χαλκεὺς ἀποθωυμάζοντα εἶπε παυσάμενος τοῦ ἔργου "ἦ κου ἄν, ὦ ξεῖνε Λάκων, εἴ περ εἶδες τό περ ἐγώ, κάρτα ἂν ἐθώυμαζες, ὅκου νῦν οὕτω τυγχάνεις θῶυμα ποιεόμενος τὴν ἐργασίην τοῦ σιδήρου. ἐγὼ γὰρ ἐν τῇδε θέλων τῇ αὐλῇ φρέαρ ποιήσασθαι, ὀρύσσων ἐπέτυχον σορῷ[7] ἑπταπήχει· ὑπὸ δὲ ἀπιστίης μὴ μὲν γενέσθαι μηδαμὰ μέζονας ἀνθρώπους τῶν νῦν ἄνοιξα αὐτὴν καὶ εἶδον τὸν νεκρὸν μηκεῖ ἴσον ἐόντα τῇ σορῷ· μετρήσας δὲ συνέχωσα ὀπίσω." ὁ μὲν δή οἱ ἔλεγε τά περ ὀπώπει, ὁ δὲ ἐννώσας τὰ λεγόμενα συνεβάλλετο τὸν Ὀρέστεα κατὰ τὸ θεοπρόπιον τοῦτον εἶναι, τῇδε συμβαλλόμενος· τοῦ χαλκέος δύο ὁρέων φῦσας τοὺς ἀνέμους εὕρισκε ἐόντας, τὸν δὲ ἄκμονα καὶ τὴν σφῦραν τόν τε τύπον καὶ τὸν ἀντίτυπον, τὸν δὲ ἐξελαυνόμενον σίδηρον τὸ πῆμα ἐπὶ πήματι κείμενον, κατὰ τοιόνδε τι εἰκάζων, ὡς ἐπὶ κακῷ ἀνθρώπου σίδηρος ἀνεύρηται. συμβαλλόμενος δὲ τάοτα καὶ ἀπελθὼν ἐς Σπάρτην ἔφραζε 68

Αἰα seems one of the false forms of the Epic dialect, produced by the supposition that γαῖα at the end of a line was resolvable into γ' αἶα (*Journal of Philology*, x. 19 (1881), p. 118).

[4] "Who quit the order of the knights." The statement of Herodotos is contradicted by the better testimony of Xenophon (*De Rep. Lac.* 4, 3), who says that the ephors elected three ἱππαγρέται, and these chose the 300 knights from among the Spartan youth. As the ephors were changed every year the election must have been annual. Stein quotes the verse in the *Etym. Mag.* 417: ἄχι Λίχα μέγα σᾶμα.

[5] "Should continue in active service, being sent in different directions by the Spartan community."

[6] The employment of iron in the place of bronze was of comparatively late date among the Greeks, as among other nations of the world. Even in the middle of the sixth century B.C., it would appear, the forging of iron was a novelty to the Spartans, among whom there was little trade or manual labour; and smiths and smithies continued to be called χαλκεῖα and χαλκεῖς throughout Greece after the use of iron became general. The fact bears upon the date of the Homeric Poems, which are well acquainted with the use of iron, and effectually disposes of the legend which ascribed to Lykurgos the introduction of iron rings into Sparta as a medium of exchange (see note 5 on ch. 55).

[7] The verb συνέχωσα shows that σορός here means "a sepulchral chamber" or "tumulus" rather than "a coffin." The bones were evidently those of some fossilised animal, like the bones of the Dun Cow slain by Guy of Warwick, preserved at Warwick Castle. Similar notions of

Λακεδαιμονίοισι πᾶν τὸ πρῆγμα. οἱ δὲ ἐκ λόγου πλαστοῦ ἐπενείκαντές οἱ αἰτίην ἐδίωξαν. ὁ δὲ ἀπικόμενος ἐς Τεγέην καὶ φράζων τὴν ἑωυτοῦ συμφορὴν πρὸς τὸν χαλκέα ἐμισθοῦτο παρ' οὐκ ἐκδιδόντος τὴν αὐλήν.[8] χρόνῳ δὲ ὡς ἀνέγνωσε, ἐνοικίσθη, ἀνορύξας δὲ τὸν τάφον καὶ τὰ ὀστέα συλλέξας οἴχετο φέρων ἐς Σπάρτην. καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ χρόνου, ὅκως πειρῷατο ἀλλήλων, πολλῷ κατυπέρτεροι τῷ πολέμῳ ἐγίνοντο οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι· ἤδη δέ σφι καὶ ἡ πολλὴ τῆς Πελοποννήσου ἦν κατεστραμμένη.

69 Τάοτα δὴ ὧν πάντα πυνθανόμενος ὁ Κροῖσος ἔπεμπε ἐς Σπάρτην ἀγγέλους δῶρά τε φέροντας καὶ δεησομένους συμμαχίης, ἐντειλάμενός τε τὰ λέγειν χρῆν. οἱ δὲ ἐλθόντες ἔλεγον "ἔπεμψε ἡμέας Κροῖσος ὁ Λυδῶν τε καὶ ἄλλων ἐθνέων βασιλεύς, λέγων τάδε. ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, χρήσαντος τοῦ θεοῦ τὸν Ἕλληνα φίλον προσθέσθαι, ὑμέας γὰρ πυνθάνομαι προεστάναι τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ὑμέας ὧν κατὰ τὸ χρηστήριον προσκαλέομαι φίλος τε θέλων γενέσθαι καὶ σύμμαχος ἄνευ τε δόλου καὶ ἀπάτης." Κροῖσος μὲν δὴ τάοτα δι' ἀγγέλων ἐπεκηρυκεύετο, Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ἀκηκοότες καὶ αὐτοὶ τὸ θεοπρόπιον τὸ Κροίσῳ γενόμενον ἥσθησάν τε τῇ ἀπίξει τῶν Λυδῶν καὶ ἐποιήσαντο ὅρκια ξεινίης πέρι καὶ συμμαχίης· καί γάρ τινες αὐτοὺς εὐεργεσίαι εἶχον ἐκ Κροίσου πρότερον ἔτι γεγονυῖαι. πέμψαντες γὰρ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐς Σάρδις χρυσὸν ὠνέοντο, ἐς ἄγαλμα βουλόμενοι χρήσασθαι τοῦτο τὸ νῦν τῆς Λακωνικῆς ἐν Θόρνακι ἵδρυται Ἀπόλλωνος.[9] Κροῖσος
70 δέ σφι ὠνεομένοισι ἔδωκε δωτίνην. τούτων τε ὧν εἵνεκεν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὴν συμμαχίην ἐδέξαντο, καὶ ὅτι ἐκ πάντων σφέας προκρίνας Ἑλλήνων αἱρεῖτο φίλους. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν αὐτοὶ ἦσαν ἕτοιμοι ἐπαγγείλαντι, τοῦτο δὲ ποιησάμενοι κρητῆρα χάλκεον ζῳδίων τε ἔξωθεν πλησαίτες περὶ τὸ χεῖλος[1] καὶ μεγάθει

the size and strength of the ancient heroes are found in Homer (*e.g. Il.* 1, 272; 5, 304).

[8] "He wished to rent the courtyard from the latter, who at first would not give it up."

[9] This seems to be an error. Theopompos (*Fr.* 219) states that the Spartans had sent for the gold in order to cover the face of the image of Apollo, at Amyklæ, with it, and Pausanias (iii. 10) actually saw the statue (which was 45 feet high) at Amyklæ. Thornax was a mountain on the road from Sparta to Sellasia. The Spartans were ready enough to help an Asiatic despot who had conquered their brother Greeks of Ionia; they were not so equally ready afterwards to assist Athens when threatened by Persia.

[1] The bronze bowl must have been made in imitation of the Phœniko-Hellenic or "Corinthian" ware, which was similarly adorned with the figures of animals. This was a favourite Phœnician mode of decoration, and characterised both their pottery and their work in metal. The embroidery of Thera,

τριηκοσίους ἀμφορέας χωρέοντα ἦγον, δῶρον βουλόμενοι ἀντιδοῦναι Κροίσῳ. οὗτος ὁ κρητὴρ οὐκ ἀπίκετο ἐς Σάρδις δι' αἰτίας διφασίας λεγομένας τάσδε. οἱ μὲν Λακεδαιμόνιοι λέγουσι ὡς ἐπείτε ἀγόμενος ἐς τὰς Σάρδις ὁ κρητὴρ ἐγίνετο κατὰ τὴν Σαμίην, πυθόμενοι Σάμιοι ἀπελοίατο αὐτὸν νηυσὶ μακρῇσι ἐπιπλώσαντες· αὐτοὶ δὲ Σάμιοι λέγουσι ὡς ἐπείτε ὑστέρησαν οἱ ἄγοντες τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων τὸν κρητῆρα, ἐπυνθάνοντο δὲ Σάρδις τε καὶ Κροῖσον ἡλωκέναι, ἀπέδοντο τὸν κρητῆρα ἐν Σάμῳ, ἰδιώτας δὲ ἄνδρας πριαμένους ἀναθεῖναί μιν ἐς τὸ Ἥραιον.[2] τάχα δὲ ἂν καὶ οἱ ἀποδόμενοι λέγοιεν ἀπικόμενοι ἐς Σπάρτην ὡς ἀπαιρεθείησαν ὑπὸ Σαμίων.

Κατὰ μέν νυν τὸν κρητῆρα οὕτω ἔσχε. Κροῖσος δὲ ἁμαρτὼν 71
τοῦ χρησμοῦ, ἐποιεῖτο στρατηίην ἐς Καππαδοκίην, ἐλπίσας καταιρήσειν Κῦρόν τε καὶ τὴν Περσέων δύναμιν. παρασκευαζομένου δὲ Κροίσου στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ Πέρσας, τῶν τις Λυδῶν νομιζόμενος καὶ πρόσθε εἶναι σοφός, ἀπὸ δὲ ταύτης τῆς γνώμης καὶ τὸ κάρτα οὔνομα ἐν Λυδοῖσι ἔχων, συνεβούλευσε Κροίσῳ τάδε· οὔνομά οἱ ἦν Σάνδανις. "ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἐπ' ἄνδρας τοιούτους στρατεύεσθαι παρασκευάζεαι, οἳ σκύτινας μὲν ἀναξυρίδας σκυτίνην δὲ τὴν ἄλλην ἐσθῆτα φορέουσι, σιτέονται δὲ οὐκ ὅσα ἐθέλουσι ἀλλ' ὅσα ἔχουσι, χώρην ἔχοντες τρηχέαν. πρὸς δὲ οὐκ οἴνῳ διαχρέωνται ἀλλὰ ὑδροποτέουσι, οὐ σῦκα δὲ ἔχουσι τρώγειν, οὐκ ἄλλο ἀγαθὸν οὐδέν. τοῦτο μὲν δή, εἰ νικήσεις, τί σφεας ἀπαιρήσεαι, τοῖσί γε μή ἐστι μηδέν; τοῦτο δέ, ἢν νικηθῇς, μάθε ὅσα ἀγαθὰ ἀποβαλεῖς· γευσάμενοι γὰρ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἀγαθῶν περιέξονται οὐδὲ ἀπώσονται ἔσονται. ἐγὼ μέν νυν θεοῖσι ἔχω χάριν, οἳ οὐκ ἐπὶ νόον ποιοῦσι Πέρσῃσι στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ Λυδούς." τάοτα λέγων οὐκ ἔπειθε τὸν Κροῖσον. Πέρσῃσι γάρ, πρὶν Λυδοὺς καταστρέφασθαι, ἦν οὔτε ἁβρὸν οὔτε ἀγαθὸν οὐδέν.

which had a Phœnician origin, was similarly adorned (Hesykh. s. v. Θήραιον and Θηροειδεῖς; Pollux, *Onom.* vii. 48, 77; compare *Il.* ii. 289).

[2] A single column only remains of this temple of Hera, which had been built under the directions of Rhœkos (Herod. iii. 60). It has been excavated by M. Guérin in 1850, Prince John Ghika in 1853, and M. P. Girard in 1879. Herr Humann has also dug on the spot. Little has been found except a few bas-reliefs and inscriptions (mostly decrees and dedications). A statue of Bathyllos was erected by Polykrates before the altar (Apuleius, *Flor.* 15), and there was also a colossal group by Myron (Strab. xiv. 637). The temple was dipteral, and seems to have been built on the site of an older one. See Herod. ii. 182.—Λέγοιεν is imperf. opt., and, unlike Attic usage, when united with ἄν, expresses a conjecture about the past. See vii. 184, 214; viii. 136. Herodotos also uses the aor. opt. with ἄν in the same sense (vii. 180, ix. 71), like Homer.

72 Οἱ δὲ Καππαδόκαι ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων Σύριοι ὀνομάζονται:[3] ἦσαν δὲ οἱ Σύριοι οὗτοι τὸ μὲν πρότερον ἢ Πέρσας ἄρξαι Μήδων κατήκοοι, τότε δὲ Κύρου. ὁ γὰρ οὖρος ἦν τῆς τε Μηδικῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ τῆς Λυδικῆς ὁ Ἅλυς ποταμός, ὃς ῥεῖ ἐξ Ἀρμενίου ὄρεος διὰ Κιλίκων,[4] μετὰ δὲ Ματιηνοὺς μὲν ἐν δεξιῇ ἔχει ῥέων, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ἑτέρου Φρύγας· παραμειβόμενος δὲ τούτους καὶ ῥέων ἄνω πρὸς βορέην ἄνεμον ἔνθεν μὲν Συρίους Καππαδόκας ἀπέργει, ἐξ εὐωνύμου δὲ Παφλαγόνας. οὕτω ὁ Ἅλυς ποταμὸς ἀποτάμνει σχεδὸν πάντα τῆς Ἀσίης τὰ κάτω ἐκ θαλάσσης τῆς ἀντίον Κύπρου ἐς τὸν Εὔξεινον πόντον. ἔστι δὲ αὐχὴν οὗτος τῆς χώρης ταύτης ἀπάσης· μήκος ὁδοῦ εὐζώνῳ ἀνδρὶ πέντε ἡμέραι ἀναισι-
73 μοῦνται.[5] ἐστρατεύετο δὲ ὁ Κροῖσος ἐπὶ τὴν Καππαδοκίην τῶνδε

[3] Kappadokia was bounded on the west by the Halys, and on the south by the Kilikians. Its area is larger in the Persian cuneiform inscriptions, where it is called Katpaducca or Katapatuka (comp. Kat-aonia). The important Hittite remains at Eyuk and Boghaz Keui are within its borders, and there is plenty of evidence that it was at one time the headquarters of the Hittite race. They must be the White Syrians of Strabo, whom the Greek geographer contrasts with the Black Syrians of Semitic Aram (pp. 533, 544, 737. Cf. Schol. ad Apoll. Rhod. i. 948). Pindar (*Fr.* 150, ed. Bergk) speaks of "a spear-armed Syrian host" at the mouth of the Thermôdon (compare Herod. ii. 104), the river on whose banks dwelt the Amazons, the Hittite priestesses of the Asiatic goddess; and Sinôpê, according to Skymnos of Khios (943), was founded among the Syrians. But these Syrians were really Hittites, so called as coming from the country known to the Greeks as Syria. The Aramaic legends on the coins of Sinôpê, Sidê, and Kotyora or Gazir (Brandis, *Münzwesen*, 308, 427), belong to a later period. See also Herod. vii. 72. Strabo states that the language of the Kataonians was the same as that of the White Syrians. The Aryans, who afterwards occupied Kappadokia, belonged to the wave of migration which brought the Aryan Armenians into Armenia, and the Aryan Medes into Media, in the seventh century B.C. Pharnaspes, king of Kappadokia, married Atossa, sister of Kambyses, king of Persia, according to Diodorus Siculus; but as he is also said to have been five generations distant from Darius Hystaspis, the statement cannot be correct (see iii. 68, note 4). The names of the early Kappadokian kings, however, are Persian, as well as the deities worshipped in Kappadokia in the Persian period (Omanes, Anandatis, and Anaitis). See ch. 77.

[4] The Kilikia of Herodotos extended considerably to the north of the Taurus range. Herodotos puts the Matieni (of Lake Urumiyeh) far too much to the west.

[5] The pedestrian would certainly require to be "well equipped." As the distance is 280 miles, and Herodotos makes 200 stadia (about 23 miles) a day's caravan journey (iv. 101), either his geography or his arithmetic is at fault. It is very possible, however, that Professor Mahaffy may be right both here and in ii. 34 in reading fifteen for five, fifteen days being equivalent, according to eastern modes of reckoning, to the real distance. He supposes that the original text was ΑΝΔΡΙΙΕΗΜΕΡΑΙ, and that one of the two *iotas* has fallen out (*Hermathena*, vii. 1881). Compare also i. 185 (where Vitringa suggests ι'ε (fifteen) instead of ε').

εἵνεκα, καὶ γέας ἡμέρῳ προσκτήσασθαι πρὸς τὴν ἑωυτοῦ μοῖραν βουλόμενος, καὶ μάλιστα τῷ χρηστηρίῳ πίσυνος ἐὼν καὶ τίσασθαι θέλων ὑπὲρ Ἀστυάγεος Κῦρον. Ἀστυάγεα γὰρ τὸν Κυαξάρεω, ἐόντα Κροίσου μὲν γαμβρὸν[6] Μήδων δὲ βασιλέα, Κῦρος ὁ Καμβύσεω καταστρεψάμενος εἶχε, γενόμενον γαμβρὸν Κροίσῳ ὧδε. Σκυθέων τῶν νομάδων εἰλῆ ἀνδρῶν στασιάσασα ὑπεξῆλθε ἐς γῆν τὴν Μηδικήν· ἐτυράννευε δὲ τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον Μήδων Κυαξάρης ὁ Φραόρτεω τοῦ Δηιόκεω,[7] ὃς τοὺς Σκύθας τούτους τὸ μὲν πρῶτον περιεῖπε εὖ ὡς ἱκέτας ἐόντας· ὥστε δὲ περὶ πολλοῦ ποιεόμενος αὐτούς, παῖδάς σφι παρέδωκε τὴν γλῶσσάν τε ἐκμαθεῖν καὶ τὴν τέχνην τῶν τόξων. χρόνου δὲ γενομένου, καὶ αἰεὶ φοιτεόντων τῶν Σκυθέων ἐπ' ἄγρην καὶ αἰεί τι φερόντων, καί κοτε συνῆνεικε ἐλεῖν σφεας μηδέν· νοστήσαντας δὲ αὐτοὺς κεινῇσι χερσὶ ὁ Κυαξάρης (ἦν γάρ, ὡς διέδεξε, ὀργὴν ἄκρος) τρηχέως κάρτα περιέσπε ἀεικείῃ. οἱ δὲ τάοτα πρὸς Κυαξάρεω παθόντες, ὥστε ἀναξίως σφέων αὐτῶν πεπονθότες, ἐβούλευσαν τῶν παρὰ σφίσι διδασκομένων παίδων ἕνα κατακόψαι, σκευάσαντες δὲ αὐτὸν ὥσπερ ἐώθεσαν καὶ τὰ θηρία σκευάζειν, Κυαξάρῃ δοῦναι φέροντες ὡς ἄγρην δηθέν, δόντες δὲ τὴν ταχίστην κομίζεσθαι παρὰ Ἀλυάττεα τὸν Σαδυάττεω ἐς Σάρδις. τάοτα καὶ ἐγένετο· καὶ γὰρ Κυαξάρης καὶ οἱ παρεόντες δαιτυμόνες τῶν κρεῶν τούτων ἐπάσαντό, καὶ οἱ Σκύθαι τάοτα ποιήσαντες Ἀλυάττεω ἱκέται ἐγένοντο. μετὰ δὲ τάοτα, οὐ γὰρ δὴ ὁ Ἀλυάττης ἐξεδίδου τοὺς 74
Σκύθας ἐξαιτέοντι Κυαξάρῃ, πόλεμος τοῖσι Λυδοῖσι καὶ τοῖσι Μήδοισι ἐγεγόνει ἐπ' ἔτεα πέντε, ἐν τοῖσι πολλάκις μὲν οἱ Μῆδοι τοὺς Λυδοὺς ἐνίκησαν, πολλάκις δὲ οἱ Λυδοὶ τοὺς Μήδους. ἐν δὲ καὶ νυκτομαχίην τινὰ ἐποιήσαντο· διαφέρουσι δέ σφι ἐπὶ ἴσης τὸν πόλεμον τῷ ἕκτῳ ἔτει συμβολῆς γενομένης συνῆνεικε ὥστε τῆς μάχης συνεστεώσης τὴν ἡμέρην ἐξαπίνης νύκτα γενέσθαι. τὴν δὲ μεταλλαγὴν ταύτην τῆς ἡμέρης Θαλῆς ὁ Μιλήσιος τοῖσι Ἴωσι προηγόρευσε ἔσεσθαι,[8] οὖρον προθέμενος ἐνιαυτὸν τοῦτον

[6] "Brother-in-law." Γαμβρός is any relation by marriage (γάμος). Comp. Skt. *jámâtri* "son-in-law," *jámâ* "daughter-in-law," *vijâman* "related"; Lat. *gemini* (for *bi-gemini*).

[7] For these passages, see Appendix V.

[8] Eclipses of the sun had been predicted by the astronomers of Chaldea at an early period. The great astronomical work (afterwards translated into Greek by Berosus), compiled for Sargon of Aganè before the seventeenth century B.C., mentions solar eclipses which had happened both "at" and "out of their predicted time." This shows that the predictions did not rest on a very certain basis, and were only approximate. Thalês must have derived his science from Babylonia. For the influence of Babylonia on Thalês, see the first note on ch. 1. The eclipse has been variously assigned by astronomers to B.C.

ἐν τῷ δὴ καὶ ἐγένετο ἡ μεταβολή. οἱ δὲ Λυδοί τε καὶ οἱ Μῆδοι ἐπείτε εἶδον νύκτα ἀντὶ ἡμέρης γενομένην, τῆς μάχης τε ἐπαύσαντο καὶ μᾶλλόν τι ἔσπευδον καὶ ἀμφότεροι εἰρήνην ἑωυτοῖσι γενέσθαι. οἱ δὲ συμβιβάσαντες αὐτοὺς ἦσαν οἵδε, Συέννεσίς τε ὁ Κίλιξ καὶ Λαβύνητος ὁ Βαβυλώνιος.[9] οὗτοί σφι καὶ τὸ ὅρκιον οἱ σπεύσαντες γενέσθαι ἦσαν, καὶ γάμων ἐπαλλαγὴν ἐποίησαν· Ἀλυάττεα γὰρ ἔγνωσαν δοῦναι τὴν θυγατέρα Ἀρύηνιν Ἀστυάγει τῷ Κυαξάρεω παιδί· ἄνευ γὰρ ἀναγκαίης ἰσχυρῆς συμβάσιες ἰσχυραὶ οὐκ ἐθέλουσι συμμένειν. ὅρκια δὲ ποιεῦνται τάδε τὰ ἔθνεα τά πέρ τε Ἕλληνες, καὶ πρὸς τούτοισι, ἐπεὰν τοὺς βραχίονας ἐπιτάμωνται ἐς τὴν ὁμόχροιαν, τὸ αἷμα ἀναλείχουσι ἀλλήλων.[1]

75 Τοῦτον δὴ ὦν τὸν Ἀστυάγεα Κῦρος ἐόντα ἑωυτοῦ μητροπάτορα καταστρεψάμενος ἔσχε δι' αἰτίην τὴν ἐγὼ ἐν τοῖσι ὀπίσω λόγοισι σημανέω· τὰ Κροῖσος ἐπιμεμφόμενος τῷ Κύρῳ ἔς τε τὰ χρηστήρια ἔπεμπε εἰ στρατεύηται ἐπὶ Πέρσας, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἀπικομένου χρησμοῦ κιβδήλου, ἐλπίσας πρὸς ἑωυτοῦ τὸν χρησμὸν εἶναι, ἐστρατεύετο ἐς τὴν Περσέων μοῖραν. ὡς δὲ ἀπίκετο ἐπὶ τὸν Ἅλυν ποταμὸν ὁ Κροῖσος, τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν, ὡς μὲν ἐγὼ λέγω, κατὰ τὰς ἐούσας γεφύρας[2] διεβίβασε τὸν στρατόν, ὡς δὲ ὁ πολλὸς λόγος

625, 610, 603, 597, and 585. The last date best suits the chronology and history of the period. Pliny (*N. H.* ii. 53) makes it B.C. 583. Herodotos seems to wish to contrast the science of the Greeks with the ignorant superstition of the "barbarians."

[9] The "mediators" were Syennesis of Kilikia, and Labynêtos of Babylonia. Syennesis was a common name among the Kilikian kings (Herod. v. 118, vii. 98; Xenophon, *Anab.* i. 2; Æskh. *Persæ*, 324). Other kings of Kilikia (called Khilak in the Assyrian inscriptions and on the native coins) were, Pikhirim, B.C. 854; Ambaris or Amris of Tubal (Tibareni), made king by Sargon, B.C. 712; and Sanda-sarme, B.C. 660 (whose name is compounded with that of Sandan, the Kilikian Heraklês). Tarkondêmos or Tarkondimotos, father and son, ruled Kilikia in the time of Augustus. Tarsus, called Tarzi by Shalmaneser (B.C. 833), was supposed to have had an Assyrian origin, and to have been built in imitation of Babylon. If so, it must have been a restoration of the older city of Shalmaneser's age. Labynêtos is clearly for Nabynêtos, or Nabonidos (Nabunahid), a copyist having mistaken N for A. (See ch. 77.) As Nabynêtos did not become king of Babylon till B.C. 555, Herodotos has given the wrong name. Nebuchadrezzar was really king at the time. Labynêtos is placed on the same footing as Syennesis, and therefore could hardly have been merely a Babylonian official. As such, moreover, he was not likely to have had much weight with the hostile kings.

[1] The custom of confirming an oath or contract by drinking one another's blood is widely spread (see iv. 70). In Chinese secret societies blood is drawn from the finger of the candidate for admission, poured into a bowl of wine or water, and drunk by the rest of the society. Tacitus describes the same custom as prevailing among the Georgian and Kaukasian tribes (*Ann.* xii. 47).

[2] "The bridges that really are there." Herodotos seems to be here contrasting

Ἑλλήνων, Θαλῆς οἱ ὁ Μιλήσιος διεβίβασε. ἀπορέοντος γὰρ Κροίσου ὅκως οἱ διαβήσεται τὸν ποταμὸν ὁ στρατός (οὐ γὰρ δὴ εἶναί κω τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον τὰς γεφύρας ταύτας) λέγεται παρεόντα τὸν Θαλῆν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ποιῆσαι αὐτῷ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐξ ἀριστερῆς χειρὸς ῥέοντα τοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ ἐκ δεξιῆς ῥεῖν, ποιῆσαι δὲ ὧδε· ἄνωθεν τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἀρξάμενον διώρυχα βαθέαν ὀρύσσειν, ἄγοντα μηνοειδέα, ὅκως ἂν τὸ στρατόπεδον ἱδρυμένον κατὰ νώτου λάβοι, ταύτῃ κατὰ τὴν διώρυχα ἐκτραπόμενος ἐκ τῶν ἀρχαίων ῥείθρων, καὶ αὖτις παραμειβόμενος τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐς τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἐσβάλλοι· ὥστε ἐπείτε καὶ ἐσχίσθη τάχιστα ὁ ποταμός, ἀμφοτέρῃ διαβατὸς ἐγένετο. οἱ δὲ καὶ τὸ παράπαν λέγουσι καὶ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ῥεῖθρον ἀποξηρανθῆναι. ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν οὐ προσίεμαι· 76
κῶς γὰρ ὀπίσω πορευόμενοι διέβησαν αὐτόν; Κροῖσος δὲ ἐπείτε διαβὰς σὺν τῷ στρατῷ ἀπίκετο τῆς Καππαδοκίης ἐς τὴν Πτερίην καλεομένην (ἡ δὲ Πτερίη ἐστὶ τῆς χώρης ταύτης τὸ ἰσχυρότατον, κατὰ Σινώπην πόλιν τὴν ἐν Εὐξείνῳ πόντῳ μάλιστά κῃ κειμένη), ἐνθαῦτα ἐστρατοπεδεύετο φθείρων τῶν Συρίων τοὺς κλήρους·[4] καὶ εἶλε μὲν τῶν Πτερίων τὴν πόλιν καὶ ἠνδραποδίσατο, εἶλε δὲ τὰς περιοικίδας αὐτῆς πάσας, Συρίους τε οὐδὲν ἐόντας αἰτίους ἀναστάτους ἐποίησε. Κῦρος δὲ ἀγείρας τὸν ἑωυτοῦ στρατὸν καὶ παραλαβὼν τοὺς μεταξὺ οἰκέοντας πάντας ἠντιοῦτο Κροίσῳ. πρὶν δὲ ἐξελαύνειν ὁρμῆσαι τὸν στρατόν, πέμψας κήρυκας ἐς τοὺς Ἴωνας ἐπειρᾶτό σφεας ἀπὸ Κροίσου ἀποστῆναι. Ἴωνες μέν νυν οὐκ ἐπείθοντο· Κῦρος δὲ ὡς ἀπίκετο καὶ ἀντεστρατοπεδεύσατο Κροίσῳ, ἐνθαῦτα ἐν τῇ Πτερίῃ χώρῃ ἐπειρῶντο κατὰ τὸ ἰσχυρὸν ἀλλήλων. μάχης δὲ καρτερῆς γενομένης καὶ πεσόντων ἀμφοτέρων πολλῶν, τέλος οὐδέτεροι νικήσαντες διέστησαν νυκτὸς ἐπελθούσης. καὶ τὰ μὲν στρατόπεδα ἀμφότερα οὕτω ἠγωνίσατο· Κροῖσος δὲ 77

his own assertion with that of some other Greek historians, not with that of Greek tradition. The double channel of the Halys may have originated the current legend.

[3] Pteria is here a district rather than a town, though a town of the same name is mentioned by Stephanos Byz. Texier would identify it with the Hittite city whose ruins are at Boghaz Keui; perhaps Eyuk, the neighbouring Hittite ruin, is more likely to mark the site. At any rate the district must be that in which Boghaz Keui and Eyuk are situated, and to which the two Hittite highroads led from Ghurun and Kaisariyeh. Kyros had doubtless advanced along the first of these, and Krœsos crossed the river in order to meet him. The vague statement that Pteria was "near Sinôpê," which is between seventy and eighty miles distant from the Halys, shows that Hdt. had no personal knowledge of the country.

[4] "The fields of the Syrians" or Hittites. This overthrow of the Hittites may have led to the colonisation of the depopulated district by the Persians (see note 3 on ch. 72). The ruin of the Hittite palace at Eyuk was no doubt effected by Krœsos.

μεμφθεὶς κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος τὸ ἑωυτοῦ στράτευμα (ἦν γάρ οἱ ὁ συμβαλὼν στρατὸς πολλὸν ἐλάσσων ἢ ὁ Κύρου), τοῦτο μεμφθείς, ὡς τῇ ὑστεραίῃ οὐκ ἐπειρᾶτο ἐπιὼν ὁ Κῦρος, ἀπήλαυνε ἐς τὰς Σάρδις, ἐν νόῳ ἔχων παρακαλέσας μὲν Αἰγυπτίους κατὰ τὸ ὅρκιον (ἐποιήσατο γὰρ καὶ πρὸς Ἄμασιν[5] βασιλεύοντα Αἰγύπτου συμμαχίην πρότερον ἤπερ πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους), μετάπεμψάμενος δὲ καὶ Βαβυλωνίους (καὶ γὰρ πρὸς τούτους αὐτῷ ἐπεποίητο συμμαχίη, ἐτυράννευε δὲ τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον τῶν Βαβυλωνίων Λαβύνητος),[6] ἐπαγγείλας δὲ καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοισι παρεῖναι ἐς χρόνον ῥητόν, ἀλίσας τε δὴ τούτους καὶ τὴν ἑωυτοῦ συλλέξας στρατιὴν ἐνένωτο, τὸν χειμῶνα παρείς, ἅμα τῷ ἔαρι στρατεύειν ἐπὶ τοὺς Πέρσας. καὶ ὁ μὲν τάδε φρονέων, ὡς ἀπίκετο ἐς τὰς Σάρδις, ἔπεμπε κήρυκας κατὰ τὰς συμμαχίας προερέοντας ἐς πέμπτον μῆνα συλλέγεσθαι ἐς Σάρδις· τὸν δὲ παρεόντα καὶ μαχεσάμενον στρατὸν Πέρσῃσι, ὃς ἦν αὐτοῦ ξεινικός, πάντα ἀπεὶς διεσκέδασε, οὐδαμὰ ἐλπίσας μή κοτε ἄρα ἀγωνισάμενος οὕτω παραπλησίως[7] Κῦρος ἐλάσῃ ἐπὶ Σάρδις.

78 Τάδε ἐπιλεγόμενῳ Κροίσῳ τὸ προάστειον πᾶν ὀφίων ἐνεπλήσθη· φανέντων δὲ αὐτῶν, οἱ ἵπποι μετιέντες[8] τὰς νομὰς νέμεσθαι φοιτέοντες κατήσθιον. ἰδόντι δὲ τοῦτο Κροίσῳ, ὥσπερ καὶ ἦν, ἔδοξε τέρας εἶναι· αὐτίκα δὲ ἔπεμπε θεοπρόπους ἐς τῶν ἐξηγητέων Τελμησσέων.[9] ἀπικομένοισι δὲ τοῖσι θεοπρόποισι καὶ μαθοῦσι πρὸς Τελμησσέων τὸ θέλει σημαίνειν τὸ τέρας, οὐκ ἐξεγένετο Κροίσῳ ἀπαγγεῖλαι· πρὶν γὰρ ἢ ὀπίσω σφέας ἀναπλῶσαι ἐς τὰς Σάρδις ἦλω ὁ Κροῖσος. Τελμησσεῖς μέντοι τάδε ἔγνωσαν, στρατὸν ἀλλόθροον προσδόκιμον εἶναι Κροίσῳ ἐπὶ τὴν χώρην, ἀπικόμενον δὲ τοῦτον καταστρέφεσθαι τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους, λέγοντες ὄφιν εἶναι γέας παῖδα, ἵππον δὲ πολέμιόν τε καὶ ἐπήλυδα.[1]

[5] For Amasis, see Appendix I.

[6] Labynêtos for Nabynêtos or Nabonidos. See Appendix II.

[7] "Having dismissed all that part of his army which consisted of mercenaries . . after having fought such a drawn battle." Ὅς ἦν ξ. with the partitive genitive is like ἡ πολλὴ τῆς γῆς and similar phrases.

[8] "Leaving off." The ruins of Sardes still abound with poisonous snakes, sometimes of great size. That they should have been eaten by horses must have been a popular legend.

[9] Probably the Lykian Telmêssos, now Makri; but Leake makes it the Karian town of the same name, near Halikarnassos, following herein Cicero and Clement of Alexandria, who says that the oracle was famous for the interpretation of dreams (*Strom.* i. 16, p. 361). Little remains at Makri except tombs and the theatre.

[1] The snake was supposed to eat dust (Gen. iii. 14). The "genius loci" is often represented by a serpent at Pompeii and elsewhere. It was the inhabitant of tombs (Verg. *Æn.* v. 93), and Pythagoras was believed to have taught that the human marrow after death be-

Τελμησσεῖς μέν νυν τάοτα ὑπεκρίναντο Κροίσῳ ἤδη ἡλωκότι, οὐδέν κω εἰδότες τῶν ἦν περὶ Σάρδις τε καὶ αὐτὸν Κροῖσον. Κῦρος δὲ 79
αὐτίκα ἀπελαύνοντος Κροίσου μετὰ τὴν μάχην τὴν γενομένην ἐν τῇ Πτερίῃ, μαθὼν ὡς ἀπελάσας μέλλοι Κροῖσος διασκεδᾶν τὸν στρατόν, βουλευόμενος εὕρισκε πρήγμα οἱ εἶναι ἐλαύνειν ὡς δύναιτο τάχιστα ἐπὶ τὰς Σάρδις, πρὶν ἢ τὸ δεύτερον ἀλισθῆναι τῶν Λυδῶν τὴν δύναμιν. ὡς δέ οἱ τάοτα ἔδοξε, καὶ ἐποίει κατὰ τάχος· ἐλάσας γὰρ τὸν στρατὸν ἐς τὴν Λυδίην αὐτὸς ἄγγελος Κροίσῳ ἐληλύθει. ἐνθαῦτα Κροῖσος ἐς ἀπορίην πολλὴν ἀπιγμένος, ὡς οἱ παρὰ δόξαν ἔσχε τὰ πρήγματα ἢ ὡς αὐτὸς κατεδόκει, ὅμως τοὺς Λυδοὺς ἐξῆγε ἐς μάχην. ἦν δὲ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ἔθνος οὐδὲν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ οὔτε ἀνδρηιότερον οὔτε ἀλκιμώτερον τοῦ Λυδίου. ἡ δὲ μάχη σφέων ἦν ἀπ' ἵππων, δόρατά τε ἐφόρεον μεγάλα, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἦσαν ἱππεύεσθαι ἀγαθοί. ἐς τὸ πεδίον δὲ συνελθόντων 80
τοῦτο τὸ πρὸ τοῦ ἄστεός ἐστι τοῦ Σαρδιηνοῦ, ἐὸν μέγα τε καὶ ψιλόν (διὰ δὲ αὐτοῦ ποταμοὶ ῥέοντες καὶ ἄλλοι καὶ Τμῶλος συρρηγνῦσι ἐς τὸν μέγιστον, καλεόμενον δὲ Ἕρμον, ὃς ἐξ ὄρεος ἱεροῦ μητρὸς Δινδυμήνης ῥέων ἐκδιδοῖ ἐς θάλασσαν κατὰ Φωκαίην πόλιν),[2] ἐνθαῦτα ὁ Κῦρος ὡς εἶδε τοὺς Λυδοὺς ἐς μάχην τασσομένους, καταρρώδησας τὴν ἵππον ἐποίησε Ἁρπάγου ὑποθεμένου ἀνδρὸς Μήδου τοιόνδε. ὅσαι τῷ στρατῷ τῷ ἑωυτοῦ εἵποντο σιτοφόροι τε καὶ σκευοφόροι κάμηλοι, ταύτας πάσας ἀλίσας καὶ ἀπελὼν τὰ ἄχθεα, ἄνδρας ἐπ' αὐτὰς ἀνέβησε ἱππάδα στολὴν ἐνεσταλμένους, σκευάσας δὲ αὐτοὺς προσέταξε τῆς ἄλλης στρατιῆς προϊέναι πρὸς τὴν Κροίσου ἵππον, τῇ δὲ καμήλῳ ἕπεσθαι τὸν πεζὸν στρατόν· ἐκέλευε, ὄπισθε δὲ τοῦ πεζοῦ ἐπέταξε τὴν πᾶσαν ἵππον. ὡς δέ οἱ πάντες διετετάχατο, παραινέσας τῶν μὲν ἄλλων Λυδῶν μὴ φειδομένους κτείνειν πάντα τὸν ἐμποδὼν γινόμενον, Κροῖσον δὲ

came a snake (Ov. *M.* xv. 389). The horse was of eastern origin, and was accordingly called by the Accadians "the animal of the east," in contradistinction to the ass, "the animal of the west." The honour of having first tamed the horse belongs either to the Tatars or to the primitive Aryans.

[2] The Hyllos flows into the Hermos from the north, westward of Magnesia ad Sipylum. Consequently the plain meant by Herodotos is not the Sardian plain properly so called, east of Sardes and south of the Hermos, but the plain west of Sardes and north of the Hermos. If the battle really took place here, Kyros must have managed to slip past Sardes. The Hermos now flows into the sea to the south of its older channels, one of which is used as a road. An extensive delta has been formed at its mouth, apparently since the time of Herodotos. The Hermos rises from two sources in the Murad Dagh, a branch of the Taurus, in the ancient Phrygia, called Dindyma in classical times. The Dindymenian mother is Kybelê or Kybêbê, the Asiatic goddess, whose worship seems to have been carried to the west by the Hittites and who had a shrine on Mount Dindyma.

αὐτὸν μὴ κτείνειν, μηδὲ ἢν συλλαμβανόμενος ἀμύνηται. τάοτα μὲν παραίνεσε, τὰς δὲ καμήλους ἔταξε ἀντία τῆς ἵππου τῶνδε εἵνεκεν· κάμηλον ἵππος φοβεῖται, καὶ οὐκ ἀνέχεται οὔτε τὴν ἰδέην αὐτοῦ ὁρέων οὔτε τὴν ὀδμὴν ὀσφραινόμενος.[3] αὐτοῦ δὴ ὦν τούτου εἵνεκεν ἐσεσόφιστο, ἵνα τῷ Κροίσῳ ἄχρηστον ᾖ τὸ ἱππικόν, τῷ δή τι καὶ ἐπείχε ἐλλαμψέσθαι ὁ Λυδός. ὡς δὲ καὶ συνήισαν ἐς τὴν μάχην, ἐνθαῦτα ὡς ὤσφραντο τάχιστα τῶν καμήλων οἱ ἵπποι καὶ εἶδον αὐτάς, ὀπίσω ἀνέστρεφον, διέφθαρτό τε τῷ Κροίσῳ ἡ ἐλπίς. οὐ μέντοι οἵ γε Λυδοὶ τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν δειλοὶ ἦσαν, ἀλλ' ὡς ἔμαθον τὸ γινόμενον, ἀποθορόντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων πεζοὶ τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι συνέβαλλον. χρόνῳ δὲ πεσόντων ἀμφοτέρων πολλῶν ἐτράποντο οἱ Λυδοί, κατειληθέντες δὲ ἐς τὸ τεῖχος ἐπολιορκέοντο ὑπὸ τῶν Περσέων.

81 Τοῖσι μὲν δὴ κατέστηκει πολιορκίη. Κροῖσος δὲ δοκέων οἱ χρόνον ἐπὶ μακρὸν ἔσεσθαι τὴν πολιορκίην ἔπεμπε ἐκ τοῦ τείχεος ἄλλους ἀγγέλους ἐς τὰς συμμαχίας· οἱ μὲν γὰρ πρότερον διεπέμποντο ἐς πέμπτον μῆνα προερέοντες συλλέγεσθαι ἐς Σάρδις, τούτους δὲ ἐξέπεμπε τὴν ταχίστην δεῖσθαι βοηθεῖν ὡς πολιορκεομένου
82 Κροίσου. ἔς τε δὴ ὦν τὰς ἄλλας ἔπεμπε συμμαχίας καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐς Λακεδαίμονα. τοῖσι δὲ καὶ αὐτοῖσι τοῖσι Σπαρτιήτῃσι κατ' αὐτὸν τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον συνέπεπτώκει ἔρις ἐοῦσα πρὸς Ἀργείους περὶ χώρου καλεομένου Θυρέης· τὰς γὰρ Θυρέας[4] ταύτας ἐούσας τῆς Ἀργολίδος μοίρης ἀποταμόμενοι ἔσχον οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι. ἦν δὲ καὶ ἡ μέχρι Μαλέων ἡ πρὸς ἑσπέρην Ἀργείων, ἥ τε ἐν τῇ ἠπείρῳ χώρη καὶ ἡ Κυθηρίη νῆσος καὶ αἱ λοιπαὶ τῶν νήσων.[5] βοηθησάντων δὲ Ἀργείων τῇ σφετέρῃ ἀποταμνομένῃ, ἐνθαῦτα συνέβησαν ἐς λόγους συνελθόντες ὥστε τριηκοσίους ἑκατέρων μαχέσασθαι, ὁκότεροι δ' ἂν περιγένωνται, τούτων εἶναι τὸν χῶρον· τὸ δὲ πλῆθος τοῦ στρατοῦ ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι ἑκάτερον ἐς τὴν ἑωυτοῦ

[3] The camel, called "the beast of the sea," *i.e.* the Persian Gulf, by the Accadians, came originally from Arabia. The dislike of the horse to it still continues, as travellers in the east are well able to testify.

[4] Thyrea, not represented by the monastery of S. Luke, as Leake supposed, was the chief town of Kynuria, "the borderland" between Lakonia and Argolis. The Kynurians claimed to belong to the pre-Dorian Ionians of the Peloponnêsos. See Thukyd. v. 41.

[5] In the time of Pheidôn. The whole country was gradually absorbed by the Spartans when they were still aiming at possessing themselves of the Peloponnêsos, before their check at Tegea led them to change their policy and come forward as simply the leaders of the Dorian race. Kythêra had been occupied by the Phœnicians, who built a temple to Astartê there, but were driven out by the Dorians, like the Phœnician colonists elsewhere (in Thera, Melos, Thebes, etc.)

μηδὲ παραμένειν ἀγωνιζομένων, τῶνδε εἵνεκεν ἵνα μὴ παρεόντων τῶν στρατοπέδων ὀρέοντες οἱ ἕτεροι ἐσσουμένους τοὺς σφετέρους ἐπαμύνοιεν. συνθέμενοι τάδε ἀπαλλάσσοντο, λογάδες δὲ ἑκατέρων ὑπολειφθέντες συνέβαλον. μαχομένων δέ σφεων καὶ γινομένων ἰσοπαλέων ὑπελείποντο ἐξ ἀνδρῶν ἑξακοσίων τρεῖς, Ἀργείων μὲν Ἀλκήνωρ τε καὶ Χρομίος, Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ Ὀθρυάδης· ὑπελείφθησαν δὲ οὗτοι νυκτὸς ἐπελθούσης. οἱ μὲν δὴ δύο τῶν Ἀργείων ὡς νενικηκότες ἔθεον ἐς τὸ Ἄργος, ὁ δὲ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων Ὀθρυάδης σκυλεύσας τοὺς Ἀργείων νεκροὺς καὶ προσφορήσας τὰ ὅπλα πρὸς τὸ ἑωυτοῦ στρατόπεδον ἐν τῇ τάξει εἶχε ἑωυτόν. ἡμέρῃ δὲ δευτέρῃ παρῆσαν πυνθανόμενοι ἀμφότεροι. τέως μὲν δὴ αὐτοὶ ἑκάτεροι ἔφασαν νικᾶν, λέγοντες οἱ μὲν ὡς ἑωυτῶν πλέονες περιγεγόνασι, οἱ δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἀποφαίνοντες πεφευγότας, τὸν δὲ σφέτερον παραμείναντα καὶ σκυλεύσαντα τοὺς ἐκείνων νεκρούς· τέλος δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἔριδος συμπεσόντες ἐμάχοντο, πεσόντων δὲ καὶ ἀμφοτέρων πολλῶν ἐνίκων Λακεδαιμόνιοι. Ἀργεῖοι μέν νυν ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ χρόνου κατακειράμενοι τὰς κεφαλάς, πρότερον ἐπάναγκες[6] κομέοντες, ἐποιήσαντο νόμον τε καὶ κατάρην μὴ πρότερον θρέψειν κόμην Ἀργείων μηδένα, μηδὲ τὰς γυναῖκάς σφι χρυσοφορήσειν, πρὶν Θυρέας ἀνασώσωνται. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ τὰ ἐναντία τούτων ἔθεντο νόμον· οὐ γὰρ κομέοντες πρὸ τούτου ἀπὸ τούτου κομᾶν. τὸν δὲ ἕνα λέγουσι τὸν περιλειφθέντα τῶν τριηκοσίων Ὀθρυάδην, αἰσχυνόμενον ἀπονοστεῖν ἐς Σπάρτην τῶν οἱ συλλοχιτέων διεφθαρμένων, αὐτοῦ μιν ἐν τῇσι Θυρέῃσι καταχρήσασθαι ἑωυτόν.

Τοιούτων δὲ τοῖσι Σπαρτιήτῃσι ἐνεστεώτων πρηγμάτων ἦκε 83
ὁ Σαρδιηνὸς κῆρυξ δεόμενος Κροίσῳ βοηθεῖν πολιορκεομένῳ. οἱ δὲ ὅμως, ἐπείτε ἐπύθοντο τοῦ κήρυκος, ὁρμέατο βοηθεῖν, καί σφι ἤδη παρεσκευασμένοισι, καὶ νεῶν ἐουσέων ἑτοίμων, ἦλθε ἄλλη ἀγγελίη, ὡς ἡλώκοι τὸ τεῖχος τῶν Λυδῶν καὶ ἔχοιτο Κροῖσος ζωγρηθείς. οὕτω δὴ οὗτοι μὲν συμφορὴν ποιησάμενοι μεγάλην ἐπέπαυντο, Σάρδιες δὲ ἥλωσαν ὧδε. ἐπειδὴ τεσσερεσκαιδεκάτη ἐγένετο ἡμέρη 84
πολιορκεομένῳ Κροίσῳ, Κῦρος τῇ στρατιῇ τῇ ἑωυτοῦ διαπέμψας ἱππέας προεῖπε τῷ πρώτῳ ἐπιβάντι τοῦ τείχεος δῶρα δώσειν. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο πειρησαμένης τῆς στρατιῆς ὡς οὐ προεχώρει,

[6] "By fixed custom." The later Greek custom of cutting the hair short was derived from the Dorians, though the Dorian Argives here appear as wearing it long. The Dorian element in the Argolis, however, does not seem to have been strong. The Akhæans of Homer were long-haired; so, too, were the ancient Athenians (cp. Thuk. i. 6).

ἐνθαῦτα τῶν ἄλλων πεπαυμένων ἀνὴρ Μάρδος ἐπειρᾶτο προσβαίνων, τῷ οὔνομα ἦν Τροιάδης, κατὰ τοῦτο τῆς ἀκροπόλιος τῇ οὐδεὶς ἐτέτακτο φύλακος· οὐ γὰρ ἦν δεινὸν κατὰ τοῦτο μὴ ἁλῶ κοτε. ἀπότομός τε γάρ ἐστι ταύτῃ ἡ ἀκρόπολις καὶ ἄμαχος· τῇ οὐδὲ Μήλης ὁ πρότερον βασιλεὺς Σαρδίων μούνῃ οὐ περιήνεικε τὸν λέοντα τὸν οἱ ἡ παλλακὴ ἔτεκε,[7] Τελμησσέων δικασάντων ὡς περιενειχθέντος τοῦ λέοντος τὸ τεῖχος ἔσονται Σάρδιες ἀνάλωτοι. ὁ δὲ Μήλης κατὰ τὸ ἄλλο τεῖχος περιενείκας, τῇ ἦν ἐπίμαχον [τὸ χωρίον] τῆς ἀκροπόλιος, κατηλόγησε τοῦτο ὡς ἐὸν ἄμαχόν τε καὶ ἀπότομον· ἔστι δὲ πρὸς τοῦ Τμώλου τετραμμένον τῆς πόλιος.[8] ὁ ὦν δὴ Τροιάδης οὗτος ὁ Μάρδος ἰδὼν τῇ πρότερον τῶν τινα Λυδῶν κατὰ τοῦτο τῆς ἀκροπόλιος καταβάντα ἐπὶ κυνέην ἄνωθεν κατακυλισθεῖσαν καὶ ἀνελόμενον ἐφράσθη καὶ ἐς θυμὸν ἐβάλετο. τότε δὲ δὴ αὐτός τε ἀναβεβήκει καὶ κατ' αὐτὸν ἄλλοι Περσέων ἀνέβαινον· προσβάντων δὲ συχνῶν, οὕτω δὴ Σάρδιές τε ἡλώκεσαν καὶ πᾶν τὸ ἄστυ ἐπορθεῖτο.[9]

85 Κατ' αὐτὸν δὲ Κροῖσον τάδε ἐγίνετο. ἦν οἱ παῖς, τοῦ καὶ πρότερον ἐπεμνήσθην, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἐπιεικὴς ἄφωνος δέ. ἐν τῇ ὦν παρελθούσῃ ἐνεστοῖ ὁ Κροῖσος τὸ πᾶν ἐς αὐτὸν ἐπεποιήκει, ἄλλα τε ἐπιφράζόμενος, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐς Δελφοὺς περὶ αὐτοῦ ἐπεπόμφει χρησομένους. ἡ δὲ Πυθίη οἱ εἶπε τάδε.

Λυδὲ γένος, πολλῶν βασιλεῦ, μέγα νήπιε Κροῖσε,
μὴ βούλου πολύευκτον ἰὴν ἀνὰ δώματ' ἀκούειν
παιδὸς φθεγγομένου. τὸ δέ σοι πολὺ λῴων ἀμφὶς
ἔμμεναι· αὐδήσει γὰρ ἐν ἤματι πρῶτον ἀνόλβῳ.[1]

[7] The lion was the symbol of Sardes, and of its protecting deity, the sun-god. The acropolis, composed of crumbling sandstone, has now been almost entirely washed down into the plain below, and it is clear that the breach mentioned by Herodotos must have been a spot where a landslip had occurred. The Mêlês meant here can hardly have been the last king but one before Kandaulês, but rather the mythical Mêlês of the Atyad family who was deposed by Moxos on account of his tyranny.

[8] *i.e.* on the south side, where alone the approach to the top of the acropolis is at present not precipitous.

[9] According to Ktésias (Polyænos, *Strat.* vii. 6), Kyros took Sardes through the advice of Œbarês, figures of men being placed on long poles and raised to the top of the walls. This must have been the Persian account. The Lydian account is also given by Polyænos. According to this, Kyros agreed to a truce and pretended to withdraw, but the following night returned and scaled the unguarded walls with ladders. As Xenophon gives the same account as Herodotos (*Kyrop.* viii. 2), it would seem to be the Greek version. The introduction of the myth of Mêlês and the lion makes it suspicious.

[1] "Lydian-born, of many king, foolish as a child,
Kroesos, wish not in thy home, with entreaty wild,
That the voice of thy son may be heard: better for thee
Far that thou hear him not: for the first day that he shall speak
Shall be the last day of thy life."

ἁλισκομένου δή τοῦ τείχεος, ἦιε γὰρ τῶν τις Περσέων ἀλλογνώσας Κροῖσον ὡς ἀποκτενέων, Κροῖσος μέν νυν ὁρέων ἐπιόντα ὑπὸ τῆς παρεούσης συμφορῆς παρημελήκει, οὐδέ τί οἱ διέφερε προσπλεγέντι ἀποθανεῖν· ὁ δὲ παῖς οὗτος ὁ ἄφωνος ὡς εἶδε ἐπιόντα τὸν Πέρσην, ὑπὸ δέους τε καὶ κακοῦ ἔρρηξε φωνήν, εἶπε δὲ "ὦνθρωπε, μὴ κτεῖνε Κροῖσον." οὗτος μὲν δὴ τοῦτο πρῶτον ἐφθέγξατο, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἤδη ἐφώνει τὸν πάντα χρόνον τῆς ζόης. οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι 86
τάς τε δὴ Σάρδις εἶχον καὶ αὐτὸν Κροῖσον ἐζωγρησάν, ἄρξαντα ἔτεα τεσσερεσκαίδεκα καὶ τεσσερεσκαίδεκα[2] ἡμέρας πολιορκηθέντα, κατὰ τὸ χρηστήριόν τε καταπαύσαντα τὴν ἑωυτοῦ μεγάλην ἀρχήν. λαβόντες δὲ αὐτὸν οἱ Πέρσαι ἤγαγον παρὰ Κῦρον. ὁ δὲ συννήσας πυρὴν μεγάλην ἀνεβίβασε ἐπ' αὐτὴν τὸν Κροῖσόν τε ἐν πέδῃσι δεδεμένον καὶ δὶς ἑπτὰ Λυδῶν παρ' αὐτὸν παῖδας, ἐν νόῳ ἔχων εἴτε δὴ ἀκροθίνια τάοτα κατάγιεῖν θεῶν ὅτεῳ δή, εἴτε καὶ εὐχὴν ἐπιτελέσαι θέλων, εἴτε καὶ πυθόμενος τὸν Κροῖσον εἶναι θεοσεβέα, τοῦδε εἵνεκεν ἀνεβίβασε ἐπὶ τὴν πυρήν, βουλόμενος εἰδέναι εἴ τίς μιν δαιμόνων ῥύσεται τοῦ μὴ ζῶντα κατακαυθῆναι. τὸν μὲν δὴ ποιεῖν τάοτα· τῷ δὲ Κροίσῳ ἑστεῶτι ἐπὶ τῆς πυρῆς ἐσελθεῖν, καίπερ ἐν κακῷ ἐόντι τοσούτῳ, τὸ τοῦ Σόλωνος ὡς οἱ εἴη σὺν θεῷ εἰρημένον, τὸ μηδένα εἶναι τῶν ζωόντων ὄλβιον. ὡς δὲ ἄρα μιν προσστῆναι τοῦτο, ἀνενείκαμενόν[3] τε καὶ ἀναστενάξαντα ἐκ πολλῆς ἡσυχίης ἐς τρὶς ὀνομάσαι "Σόλων." καὶ τὸν Κῦρον ἀκούσαντα κελεῦσαι τοὺς ἑρμηνέας ἐπείρεσθαι τὸν Κροῖσον τίνα τοῦτον ἐπικαλέοιτο, καὶ τοὺς προσελθόντας ἐπειρωτᾶν. Κροῖσον δὲ τέως μὲν σιγὴν ἔχειν εἰρωτεόμενον, μετὰ δέ, ὡς ἠναγκάζετο, εἰπεῖν "τὸν ἂν ἐγὼ πᾶσι τυράννοισι προετίμησα μεγάλων χρημάτων ἐς λόγους ἐλθεῖν."[4] ὡς δέ σφι ἄσημα ἔφραζε, πάλιν ἐπειρώτεον τὰ λεγόμενα. λιπαρεόντων δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ ὄχλον παρεχόντων ἔλεγε δὴ ὡς ἦλθε ἀρχὴν ὁ Σόλων ἐὼν Ἀθηναῖος, καὶ θεησάμενος πάντα τὸν ἑωυτοῦ ὄλβον ἀποφλαυρίσειε οἷα δὴ εἰπας, ὥς τε αὐτῷ πάντα ἀποβέβηκε οἱ τῇ περ ἐκεῖνος εἶπε, οὐδέν τι μᾶλλον ἐς ἑωυτὸν λέγων ἢ ἐς ἅπαν τὸ ἀνθρώπινον καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς παρὰ σφίσι αὐτοῖσι ὀλβίους δοκέοντας εἶναι. τὸν μὲν

Thou shouldst hear thy boy speak out:
better thus alway;
Thou wilt hear him first, I ween, on an unblest day."

Ἀμφίς "all round," and so "in every way." The Homeric meanings "on both sides" and "apart" are later.

[2] The identity of number is more probably due to legend than to coincidence. Fourteen Lydians were condemned to be burnt with Krœsos.

[3] "When this thought struck him, he drew a long breath." Cp. *Il.* 19, 314.

[4] "Whose conversation with every monarch I would prefer to abundant wealth."

Κροίσου τάδε ἀπηγεῖσθαι, τῆς δὲ πυρῆς ἤδη ἀμμένης καίεσθαι τὰ περιέσχατα. καὶ τὸν Κῦρον ἀκούσαντα τῶν ἑρμηνέων τὰ Κροῖσος εἶπε, μεταγνόντα τε καὶ ἐννώσαντα ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸς ἄνθρωπος ἐὼν ἄλλον ἄνθρωπον, γενόμενον ἐωυτοῦ εὐδαιμονίῃ οὐκ ἐλάσσῳ, ζῶντα πυρὶ διδοίη, πρός τε τούτοισι δείσαντα τὴν τίσιν καὶ ἐπιλεξάμενον ὡς οὐδὲν εἴη τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποισι ἀσφαλέως ἔχον, κελεύειν σβεννύναι τὴν ταχίστην τὸ καιόμενον πῦρ καὶ καταβιβάζειν Κροῖσόν τε καὶ τοὺς μετὰ Κροίσου. καὶ τοὺς
87 πειρωμένους οὐ δύνασθαι ἔτι τοῦ πυρὸς ἐπικρατῆσαι. ἐνθαῦτα λέγεται ὑπὸ Λυδῶν Κροῖσον μαθόντα τὴν Κύρου μετάγνωσιν, ὡς ὥρα πάντα μὲν ἄνδρα σβεννύντα τὸ πῦρ δυναμένους δὲ οὐκέτι καταλαβεῖν, ἐπιβώσασθαι τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα ἐπικαλεόμενον, εἴ τί οἱ κεχαρισμένον ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἐδωρήθη, παραστῆναι καὶ ῥύσασθαι αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ παρεόντος κακοῦ. τὸν μὲν δακρύοντα ἐπικαλεῖσθαι τὸν θεόν, ἐκ δὲ αἰθρίης τε καὶ νηνεμίης συνδραμεῖν ἐξαπίνης νέφεα καὶ χειμῶνά τε κατάρραγῆναι καὶ ὗσαι ὕδατι λαβροτάτῳ, κατασβεσθῆναί τε τὴν πυρήν.[5] οὕτω δὴ μαθόντα τὸν Κῦρον ὡς εἴη ὁ Κροῖσος καὶ θεοφιλὴς καὶ ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός, καταβιβάσαντα αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς πυρῆς εἴρεσθαι τάδε. "Κροῖσε, τίς σε ἀνθρώπων ἀνέγνωσε ἐπὶ γῆν τὴν ἐμὴν στρατευσάμενον πολέμιον ἀντὶ φίλου ἐμοὶ καταστῆναι;" ὁ δὲ εἶπε "ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἐγὼ τάδε ἔπρηξα τῇ σῇ μὲν εὐδαιμονίῃ, τῇ ἐμεωυτοῦ δὲ κακοδαιμονίῃ. αἴτιος δὲ τούτων ἐγένετο ὁ Ἑλλήνων θεὸς ἐπάειρας ἐμὲ στρατεύεσθαι. οὐδεὶς γὰρ οὕτω ἀνόητός ἐστι ὅστις πόλεμον

[5] We are reminded of the legends of Christian martyrs, ordered to be burnt, whom the fire would not injure. Comp. also the account of the Three Children in the fiery furnace. The legend of Krœsos is further embellished in Nikolaos of Damascus. Here we are told that the son of Krœsos, who had been dumb, wished to die with him, and when prevented prayed to Apollo to save his father; that the Sibyl appeared and ordered the Persians to desist from the deed; and that it was the Persians, and not Kyros, who from the first had pitied his prisoner and tried to save him from the anger of his enemies, who were moved by the name of Solon. Fourteen Lydians had been selected to be burnt with Krœsos. The storm terrified the Persians, and they thenceforth began to observe the law of Zoroaster, which forbade the burning of dead bodies or any other pollution of fire. This last statement may point to the fact that Kyros was not a Zoroastrian, as we now know (see Appendix V.) was the case, and consequently was not likely to venerate fire. Thales had predicted the storm, and the fetters with which Krœsos had been bound were sent by him to Delphi. The whole story, it is clear, has been coloured, if not invented, by the vanity of the Greeks. Ktêsias says nothing about the fire, but asserts that the fetters of Krœsos were miraculously struck off by thunder and lightning, after which he was treated kindly by Kyros, and allowed to live at Barênê (Barkê in Justin. i. 7).

πρὸ εἰρήνης αἱρεῖται· ἐν μὲν γὰρ τῇ οἱ παῖδες τοὺς πατέρας θάπτουσι, ἐν δὲ τῷ οἱ πατέρες τοὺς παῖδας. ἀλλὰ τάοτα δαίμοσί κου φίλον ἦν οὕτω γενέσθαι."

Ὁ μὲν τάοτα ἔλεγε, Κῦρος δὲ αὐτὸν λύσας κατεῖσέ τε ἐγγὺς 88
ἑωυτοῦ καὶ κάρτα ἐν πολλῇ προμήθίῃ εἶχε, ἀπεθώυμαζέ τε ὀρέων καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ οἱ περὶ ἐκεῖνον ἐόντες πάντες. ὁ δὲ συννοίῃ ἐχόμενος ἧσυχος ἦν. μετὰ δὲ ἐπιστραφείς τε καὶ ἰδόμενος τοὺς Πέρσας τὸ τῶν Λυδῶν ἄστυ κεραΐζοντας εἶπε "ὦ βασιλεῦ, κότερον λέγειν πρὸς σὲ τὰ νοέων τυγχάνω ἢ σιγᾶν ἐν τῷ παρεόντι χρή;" Κῦρος δέ μιν θαρσέοντα ἐκέλευε λέγειν ὅ τι βούλοιτο. ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν εἰρώτα λέγων "οὗτος ὁ πολλὸς ὅμιλος τί τάοτα πολλῇ σπουδῇ ἐργάζεται;" ὁ δὲ εἶπε "πόλιν τε τὴν σὴν διαρπάζει καὶ χρήματα τὰ σὰ διαφορεῖ." Κροῖσος δὲ ἀμείβετο "οὔτε πόλιν τὴν ἐμὴν οὔτε χρήματα τὰ ἐμὰ διαρπάζει· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐμοὶ ἔτι τούτων μέτα· ἀλλὰ φέρουσί τε καὶ ἄγουσι τὰ σά." Κύρῳ δὲ ἐπιμελὲς ἐγένετο τὰ Κροῖσος εἶπε· μεταστησάμενος δὲ 89
τοὺς ἄλλους, εἴρετο Κροῖσον ὅ τι οἱ ἐνορῴη ἐν τοῖσι ποιεομένοισι. ὁ δὲ εἶπε "ἐπείτε με θεοὶ ἔδωκαν δοῦλον σοί, δικαιῷ, εἴ τι ἐνορέω πλέον,[6] σημαίνειν σοί. Πέρσαι φύσιν ἐόντες ὑβρισταὶ εἰσὶ ἀχρημάτοι. ἢν ὦν σὺ τούτους περιίδῃς διαρπάσαντας καὶ κατασχόντας χρήματα μεγάλα, τάδε τοι ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐπίδοξα γενέσθαι·[7] ὃς ἂν αὐτῶν πλεῖστα κατάσχῃ, τοῦτον προσδέκεσθαί τοι ἐπαναστησόμενον. νῦν ὦν ποίησον ὧδε, εἴ τοι ἀρέσκει τὰ ἐγὼ λέγω. κάτισον τῶν δορυφόρων ἐπὶ πάσῃσι τῇσι πύλῃσι φυλάκους, οἳ λεγόντων[8] πρὸς τοὺς ἐκφέροντας τὰ χρήματα ἀπαιρεόμενοι ὡς σφέα ἀναγκαίως ἔχει δεκατευθῆναι τῷ Διί. καὶ σύ τέ σφι οὐκ ἀπεχθήσεαι βίῃ ἀπαιρεόμενος τὰ χρήματα, καὶ ἐκεῖνοι συγγνόντες ποιεῖν σε δίκαια ἑκόντες προήσουσι." τάοτα 90
ἀκούων ὁ Κῦρος ὑπερῆδετο, ὡς οἱ ἐδόκει εὖ ὑποτίθεσθαι· αἰνέσας δὲ πολλά, καὶ ἐντειλάμενος τοῖσι δορυφόροισι τὰ Κροῖσος

[6] "If I see anything to your advantage," or perhaps "if I see any deeper than you and yours."

[7] "You may expect the following treatment from them." Or ἐξ αὐτῶν may be equivalent to ἐκ τούτων, "after this," "afterwards," as in ch. 9, iii. 52, vii. 8 γ, viii. 60 β (in the sing. i. 207, ii. 51, vii. 46).

[8] The use of the imperative here instead of the conjunctive is anomalous. The relative, however, is equivalent to "and these"; hence the construction. Φυλάκους for φύλακας is an example of a tendency to decline all nouns after a single pattern, which appears from the small number of instances to have been just setting in during the age of Herodotos in New Ionic. We find similar forms in Homer (φυλακοί, *Il.* 24, 566; μάρτυροι, *Il.* 2, 302; *Od.* 16, 423). In modern Greek the analogy of nouns like ταμίας has become predominant; hence we have βασιλέας, ἄνδρας, etc.

ὑπεθήκατο ἐπιτελεῖν, εἶπε πρὸς Κροῖσον τάδε. "Κροῖσε, ἀναρτημένου σέο ἀνδρὸς βασιλέος χρηστὰ ἔργα καὶ ἔπεα ποιεῖν, αἰτέο δόσιν ἥντινα βούλεαί τοι γενέσθαι παραυτίκα." ὁ δὲ εἶπε "ὦ δέσποτα, ἐάσας με χαριεῖ. μάλιστα τὸν θεὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων, τὸν ἐγὼ ἐτίμησα θεῶν μάλιστα, ἐπείρεσθαι πέμψαντα τάσδε τὰς πέδας, εἰ ἐξαπατᾶν τοὺς εὖ ποιέοντας νόμος ἐστί οἱ." Κῦρος δὲ εἴρετο ὅ τι οἱ τοῦτο ἐπηγορέων παραιτέοιτο. Κροῖσος δέ οἱ ἐπαλιλλόγησε πᾶσαν τὴν ἑωυτοῦ διάνοιαν καὶ τῶν χρηστηρίων τὰς ὑποκρίσιας καὶ μάλιστα τὰ ἀναθήματα, καὶ ὡς ἐπαερθεὶς τῷ μαντηίῳ ἐστρατεύσατο ἐπὶ Πέρσας· λέγων δὲ τάοτα κατέβαινε αὖτις παραιτεόμενος ἐπεῖναί οἱ τῷ θεῷ τοῦτο ὀνειδίσαι. Κῦρος δὲ γελάσας εἶπε "καὶ τούτου τεύξεαι παρ' ἐμέο, Κροῖσε, καὶ ἄλλου παντὸς τοῦ ἂν ἑκάστοτε δέῃ." ὡς δὲ τάοτα ἤκουσε ὁ Κροῖσος, πέμπων τῶν Λυδῶν ἐς Δελφοὺς ἐνετέλλετο τιθέντας τὰς πέδας ἐπὶ τοῦ νηοῦ τὸν οὐδὸν εἰρωτᾶν εἰ οὔ τι ἐπαισχύνεται τοῖσι μαντηίοισι ἐπάείρας Κροῖσον στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ Πέρσας ὡς καταπαύσοντα τὴν Κύρου δύναμιν, ἀπ' ἧς οἱ ἀκροθίνια τοιαῦτα γενέσθαι, δεικνύντας τὰς πέδας· τάοτα τε ἐπειρωτᾶν, καὶ εἰ
91 ἀχαρίστοισι νόμος εἶναι τοῖσι Ἑλληνικοῖσι θεοῖσι. ἀπικομένοισι δὲ τοῖσι Λυδοῖσι καὶ λέγουσι τὰ ἐντεταλμένα τὴν Πυθίην λεγεται εἰπεῖν τάδε. "τὴν πεπρωμένην μοῖραν ἀδύνατα ἐστι ἀποφυγεῖν καὶ θεῷ. Κροῖσος δὲ πέμπτου γονέος ἁμαρτάδα ἐξέπλησε, ὃς ἐὼν δορυφόρος Ἡρακλειδέων, δόλῳ γυναικηίῳ ἐπισπόμενος ἐφόνευσε τὸν δεσπότεα καὶ ἔσχε τὴν ἐκείνου τιμὴν οὐδέν οἱ προσήκουσαν. προθυμεομένου δὲ Λοξίω ὅκως ἂν κατὰ τοὺς παῖδας τοῦ Κροίσου γένοιτο τὸ Σαρδίων πάθος καὶ μὴ κατ' αὐτὸν Κροῖσον, οὐκ οἷόν τε ἐγένετο παραγαγεῖν μοίρας. ὅσον δὲ ἐνέδωκαν αὗται, ἤνυσέ τε καὶ ἐχαρίσατό οἱ· τρία γὰρ ἔτεα ἐπάνεβάλετο τὴν Σαρδίων ἅλωσιν, καὶ τοῦτο ἐπιστάσθω Κροῖσος ὡς ὕστερον τοῖσι ἔτεσι τούτοισι ἁλοὺς τῆς πεπρωμένης. δεύτερα δὲ τούτων καιομένῳ αὐτῷ ἐπῆρκεσε. κατὰ δὲ τὸ μαντήιον τὸ γενόμενον οὐκ ὀρθῶς Κροῖσος μέμφεται. προηγόρευε γάρ οἱ Λοξίης,[9] ἢν στρατεύηται ἐπὶ Πέρσας, μεγάλην ἀρχὴν αὐτὸν

[9] Λοξίας has nothing to do with λοξός in the sense of "ambiguous." The form is difficult to explain if derived from the root of λέγω. Fröhde compares it, along with Λοξώ, an epithet of Artemis, with the Sanskrit *lakhsh-man*, "mark," "sign." As the epithet is applied to both Apollo and Artemis, it is better to regard it as coming from the root of λευκός, Kretan Λύττος (= Λύκτος), *lux*, *light*, the vowel being changed through a "popular etymology," which connected it with either λοξὸς or λόγος.—Schöne (*Hermes*, ix.) ingeniously infers from the oracle that the fall of Sardes was regarded as a fixed date. Herodotos

καταλύσειν. τὸν δὲ πρὸς τάοτα χρῆν εὖ μέλλοντα βουλεύεσθαι ἐπείρεσθαι πέμψαντα κότερα τὴν ἑωυτοῦ ἢ τὴν Κύρου λέγοι ἀρχήν. οὐ συλλαβὼν δὲ τὸ ῥηθὲν οὐδ' ἐπανειρόμενος ἑωυτὸν αἴτιον ἀποφαινέτω. τῷ καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον χρηστηριαζομένῳ εἶπε Λοξίης περὶ ἡμιόνου, οὐδὲ τοῦτο συνέλαβε. ἦν γὰρ δὴ ὁ Κῦρος οὗτος ἡμίονος· ἐκ γὰρ δυῶν οὐκ ὁμοεθνέων ἐγεγόνει, μητρὸς ἀμείνονος, πατρὸς δὲ ὑποδεεστέρου· ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἦν Μηδὶς καὶ Ἀστυάγεος θυγάτηρ τοῦ Μήδων βασιλέος, ὁ δὲ Πέρσης τε ἦν καὶ ἀρχόμενος ὑπ' ἐκείνοισι καὶ ἔνερθε ἐὼν τοῖσι ἅπασι δεσποίνῃ τῇ ἑωυτοῦ συνοίκει." τάοτα μὲν ἡ Πυθίη ὑπεκρίνατο τοῖσι Λυδοῖσι, οἱ δὲ ἀνήνεικαν ἐς Σάρδις καὶ ἀπήγγειλαν Κροίσῳ. ὁ δὲ ἀκούσας συνέγνω ἑωυτοῦ εἶναι τὴν ἁμαρτάδα καὶ οὐ τοῦ θεοῦ. κατὰ μὲν δὴ τὴν Κροίσου τε ἀρχὴν καὶ Ἰωνίης τὴν πρώτην καταστροφὴν ἔσχε οὕτω.

Κροίσῳ δέ ἐστι καὶ ἄλλα ἀναθήματα ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι πολλὰ 92
καὶ οὐ τὰ εἰρημένα μοῦνα. ἐν μὲν γὰρ Θήβῃσι τῇσι Βοιωτῶν τρίπους χρύσεος, τὸν ἀνέθηκε τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ Ἰσμηνίῳ, ἐν δὲ Ἐφέσῳ αἵ τε βόες αἱ χρύσεαι καὶ τῶν κιόνων αἱ πολλαί, ἐν δὲ Προνηίης[1] τῆς ἐν Δελφοῖσι ἀσπὶς χρυσέη μεγάλη. τάοτα μὲν καὶ ἔτι ἐς ἐμὲ ἦν περιεόντα, τὰ δ' ἐξαπόλωλε τῶν ἀναθημάτων· τὰ δ' ἐν Βραγχίδῃσι τῇσι Μιλησίων ἀναθήματα Κροίσῳ, ὡς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, ἴσα τε σταθμὸν καὶ ὅμοια τοῖσι ἐν Δελφοῖσι . . .[2] τὰ μέν νυν ἐς τε Δελφοὺς καὶ ἐς τοῦ Ἀμφιάρεω ἀνέθηκε οἰκήιά τε ἐόντα καὶ τῶν πατρωίων χρημάτων ἀπαρχήν· τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἀναθήματα ἐξ ἀνδρὸς ἐγένετο οὐσίης ἐχθροῦ, ὅς οἱ πρὶν ἢ βασιλεῦσαι ἀντιστασιώτης κατεστήκει, συσπεύδων Πανταλέοντι γενέσθαι τὴν Λυδῶν ἀρχήν. ὁ δὲ Πανταλέων ἦν Ἀλυάττεω μὲν παῖς, Κροίσου δὲ ἀδελφεὸς οὐκ ὁμομήτριος· Κροῖσος μὲν γὰρ ἐκ Καείρης ἦν γυναικὸς Ἀλυάττῃ, Πανταλέων δὲ ἐξ Ἰάδος.

makes the five Mermnad kings reign 170 years; subtracting three, we have 167 years, *i.e.* just five generations, according to the calculation of Herodotos (ii. 142) of three generations to 100 years. Hence the number of years assigned by Herodotos to the Mermnad dynasty. In ch. 13 Herodotos will have written πέμπτων ἀπόγονον by mistake for γενεάν.—As Astyagês was conquered by Kyros, according to the inscription lately found at Babylon, in B.C. 549, and the next year or two were spent in subduing the Medic fortresses in Assyria, while the temple of Delphi was burnt in B.C. 548, it is clear that the story of the embassy to the oracle is a pure myth.

[1] The temple of Athena at Delphi stood in front of the great temple of Apollo (πρὸ τοῦ ναοῦ). The shield was carried away by Philomêlos, the Phokian general, in the Sacred War (*Paus.* x. 8).

[2] Stein points out that here the predicate is lost, which probably referred to the plundering of the temple of Branchidæ in B.C. 494 (see vi. 19).

ἐπείτε δὲ δόντος τοῦ πατρὸς[2a] ἐκράτησε τῆς ἀρχῆς ὁ Κροῖσος, τὸν ἄνθρωπον τὸν ἀντιπρήσσοντα ἐπὶ κνάφου[3] ἕλκων διέφθειρε, τὴν δὲ οὐσίην αὐτοῦ ἔτι πρότερον κατιερώσας τότε τρόπῳ τῷ εἰρημένῳ ἀνέθηκε ἐς τὰ εἴρηται. καὶ περὶ μὲν ἀναθημάτων τοσαῦτα εἰρήσθω.

93 Θώυματα δὲ γῆ ἡ Λυδίη ἐς συγγραφὴν οὐ μάλα ἔχει, οἷά τε καὶ ἄλλη χώρη, πάρεξ τοῦ ἐκ τοῦ Τμώλου καταφερομένου ψήγματος.[4] ἓν δὲ ἔργον πολλὸν μέγιστον παρέχεται χωρὶς τῶν τε Αἰγυπτίων ἔργων καὶ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων. ἔστι αὐτόθι Ἀλυάττεω τοῦ Κροίσου πατρὸς σῆμα, τοῦ ἡ κρηπὶς μέν ἐστι λίθων μεγάλων, τὸ δὲ ἄλλο σῆμα χῶμα γῆς.[5] ἐξεργάσαντο δέ μιν οἱ ἀγοραῖοι ἄνθρωποι καὶ οἱ χειρώνακτες καὶ αἱ ἐνεργαζόμεναι παιδίσκαι. οὗροι[6] δὲ πέντε ἐόντες ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἦσαν ἐπὶ τοῦ σήματος ἄνω, καί σφι γράμματα ἐνεκεκόλαπτο τὰ ἕκαστοι ἐξεργάσαντο,[7] καὶ

[2a] "His father having handed it over to him."

[3] The instrument had iron teeth, like a carding-comb, over which the victim was dragged. According to Nikolaos Dam., the "enemy" who incited Pantaleôn was a merchant named Sadyattês.

[4] The gold-dust washed down from Tmôlos by the Paktôlos must be distinguished from the gold found in the mines of Tmôlos.—Οἷά τε as in Homer (*e.g. Il.* 7, 280).

[5] The tomb lies on the southern bank of the Gygæan Lake, and is the highest of all the multitudinous tumuli or tombs on the plateau of the Bin Bir Tepé. It is a conspicuous object from the acropolis of Sardes, and is entirely composed of earth. On the top is a huge block of stone (about 9 feet in diameter) cut into the form of a pomegranate or phallus. The mound has been partially excavated by Spiegelthal and Dennis, and a sepulchral chamber discovered in the middle, composed of large well-cut highly-polished blocks of white marble. The chamber is 11 feet long, nearly 8 feet broad, and 7 feet high. The mound, which had been used in later times for burial purposes, is 281 yards in diameter, or about half a mile in circumference. Texier makes it 80 metres high, with 2,650,800 metres of cubic contents. The stone base is no longer visible. As described by Herodotos the tomb will have resembled the "Cucumella" tomb at Vulci, as well as the tomb of Porsena at Clusium described by Pliny (*N. H.* xxxvi. 19). The perpendicular height of the great pyramid of Kheops is 482 feet, and it covers an area of nearly 13 acres.

[6] "Monumental stones" bearing inscriptions. No trace of writing remains on the stone now on the top of the tumulus. The Lydian alphabet was, like the alphabets of Karia, Lykia, Pamphylia, and Kappadokia, based on the Greek alphabet, with characters retained from the older Asianic syllabary (which continued to be used in Kypros down to the fourth century B.C.), in order to express sounds not represented in the Phœniko-Greek alphabet. A specimen of the Lydian alphabet survives in the five characters on the base of a column belonging to the earlier temple of Artemis at Ephesos, discovered by Mr. Wood (published in the *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, iv. 2, 1876). Mr. Newton points out that the base belonged to one of the "cælatæ columnæ" presented by Krœsos.

[7] "Stating how much each class of workmen had executed."

ἐφαίνετο μετρεόμενον τὸ τῶν παιδισκέων ἔργον ἐὸν μέγιστον. τοῦ γὰρ δὴ Λυδῶν δήμου αἱ θυγατέρες πορνεύονται πᾶσαι,[8] συλλέγουσαι σφίσι φερνάς, ἐς ὃ ἂν συνοικήσωσι τοῦτο ποιέουσαι· ἐκδιδοῦσι δὲ αὐταὶ ἑωυτάς. ἡ μὲν δὴ περίοδος τοῦ σήματος εἰσὶ στάδιοι ἓξ καὶ δύο πλέθρα, τὸ δὲ εὖρός ἐστι πλέθρα τρία καὶ δέκα. λίμνη δὲ ἔχεται τοῦ σήματος μεγάλη, τὴν λέγουσι Λυδοὶ ἀείναον εἶναι·[9] καλεῖται δὲ αὕτη Γυγαίη. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ 94
τοιοῦτό ἐστι. Λυδοὶ δὲ νόμοισι μὲν παραπλησίοισι χρέωνται καὶ Ἕλληνες, χωρὶς ἢ ὅτι τὰ θήλεα τέκνα καταπορνεύουσι, πρῶτοι δὲ ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν νόμισμα χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργύρου κοψάμενοι ἐχρήσαντο,[1] πρῶτοι δὲ καὶ κάπηλοι ἐγένοντο. φασὶ δὲ αὐτοὶ Λυδοὶ καὶ τὰς παιγνίας τὰς νῦν σφίσι τε καὶ

[8] This was also the case in Babylonia (see Herod. i. 199), and in other parts of the Semitic world, where the girls consecrated themselves in this way to Astartê. We must notice that according to Herodotos it was only "the common people" whose daughters practised this Semitic custom. The custom may have been introduced by the Hittites along with the worship of the Asiatic goddess.

[9] The lake, now called that of Mermereh, was dried up during a hot summer a few years ago, and the remains of some "pile-dwellings" found in it. It is famous for its carp, which grow to a great size, and in the belief of the natives cause fever when eaten, unless "a bitter stone" in their heads is first taken out.

[1] According to Pollux (ix. 6) coined money was invented by the Phrygians. The first coins used in Egypt were introduced by the Persians, as were also the first known in Babylonia and Assyria. The Jews had none before the age of the Maccabees, and none have been found in Phœnicia older than the Persian period. The early coins found near Sardes are of gold, silver, and electrum, and some of them may be older than the time of Krœsos. They have a device—a lion's head, a lion and bull, or a crowned king with bow and quiver—only on one side; on the other is the *quadratum incusum* left by the square excrescence of the anvil on which they were struck. The coins of Pheidôn of Argos were imitated from those of Lydia, though Greek vanity afterwards ascribed the invention to him, and bore upon them the figure of a tortoise, the symbol of Aphroditê, and the very animal with which Krœsos was supposed to have tested the veracity of the Delphian oracle. The Æginetan scale of Pheidôn was of oriental origin, like its standard the *mna* or *mina*, which goes back to the Accadian *mana*, subsequently borrowed by the Babylonians and Assyrians, and handed on by them to the West. The Babylonian silver mina is further identical with the silver mina of Carchemish, the Hittite capital, and the mina in use in Asia Minor, and weighed about 8656 grains Troy. Fifty Lydian silver staters (each weighing 173 grains) make one of these minas. This mina was also employed among the Phrygo-Thrakian mining tribes, who must have brought it from Asia Minor, and Dr. Schliemann has discovered at Troy (Hissarlik) six wedges of silver, 7 or 8 inches long by 2 in breadth, each of which Mr. Barclay V. Head has shown to be the third of the Babylonian or Hittite mina. This was divided by three, not halved and quartered like the Phœnician standard, which weighed about 11,225 grains Troy.

Ἕλλησι κατεστεώσας ἑωυτῶν ἐξεύρημα γενέσθαι, ἅμα δὲ ταύτας τε ἐξευρεθῆναι παρὰ σφίσι λέγουσι καὶ Τυρσηνίην ἀποικίσαι,[2] ὧδε περὶ αὐτῶν λέγοντες. ἐπὶ Ἄτυος τοῦ Μάνεω βασιλέος[3] σιτοδείην ἰσχυρὴν ἀνὰ τὴν Λυδίην πᾶσαν γενέσθαι, καὶ τοὺς Λυδοὺς τέως μὲν διάγειν λιπαρέοντας, μετὰ δὲ, ὡς οὐ παύεσθαι, ἄκεα δίζησθαι, ἄλλον δὲ ἄλλο ἐπιμηχανᾶσθαι αὐτῶν. ἐξευρεθῆναι δὴ ὧν τότε καὶ τῶν κύβων καὶ τῶν ἀστραγάλων καὶ τῆς σφαίρης καὶ τῶν ἀλλέων πασέων παιγνίων τὰ εἴδεα, πλὴν πεσσῶν· τούτων γὰρ ὧν τὴν ἐξεύρεσιν οὐκ οἰκηιοῦνται Λυδοῖ.[4] ποιεῖν δὲ ὧδε πρὸς τὸν λιμὸν ἐξευρόντας, τὴν μὲν ἑτέρην τῶν ἡμερέων παίζειν πᾶσαν, ἵνα δὴ μὴ ζητέοιεν σιτία, τὴν δὲ ἑτέρην σιτεῖσθαι παυομένους τῶν παιγνίων. τοιούτῳ τρόπῳ διάγειν ἐπ' ἔτεα δυῶν δέοντα εἴκοσι. ἐπείτε δὲ οὐκ ἀνιέναι τὸ κακὸν ἀλλ' ἔτι ἐπὶ μᾶλλον βιάζεσθαι, οὕτω δὴ τὸν βασιλέα αὐτῶν δύο

[2] Xanthos, the native Lydian historian, not only knows nothing about this colonisation of Etruria, but calls Tyrrhênos Torrhêbos or Torybos, and makes him the founder of a Lydian city and the eponym of a Lydian tribe. Dionysios of Halikarnassos states that the Etrurians and Lydians differed completely in "language, customs, and religion," a statement fully confirmed, so far as language is concerned, by the Etruscan inscriptions on the one side, and the Lydian words preserved in classical authors on the other. Etruscan was agglutinative and *sui generis:* Lydian belonged to the Helleno-Phrygian branch of the Aryan family. Mommsen points out that the great cities of Etruria are inland, rather than on the sea-coast; while Etruscan inscriptions have been found as far north as Botzen, and the vocalisation of the language becomes more corrupted the further we advance south. There may be a connection between the Rhæti of the Alps and Rasena, the native name of the Etruscans. The legend of the Lydian colonisation of Etruria seems to be a Greek one, occasioned by the similarity of Tyrrhêni or Tyrsêni, the Greek corruption of the native name of the Etruscans, and Torrhêbos, easily changed into Tyrrhênos, the mythical Lydian prince. In ch. 163 Herodotos himself allows that the Phokæans first made the name of Tyrrhênians known in Asia Minor.

[3] Atys or Attys was the Lydo-Phrygian sun-god wooed by Kybelê, as Tammuz or Adônis by Aphroditê (Astartê), and served by his eunuch priests the Galli. Agdistis is another form of his name. Manes or Manis was the Phrygian Zeus, called Masdes (Ahuramazda) by the Persians, according to Plutarch (*de Is. et Os.* p. 360 B).

[4] Draughts was an ancient Egyptian game, both board (*sent*) and men (*ab*) being figured on the monuments and found in the tombs. A board found at Thebes, and preserved in the Abbott Collection, is given by M. Prisse d'Avennes in *Monuments égyptiens*, p. 9. A similar game, called the game of the vase, was also played in Egypt as early as the fifth dynasty. Odd and even was played with *astragali*, and various games of ball were known from an early period. No dice, however, have been found in Egypt before the Roman epoch; but an ivory die of rectangular shape, with its four sides covered with numerals in the cuneiform character, has been discovered at Nimrud (Calah) in Assyria.

μοίρας διελόντα Λυδῶν πάντων κληρῶσαι τὴν μὲν ἐπὶ μονῇ τὴν δὲ ἐπὶ ἐξόδῳ ἐκ τῆς χώρης, καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν τῇ μένειν αὐτοῦ λαγχανούσῃ τῶν μοιρέων ἑωυτὸν τὸν βασιλέα προστάσσειν, ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ ἀπαλλασσομένῃ τὸν ἑωυτοῦ παῖδα, τῷ οὔνομα εἶναι Τυρσηνόν. λαχόντας δὲ αὐτῶν τοὺς ἑτέρους ἐξιέναι ἐκ τῆς χώρης καταβῆναι ἐς Σμύρνην καὶ μηχανήσασθαι πλοῖα, ἐς τὰ ἐσθεμένους τὰ πάντα ὅσα σφι ἦν χρηστὰ ἐπίπλοα, ἀποπλεῖν κατὰ βίου τε καὶ γέας ζήτησιν, ἐς ὃ ἔθνεα πολλὰ παραμειψαμένους ἀπικέσθαι ἐς Ὀμβρικούς,[5] ἔνθα σφέας ἐνιδρύσασθαι πόλιας καὶ οἰκεῖν τὸ μέχρι τοῦδε. ἀντὶ δὲ Λυδῶν μετονομασθῆναι αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ βασιλέος τοῦ παιδός, ὃς σφεας ἀνήγαγε· ἐπὶ τούτου τὴν ἐπωνυμίην ποιεομένους ὀνομασθῆναι Τυρσηνούς.

Λυδοὶ μὲν δὴ ὑπὸ Πέρσῃσι ἐδεδούλωντο. ἐπιδίζηται δὲ δὴ 95
τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν ἡμῖν ὁ λόγος τόν τε Κῦρον ὅστις ἐὼν τὴν Κροίσου ἀρχὴν κατεῖλε, καὶ τοὺς Πέρσας ὅτεῳ τρόπῳ ἠγήσαντο τῆς Ἀσίης. ὡς ὦν Περσέων μετεξέτεροι λέγουσι, οἱ μὴ βουλόμενοι σεμνοῦν τὰ περὶ Κῦρον ἀλλὰ τὸν ἐόντα λέγειν λόγον, κατὰ τάοτα γράψω, ἐπιστάμενος περὶ Κύρου καὶ τριφασίας ἄλλας λόγων ὁδοὺς φῆναι.[6]

Ἀσσυρίων ἀρχόντων τῆς ἄνω Ἀσίης ἐπ' ἔτεα εἴκοσι καὶ 96
πεντακόσια, πρῶτοι ἀπ' αὐτῶν Μῆδοι ἤρξαντο ἀπίστασθαι, καὶ κως οὗτοι περὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίης μαχεσάμενοι τοῖσι Ἀσσυρίοισι ἐγένοντο ἄνδρες ἀγαθοί, καὶ ἀπωσάμενοι τὴν δουλοσύνην ἠλευθερώθησαν.[7] μετὰ δὲ τούτους καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἔθνεα ἐποίει τὠυτὸ

[5] The Alpis and Karpis flow into the Danube north of Umbria, according to iv. 49. Herodotos, therefore, must have included Lombardy in the district.

[6] See Appendix V. Once more reference is made to Persian authorities with whom Herodotos must have been acquainted (see ch. 1). The three contradictory legends of Kyros show how soon he had become a hero of popular mythology, like Charlemagne in the middle ages. The legend chosen by Herodotos is simply the old solar story which was told of Perseus, of Romulus, and of so many other mythic heroes. It is doubtful whether the account given by Xenophon in the *Kyropædeia* is one of the three meant by Herodotos, since the Kyros of Xenophon is merely the Greek writer's ideal of what a royal warrior ought to be. It is evident that Herodotos has in view other Greek historians who had adopted different accounts of the birth and bringing up of Kyros; in opposition to these he asserts that he is going to relate "the real history."

[7] See Appendix II. From ch. 177 it would seem that the "upper Asia" of Herodotos was Asia between the Tigris and the Mediterranean, exclusive of Asia Minor west of the Halys, or "Lower Asia." What Bêrôsos calls the Assyrian dynasty, reigning 526 years, cannot be the Assyrians of this passage, since (1) the dynasty of Bêrôsos ruled only in Babylonia, and (2) it ended B.C. 747, two years before the rise of the Second Assyrian Empire; while the supremacy of the Assyrians in Western Asia dates

τοῖσι Μήδοισι. ἐόντων δὲ αὐτονόμων πάντων ἀνὰ τὴν ἤπειρον, ὧδε αὖτις ἐς τυραννίδα περιῆλθον. ἀνὴρ ἐν τοῖσι Μήδοισι ἐγένετο σοφὸς τῷ οὔνομα ἦν Δηιόκης, παῖς δ' ἦν Φραόρτεω.[8] οὗτος ὁ Δηιόκης ἐρασθεὶς τυραννίδος ἐποίει τοιάδε. κατοικημένων τῶν Μήδων κατὰ κώμας,[9] ἐν τῇ ἑωυτοῦ ἐὼν καὶ πρότερον δόκιμος καὶ μᾶλλόν τι καὶ προθυμότερον δικαιοσύνην ἐπιθέμενος ἤσκει· καὶ τάοτα μέντοι ἐούσης ἀνομίης πολλῆς ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν Μηδικὴν ἐποίει, ἐπιστάμενος ὅτι τῷ δικαίῳ τὸ ἄδικον πολέμιόν ἐστι. οἱ δ' ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς κώμης Μῆδοι ὁρέοντες αὐτοῦ τοὺς τρόπους δικαστήν μιν ἑωυτῶν αἱρέοντο. ὁ δὲ δή, οἷα μνώμενος ἀρχήν, ἰθύς τε καὶ δίκαιος ἦν· ποιῶν τε τάοτα ἔπαινον εἶχε οὐκ ὀλίγον πρὸς τῶν πολιητέων, οὕτω ὥστε πυνθανόμενοι οἱ ἐν τῆσι ἄλλῃσι κώμῃσι ὡς Δηιόκης εἴη ἀνὴρ μοῦνος κατὰ τὸ ὀρθὸν δικάζων, πρότερον περιπίπτοντες ἀδίκοισι γνώμῃσι, τότε, ἐπείτε ἤκουσαν, ἄσμενοι ἐφοίτεον παρὰ τὸν Δηιόκεα καὶ αὐτοὶ δικασό-
97 μενοι, τέλος δὲ οὐδενὶ ἄλλῳ ἐπετράποντο. πλέονος δὲ αἰεὶ γινομένου τοῦ ἐπιφοιτέοντος, οἷα πυνθανομένων τὰς δίκας ἀποβαίνειν κατὰ τὸ ἐόν,[1] γνοὺς ὁ Δηιόκης ἐς ἑωυτὸν πᾶν ἀνακείμενον οὔτε κατίζειν ἔτι ἤθελε ἔνθα περ πρότερον προκατίζων ἐδίκαζε, οὔτ' ἔφη δικᾶν ἔτι· οὐ γάρ οἱ λυσιτελεῖν τῶν ἑωυτοῦ ἐξημελημένα τοῖσι πέλας δι' ἡμέρης δικάζειν. ἐούσης ὦν ἁρπαγῆς καὶ ἀνομίης ἔτι πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἀνὰ τὰς κώμας ἢ πρότερον ἦν, συνελέχθησαν οἱ Μῆδοι ἐς τὠυτὸ καὶ ἐδίδοσαν σφίσι λόγον, λέγοντες περὶ τῶν κατηκόντων. ὡς δ' ἐγὼ δοκέω, μάλιστα ἔλεγον οἱ τοῦ Δηιόκεω φίλοι "οὐ γὰρ δὴ τρόπῳ τῷ παρεόντι χρεώμενοι

from at least as early a period as the reign of Tiglath-Pileser I. (B.C. 1130), and closes after the death of Assurbanipal (B.C. 640 ?), with two periods of partial eclipse in the eleventh and eighth centuries B.C. Moreover, the Medes were not conquered by the Assyrians until the time of Sargon (B.C. 722-705), and even then it was only the more western tribes of them into whose territory the Assyrian king made a raid or two. The Medes of Astyagês or Istuvegu were never subject to the Assyrians at all. The whole statement of Herodotos is unhistorical, and merely illustrates the way in which a monarchy was supposed to grow up.

[8] We find the name of Daiukku as that of a Minnian chief in the year B.C. 715, and Bit-Daiukku, "the house of Daiokes," lay to the east of Assyria, not far from the district in which Ekbatana was afterwards built. Daiukku, a vassal of the Minnian king Ullusun, was carried captive to Hamath by Sargon.

[9] This statement is correct. When Esarhaddon made his campaign against the Medes, he found them divided into a multitude of small states, or rather towns, each under "a city chief." Their political condition was therefore similar to that of Greece.

[1] "As people learnt that his decisions were fair;" τὸ ἐὸν, "the truth," as in ch. 30, v. 50, vi. 37, vii. 209, 237.

δυνατοί εἰμεν οἰκεῖν τὴν χώρην, φέρε στήσωμεν ἡμέων αὐτῶν βασιλέα· καὶ οὕτω ἥ τε χώρη εὐνομήσεται καὶ αὐτοὶ πρὸς ἔργα τρεψόμεθα, [οὐδὲ ὑπ' ἀνομίης ἀνάστατοι ἐσόμεθα." τάοτά κῃ λέγοντες πείθουσι ἑωυτοὺς βασιλεύεσθαι. αὐτίκα δὲ προβαλλο- 98
μένων ὄντινα στήσονται βασιλέα, ὁ Δηιόκης ἦν πολλὸς ὑπὸ παντὸς ἀνδρὸς καὶ προβαλλόμενος καὶ αἰνεόμενος, ἐς ὃ τοῦτον καταινέουσι βασιλέα σφίσι εἶναι. ὁ δ' ἐκέλευε αὐτοὺς οἰκία τε ἑωυτῷ ἄξια τῆς βασιληίης οἰκοδομῆσαι καὶ κρατῦναι αὐτὸν δορυφόροισι. ποιέουσι δὴ τάοτα οἱ Μῆδοι· οἰκοδομέουσί τε γὰρ αὐτῷ οἰκία μεγάλα τε καὶ ἰσχυρά,[2] ἵνα αὐτὸς ἔφρασε τῆς χώρης, καὶ δορυφόρους αὐτῷ ἐπιτράπουσι ἐκ πάντων Μήδων καταλέξασθαι. ὁ δὲ ὡς ἔσχε τὴν ἀρχήν, τοὺς Μήδους ἠνάγκασε ἓν πόλισμα ποιήσασθαι καὶ τοῦτο περιστέλλοντας τῶν ἄλλων ἦσσον ἐπιμέλεσθαι. πειθομένων δὲ καὶ τάοτα τῶν Μήδων οἰκοδομεῖ τείχεα μεγάλα τε καὶ καρτερὰ τάοτα τὰ νῦν Ἀγβάτανα κέκληται, ἕτερον ἑτέρῳ κύκλῳ ἐνεστεῶτα. μεμηχάνηται δὲ οὕτω τοῦτο τὸ τεῖχος ὥστε ὁ ἕτερος τοῦ ἑτέρου κύκλος τοῖσι προμαχεῶσι μούνοισι ἐστὶ ὑψηλότερος. τὸ μὲν κού τι καὶ τὸ χωρίον συμμαχεῖ κολωνὸς ἐὼν ὥστε τοιοῦτο εἶναι, τὸ δὲ καὶ μᾶλλόν τι ἐπετηδεύθη· κύκλων δ' ἐόντων τῶν συναπάντων ἑπτά, ἐν δὴ τῷ τελευταίῳ τὰ βασιλήια ἔνεστι καὶ οἱ θησαυροί. τὸ δ' αὐτῶν μέγιστον ἐστὶ τεῖχος κατὰ τὸν Ἀθηνέων κύκλον μάλιστά κῃ τὸ μέγαθος.[3] τοῦ μὲν δὴ πρώτου κύκλου οἱ προμαχεῶνες εἰσὶ λευκοί, τοῦ δὲ δευτέρου μέλανες, τρίτου δὲ κύκλου φοινίκεοι, τετάρτου δὲ κυάνεοι, πέμπτου δὲ σανδαράκινοι. οὕτω πάντων

[2] Ekbatana or Agbatana, called Agamtanu in the Babylonian text of Kyros and Hagmatána in the Persian cuneiform, is the modern Hamadán, on the slope of Mount Elwend, the Orontes of classical geography (Aranzi in Sargon's inscriptions). The description of the palace given by Herodotos shows that it was built in imitation of the great temple erected by Nebuchadnezzar at Borsippa, and now called Birs-i-Nimrud, the seven stages of which were coloured like the walls of the Median palace (see *Judith*, i. 2-4). This alone makes it evident that the city was later than the date assigned by Herodotos to Deiokês. But we know from the cuneiform inscriptions that it must have been Kastarit or Kyaxarês who was the real founder of the Median empire. See Appendix V. Sir H. Rawlinson has tried to show that a second Ekbatana existed at Ganzaka in Atropatêne, the ruins of which are now known as Takt-i-Suleiman (*Jour. of Geog. Soc.* x. 1). The inscription of Kyros, however, indicates that the capital of Astyagês was the Ekbatana of Media Major, now Hamadán.

[3] "Very nearly equal in size to the circuit of Athens." The hearers and readers of Herodotos are here supposed to be acquainted with Athens like the historian himself. The Scholiast on Thuk. ii. 13 makes the circuit of Athens thirteen by sixty stades.

τῶν κύκλων οἱ προμαχεῶνες ἠνθισμένοι εἰσὶ φαρμάκοισι· δύο δὲ οἱ τελευταῖοι εἰσὶ ὁ μὲν καταργυρωμένους ὁ δὲ κατακεχρυσω-
99 μένους ἔχων τοὺς προμαχεῶνας.[4] τάοτα μὲν δὴ ὁ Δηιόκης ἐωυτῷ τε ἐτείχει καὶ περὶ τὰ ἐωυτοῦ οἰκία, τὸν δὲ ἄλλον δῆμον πέριξ ἐκέλευε τὸ τεῖχος οἰκεῖν. οἰκοδομηθέντων δὲ πάντων κόσμον τόνδε Δηιόκης πρῶτός ἐστι ὁ καταστησάμενος, μήτε ἐσιέναι παρὰ βασιλέα μηδένα, δι' ἀγγέλων δὲ πάντα χρᾶσθαι, ὁρᾶσθαί τε βασιλέα ὑπὸ μηδενός, πρός τε τούτοισι ἔτι γελᾶν τε καὶ ἀντίον πτύειν καὶ ἄπασι εἶναι τοῦτό γε αἰσχρόν. τάοτα δὲ περὶ ἐωυτὸν ἐσέμνυνε τῶνδε εἵνεκεν, ὅκως ἂν μὴ ὁρέοντες οἱ ὁμήλικες, ἐόντες σύντροφοί τε ἐκείνῳ καὶ οἰκίης οὐ φλαυροτέρης οὐδὲ ἐς ἀνδραγαθίην λειπόμενοι, λυπεοίατο καὶ ἐπιβουλεύοιεν, ἀλλ'
100 ἑτεροῖός σφι δοκέοι εἶναι μὴ ὁρῶσι. ἐπείτε δὲ τάοτα διεκόσμησε καὶ ἐκράτυνε ἐωυτὸν τῇ τυραννίδι, ἦν τὸ δίκαιον φυλάσσων χαλεπός· καὶ τάς τε δίκας γράφοντες ἔσω παρ' ἐκεῖνον ἐσπέμπεσκον, καὶ ἐκεῖνος διακρίνων τὰς ἐσφερομένας ἐκπέμπεσκε. τάοτα μὲν κατὰ τὰς δίκας ἐποίει τάδε δὲ ἄλλα ἐκεκοσμέατό οἱ· εἴ τινα πυνθάνοιτο ὑβρίζοντα, τοῦτον ὅκως μεταπέμψαιτο, κατ' ἀξίην ἑκάστου ἀδικήματος ἐδικαίου, καί οἱ κατάσκοποί τε καὶ κατήκοοι ἦσαν ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν χώρην τῆς ἦρχε.

101 Δηιόκης μέν νυν τὸ Μηδικὸν ἔθνος συνέστρεψε μοῦνον καὶ τούτου ἦρξε· ἔστι δὲ Μήδων τοσάδε γένεα, Βοῦσαι Παρητακηνοὶ
102 Στρούχατες Ἀριζαντοὶ Βούδιοι Μάγοι.[5] γένεα μὲν δὴ Μήδων ἐστὶ τοσάδε. Δηιόκεω δὲ παῖς γίνεται Φραόρτης, ὃς τελευτήσαντος Δηιόκεω, βασιλεύσαντος τρία καὶ πεντήκοντα ἔτεα,[6]

[4] The colours of the seven planets of the Babylonians, among whom seven was a sacred number, and who had a week of seven days called after the seven planets.

[5] The original Medes spoke agglutinative dialects, and belonged to a non-Aryan and non-Semitic race. In the ninth century B.C. the wave of migration which brought the Aryan Persians into Persia brought the Aryan Medes into Media, though the Median empire of Kyaxares and Astyages was still non-Aryan when it was conquered by Kyros. See Appendix V. The name of "Mede" was first introduced by the Assyrians, who applied it in a geographical, and not ethnographical, sense to denote the tribes eastward of the Zimri in Kurdistan. Oppert ingeniously explains the γένεα as "classes" or castes, the Buzæ being the "aborigines" (Pers. *būzā*, Skt. *bhujā*); the Parêtakêni "the nomads" (Pers. *paraitakā*); the Strukhates "the dwellers in tents" (Pers. *chatrauvatis*, Skt. *chatravat*); the Arizanti "the Aryan race" (Pers. *ariyazantu*, Skt. *āryajantu*); the Budii "the cultivators of the soil" (Pers. *bādiyā*); and the Magi "the holy ones" (Pers. *magus*, Vedic *maghā*).

[6] A reign of fifty-three years indicates its unhistorical character. If we assume that Kyaxarês had reigned thirty years when he captured Nineveh, the fifty-three years of Deiokes added to the

παρεδέξατο τὴν ἀρχήν, παραδεξάμενος δὲ οὐκ ἀπεχρᾶτο μούνων Μήδων ἄρχειν, ἀλλὰ στρατευσάμενος ἐπὶ τοὺς Πέρσας πρώτοισί τε τούτοισι ἐπεθήκατο καὶ πρώτους Μήδων ὑπηκόους ἐποίησε. μετὰ δὲ ἔχων δύο τάοτα ἔθνεα καὶ ἀμφότερα ἰσχυρά, κατεστρέφετο τὴν Ἀσίην ἀπ' ἄλλου ἐπ' ἄλλο ἰὼν ἔθνος, ἐς ὃ στρατευσάμενος ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀσσυρίους καὶ Ἀσσυρίων τούτους οἳ Νίνον εἶχον καὶ ἦρχον πρότερον πάντων, τότε δὲ ἦσαν μεμουνωμένοι μὲν συμμάχων ἅτε ἀπεστεώτων, ἄλλως μέντοι ἐωυτῶν εὖ ἥκοντες, ἐπὶ τούτους δὴ στρατευσάμενος ὁ Φραόρτης[7] αὐτός τε διεφθάρη, ἄρξας δύο καὶ εἴκοσι ἔτεα, καὶ ὁ στρατὸς αὐτοῦ ὁ πολλός.

Φραόρτεω δὲ τελευτήσαντος ἐξεδέξατο Κυαξάρης ὁ Φραόρτεω τοῦ Δηιόκεω παῖς. οὗτος λέγεται πολλὸν ἔτι γενέσθαι ἀλκιμώτερος τῶν προγόνων, καὶ πρῶτός τε ἑλόχισε κατὰ τέλεα τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ καὶ πρῶτος διέταξε χωρὶς ἑκάστους εἶναι, τούς τε αἰχμοφόρους καὶ τοὺς τοξοφόρους καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας· πρὸ τοῦ δὲ ἀναμὶξ ἦν πάντα ὁμοίως ἀναπεφυρμένα.[8] οὗτος ὁ τοῖσι Λυδοῖσι ἐστὶ μαχεσάμενος ὅτε νὺξ ἡ ἡμέρη ἐγένετο σφι μαχομένοισι, καὶ ὁ τὴν Ἅλυος ποταμοῦ ἄνω Ἀσίην πᾶσαν συστήσας ἑωυτῷ συλλέξας δὲ τοὺς ὑπ' ἑωυτῷ ἀρχομένους πάντας ἐστρατεύετο ἐπὶ τὴν Νίνον, τιμωρέων τε τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τὴν πόλιν ταύτην θέλων

twenty-two of Phraortes would make 105 years. Dating back from B.C. 610 as the year of the fall of Nineveh, we should reach B.C. 715 as the first year of Deiokes, *i.e.* the very year in which the Minnian chief Daiukku was carried away prisoner by Sargon. It would therefore seem that the fifty-three years of Herodotos represent the interval between the names of the two "Median" chieftains handed down by tradition. The connection between the Mannai or Minni (in the district between Lakes Van and Urumieh) and the Medes of Hamadán may be explained by the fact that the combined forces which overthrew Nineveh were composed of Minnians, Medes, and Kimmerians. Hence tradition associated them together. It must not be forgotten that Daiukku was only a subordinate chieftain under Ullusun, the Minnian king. His name may be compounded with the Susianian *ukku*, "great."

[7] The name is written Pirru-vartis (perhaps "all-directing") in the "Proto-medic" (really Susianian) transcript of the Behistun inscription. His reign of twenty-two years seems historical, and we can well believe that he attacked the Assyrians during the decay of their empire. But it is difficult to suppose that the Median empire was founded by him rather than by Kyaxarês or Kastarit, since Phraortes, the rival of Darius, assumed the name of Sattarritta (Khshthrita and Khasatrita in the Persian and Assyrian texts) when he attempted to restore the Median kingdom, and called himself the descendant of Vakistarra (Persian, Uvakhsatara; Ass. Uvakuistar), which has been erroneously identified with the Greek Kyaxarês. The latter is really Sattarritta, more correctly written Kastarit in the Assyrian tablets which relate to the last struggle of the Assyrian power. Æskhylos (*Persæ*, 761-64) makes Kyaxarês the founder of the empire.

[8] The Assyrian sculptures make this statement more than doubtful.

ἐξελεῖν. καί οἱ, ὡς συμβαλὼν ἐνίκησε τοὺς Ἀσσυρίους, περικατημένῳ τὴν Νίνον ἐπῆλθε Σκυθέων στρατὸς μέγας, ἦγε δὲ αὐτοὺς βασιλεὺς ὁ Σκυθέων Μαδύης[9] Προτοθύεω παῖς· οἱ ἐσέβαλον μὲν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην Κιμμερίους ἐκβαλόντες ἐκ τῆς Εὐρώπης, τούτοισι δὲ ἐπισπόμενοι φεύγουσι οὕτω ἐς τὴν Μηδικὴν χώρην
104 ἀπίκοντο. ἔστι δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς λίμνης τῆς Μαιήτιδος ἐπὶ Φᾶσιν ποταμὸν καὶ ἐς Κόλχους[1] τριήκοντα ἡμερέων εὐζώνῳ ὁδός, ἐκ δὲ τῆς Κολχίδος οὐ πολλὸν ὑπερβῆναι ἐς τὴν Μηδικήν, ἀλλ' ἓν τὸ διὰ μέσου ἔθνος αὐτῶν ἐστι, Σάσπειρες,[2] τοῦτο δὲ παραμειβομένοισι εἶναι ἐν τῇ Μηδικῇ. οὐ μέντοι οἵ γε Σκύθαι ταύτῃ ἐσέβαλον, ἀλλὰ τὴν κατύπερθε ὁδὸν πολλῷ μακροτέρην ἐκτραπόμενοι, ἐν δεξιῇ ἔχοντες τὸ Καυκάσιον ὄρος.[3] ἐνθαῦτα οἱ μὲν Μῆδοι συμβαλόντες τοῖσι Σκύθῃσι καὶ ἐσσωθέντες τῇ μάχῃ τῆς ἀρχῆς κατελύθησαν, οἱ δὲ Σκύθαι τὴν Ἀσίην πᾶσαν[4] ἐπέσχον.
105 ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ἦισαν ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον· καὶ ἐπείτε ἐγένοντο ἐν τῇ

[9] Strabo (i. p. 91) makes Madyês a Kimmerian prince, who drove the Trêres out of Asia Minor. The Kimmerians, called Gimirrai in the Assyrian inscriptions, are the Saka of the Persian texts (the Sakæ of the Greeks), and first appear in the time of Esarhaddon (B.C. 675), when they threatened the northern frontier of the Assyrian monarchy under their chief Teuspa. Esarhaddon, however, defeated them, and turned them westward into Asia Minor. When *Od.* xi. 14-19 was composed, they must have already reached the shores of the Euxine, and become known to the Greek merchants and sailors of Ionia. Soon afterwards they destroyed Sinôpê, and then marched into Lydia. Gyges sent two Kimmerian chieftains whom he had captured in battle as a present to Assurbanipal at Nineveh B.C. 665. He was afterwards killed in battle with them. See ch. 15. As they assisted the Medes and Minnians in their final attack on Nineveh, some of them must have settled in or near Media. The Skyths, who drove them from their old homes, seem, from their names, to have been Aryans. The name of Skythopolis, given to Bethshan in Palestine, is supposed to be a memorial of their inroad into Western Asia. Reference seems to be made to them in the earlier prophecies of Jeremiah.

[1] From the mouth of the Mæotis or Sea of Azof to the Phasis (or *Rion*) is about 270 miles.

[2] This is a mistake. A large number of tribes and races intervened between Kolkhis and Media (see ch. 110, iii. 94, iv. 37). The Saspeires seem to have inhabited the neighbourhood of Tiflis. Ritter's attempt to identify the name with that of the Iberi is not successful. See iii. 94, note 1.

[3] *i.e.* along the shores of the Caspian. The longer route would have been through the Pylæ Caucaseæ. Herodotos, however, seems to be thinking of the route followed by Greek merchants, who first sailed by sea to Phasis and Dioskurias, where they joined the caravan road to the East.

[4] In Homer (*Il.* ii. 461) "the Asian mead" is the plain of the Kayster. The conquests of Krœsos seem to have extended the signification of the name, and by the time of Herodotos it had come to mean all Western Asia, Lower Asia being Asia Minor, and Upper Asia the country west of the Tigris. Here Upper Asia can alone be meant.

Παλαιστίνῃ Συρίῃ, Ψαμμήτιχός σφεας Αἰγύπτου βασιλεὺς ἀντιάσας δώροισί τε καὶ λιτῇσι ἀποτράπει τὸ προσωτέρω μὴ πορεύεσθαι.[5] οἱ δὲ ἐπείτε ἀναχωρέοντες ὀπίσω ἐγίνοντο τῆς Συρίης ἐν Ἀσκάλωνι πόλει, τῶν πλεόνων Σκυθέων παρεξελθόντων ἀσινέων ὀλίγοι τινὲς αὐτῶν ὑπολειφθέντες ἐσύλησαν τῆς οὐρανίης Ἀφροδίτης[6] τὸ ἱερόν. ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο τὸ ἱερόν, ὡς ἐγὼ πυνθανόμενος εὑρίσκω, πάντων ἀρχαιότατον ἱερῶν ὅσα ταύτης τῆς θεοῦ· καὶ γὰρ τὸ ἐν Κύπρῳ ἱερὸν ἐνθεῦτεν ἐγένετο, ὡς αὐτοὶ Κύπριοι λέγουσι, καὶ τὸ ἐν Κυθήροισι[7] Φοίνικές εἰσι οἱ ἱδρυσάμενοι ἐκ ταύτης τῆς Συρίης ἐόντες. τοῖσι δὲ τῶν Σκυθέων συλήσασι τὸ ἱερὸν τὸ ἐν Ἀσκάλωνι καὶ τοῖσι τούτων αἰεὶ ἐκγόνοισι ἐνέσκηψε ὁ θεὸς θήλεαν νοῦσον· ὥστε ἅμα λέγουσί τε οἱ Σκύθαι διὰ τοῦτό σφεας νοσεῖν, καὶ ὁρᾶν παρ' ἑωυτοῖσι τοὺς ἀπικνεομένους ἐς τὴν Σκυθικὴν χώρην ὡς διακέαται,[8] τοὺς καλέουσι Ἐνάρεας οἱ Σκύθαι.

Ἐπὶ μέν νυν ὀκτὼ καὶ εἴκοσι ἔτεα[9] ἦρχον τῆς Ἀσίης οἱ 106
Σκύθαι, καὶ τὰ πάντα σφι ὑπὸ τε ὕβριος καὶ ὀλιγωρίης ἀνάστατα ἦν· χωρὶς μὲν γὰρ φόρον ἔπρησσον παρ' ἑκάστων τὸ ἑκάστοισι ἐπέβαλλον, χωρὶς δὲ τοῦ φόρου ἥρπαζον περιελαύνοντες τοῦτο ὅ τι ἔχοιεν ἕκαστοι. καὶ τούτων μὲν τοὺς πλέονας Κυαξάρης τε καὶ Μῆδοι ξεινίσαντες καὶ καταμεθύσαντες κατεφόνευσαν, καὶ οὕτω ἀνεσώσαντο τὴν ἀρχὴν Μῆδοι καὶ ἐπεκράτεον τῶν περ καὶ πρότερον, καὶ τήν τε Νίνον εἷλον (ὡς δὲ εἷλον, ἐν ἑτέροισι λόγοισι δηλώσω)[1] καὶ τοὺς Ἀσσυρίους ὑποχειρίους

[5] Psammetikhos was besieging Ashdod at the time (Herod. ii. 157).

[6] Atargatis or Derkêto, the Astartê of the Phœnicians. According to Xanthos, Askalon was founded by Askalos, the general of the Lydian king Akiamos, and Athenæos (viii. 37) makes the Lydian Mopsos drown the goddess Derkêto in the sacred lake near Askalon. This lake still exists between Mejdel and the sea-shore, and was doubtless the reservoir of the temple of the Asiatic goddess.

[7] The site of this temple is apparently marked by ruins on a hill facing the west side of San Nikolo in Kythêra, between the town and the sea.

[8] "And that visitors to Skythia see among them how afflicted they are whom." *Enarees* is rendered *ἀνανδρίες* by Hippokrates (*De aere*, 22). Comp. Zend *a* privative, and *nar* "man." The French physician Larrey observed a similar disease among the returned Egyptian soldiers.

[9] If Kyaxarês be assumed to have reigned at least two years at the time of the Skythian invasion, his capture of Nineveh could not have taken place till at least the thirtieth year of his reign. His war with Alyattes must have been later than this event, as in this he was allied with the Babylonians. Had Nineveh still existed, it would have blocked the road between Babylon and the Halys.

[1] Herodotos again promises "an Assyrian history" in ch. 184. No other author mentions it, and the passage in Aristotle (*Hist. An.* viii. 18), which says

ἐποιήσαντο πλὴν τῆς Βαβυλωνίης μοίρης. μετὰ δὲ τάοτα Κυαξάρης μέν, βασιλεύσας τεσσεράκοντα ἔτεα σὺν τοῖσι Σκύθαι ἦρξαν, τελευτᾷ, ἐκδέκεται δὲ Ἀστυάγης Κυαξάρεω παῖς τὴν
107 βασιληίην.[2] καί οἱ ἐγένετο θυγάτηρ τῇ οὔνομα ἔθετο Μανδάνην, τὴν ἐδόκει Ἀστυάγης ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ οὐρῆσαι τοσοῦτο ὥστε πλῆσαι μὲν τὴν ἑωυτοῦ πόλιν, ἐπικατακλῦσαι δὲ καὶ τὴν Ἀσίην πᾶσαν.[3] ὑπερθέμενος δὲ τῶν Μάγων τοῖσι ὀνειροπόλοισι τὸ ἐνύπνιον, ἐφοβήθη παρ' αὐτῶν αὐτὰ ἕκαστα μαθών. μετὰ δὲ τὴν Μανδάνην ταύτην ἐοῦσαν ἤδη ἀνδρὸς ὡραίην Μήδων μὲν τῶν ἑωυτοῦ ἀξίων οὐδενὶ διδοῖ γυναῖκα, δεδοικὼς τὴν ὄψιν· ὁ δὲ Πέρσῃ διδοῖ τῷ οὔνομα ἦν Καμβύσης, τὸν εὗρισκε οἰκίης μὲν ἐόντα ἀγαθῆς τρόπου δὲ ἡσυχίου, πολλῷ ἔνερθε ἄγων αὐτὸν μέσου ἀνδρὸς
108 Μήδου. συνοικεούσης δὴ τῷ Καμβύσῃ[4] τῆς Μανδάνης, ὁ Ἀστυάγης τῷ πρώτῳ ἔτει εἶδε ἄλλην ὄψιν, ἐδόκει δέ οἱ ἐκ τῶν αἰδοίων τῆς θυγατρὸς ταύτης φῦναι ἄμπελον, τὴν δὲ ἄμπελον ἐπισχεῖν τὴν Ἀσίην πᾶσαν. ἰδὼν δὴ τοῦτο καὶ ὑπερθέμενος τοῖσι ὀνειροπόλοισι, μετεπέμψατο ἐκ τῶν Περσέων τὴν θυγατέρα ἐπίτεκα ἐοῦσαν, ἀπικομένην δὲ ἐφύλασσε βουλόμενος τὸ γενόμενον ἐξ αὐτῆς διαφθεῖραι· ἐκ γάρ οἱ τῆς ὄψιος οἱ τῶν Μάγων

that Herodotos introduced an eagle drinking in his account of the capture of Nineveh, has the various reading "Hesiod," while the word πετοίηκε looks as if a poet were referred to. Prof. Rawlinson suggests that the "curious notices in John of Malala (ed. Dind. p. 26) concerning the Scythic character of the dress, language, and laws of the Parthians, which are expressly ascribed by him to Herodotos," come from this lost work, as well as the narrative of Kephaliôn (B.C. 120), who, according to the Synkellos, followed Hellanikos, Ktêsias, and Herodotos in his Assyrian history. But John Malalas and Synkellos are late writers, and Herodotos does not seem to have lived long enough after the completion of his history to have had time to carry out his intention. However, the Assyrian history of Ktêsias appears to have been composed in order to confute Herodotos. In any case the history of Herodotos would not have been worth very much, if we may judge from his notices of Assyria and Babylonia in the present book.

[2] We learn from the newly-discovered inscription of Kyros that the overthrow of Astyages, — Istuvegu in the Assyrian text, — took place in B.C. 549. If, therefore, Astyages reigned thirty-five years his accession would fall B.C. 584. This date, however, cannot well be reconciled with the fact that Kyaxarês was the opponent of the Lydians in the battle of the Halys, if that event happened in B.C. 584, or with the most probable date of the fall of Nineveh.

[3] Nikolaos of Damascus makes Argostê, the mother of Kyros, have the dream.

[4] See Appendix V. Ktêsias denied the relationship of Kyros and Astyages, and seems to be borne out by the inscription of Kyros. Astyages has nothing to do with the Zend Aj-Dahâka or "biting snake" of darkness and evil, the Zohak of the Shahnameh, as used to be supposed. The Assyrian form of the name shows it to be of Protomedic and non-Aryan origin.

ὀνειροπόλοι ἐσήμαινον ὅτι μέλλοι οἱ τῆς θυγατρὸς αὐτοῦ γόνος βασιλεῦσειν ἀντὶ ἐκείνου. τάοτα δὴ ὧν φυλασσόμενος ὁ Ἀστυάγης, ὡς ἐγένετο ὁ Κῦρος, καλέσας Ἅρπαγον[5] ἄνδρα οἰκήιόν καὶ πιστότατόν τε Μήδων καὶ πάντων ἐπίτροπον τῶν ἑωυτοῦ, ἔλεγέ οἱ τοιάδε. "Ἅρπαγε, πρῆγμα τὸ ἄν τοι προσθέω, μηδαμῶς παραχρήσῃ, μηδὲ ἐμέ τε παραβάλῃ καὶ ἄλλους ἑλόμενος ἐξ ὑστέρης σοὶ αὐτῷ περιπέσῃς.[6] λάβε τὸν Μανδάνη ἔτεκε παῖδα, φέρων δὲ ἐς σεωυτοῦ ἀπόκτεινον· μετὰ δὲ θάψον τρόπῳ ὅτεῳ αὐτὸς βούλεαι." ὁ δὲ ἀμείβεται "ὦ βασιλεῦ, οὔτε ἄλλοτέ κω παρείδες ἀνδρὶ τῷδε ἄχαρι οὐδέν, φυλασσόμεθα δὲ ἐς σὲ καὶ ἐς τὸν μετέπειτα χρόνον μηδὲν ἐξαμαρτεῖν. ἀλλ' εἴ τοι φίλον τοῦτο οὕτω γίνεσθαι, χρὴ δὴ τό γε ἐμὸν ὑπηρετεῖσθαι ἐπιτηδέως." τούτοισι ἀμειψάμενος ὁ Ἅρπαγος, ὡς οἱ παρεδόθη τὸ παιδίον 109
κεκοσμημένον τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ, ἤιε κλαίων ἐς τὰ οἰκία. παρελθὼν δὲ ἔφραζε τῇ ἑωυτοῦ γυναικὶ τὸν πάντα Ἀστυάγεος ῥηθέντα λόγον. ἡ δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν λέγει "νῦν ὧν τί σοὶ ἐν νόῳ ἐστὶ ποιεῖν;" ὁ δὲ ἀμείβεται "οὐ τῇ ἐνετέλλετο Ἀστυάγης, οὐδ' εἰ παράφρονήσει τε καὶ μανεῖται κάκιον ἢ νῦν μαίνεται, οὔ οἱ ἐγωγε προσθήσομαι τῇ γνώμῃ[7] οὐδὲ ἐς φόνον τοιοῦτον ὑπηρετήσω. πολλῶν δὲ εἵνεκα οὐ φονεύσω μιν, καὶ ὅτι αὐτῷ μοι συγγενής ἐστι ὁ παῖς, καὶ ὅτι Ἀστυάγης μέν ἐστι γέρων καὶ ἄπαις ἔρσενος γόνου·[8] εἰ δ' ἐθελήσει τούτου τελευτήσαντος ἐς τὴν θυγατέρα ταύτην ἀναβῆναι ἡ τυραννίς, τῆς νῦν τὸν υἱὸν κτείνει δι' ἐμέο, ἄλλο τι ἢ λείπεται τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν ἐμοὶ κινδύνων ὁ μέγιστος; ἀλλὰ τοῦ μὲν ἀσφαλέος εἵνεκα ἐμοὶ δεῖ τοῦτον τελευτᾶν τὸν παῖδα, δεῖ μέντοι τῶν τινα Ἀστυάγεος αὐτοῦ φονέα γενέσθαι καὶ μὴ τῶν ἐμῶν." τάοτα εἶπε καὶ αὐτίκα ἄγγελον 110
ἔπεμπε ἐπὶ τῶν βουκόλων τῶν Ἀστυάγεος τὸν ἠπίστατο νομάς τε ἐπιτηδεοτάτας νέμοντα καὶ ὄρεα θηριωδέστατα, τῷ οὔνομα ἦν Μιτραδάτης.[9] συνοίκει δὲ ἑωυτοῦ συνδούλῃ, οὔνομα δὲ τῇ γυναικὶ ἦν τῇ συνοίκει Κυνὼ κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλήνων γλῶσσαν, κατὰ δὲ τὴν Μηδικὴν Σπακώ. τὴν γὰρ κύνα καλέουσι σπάκα[1] Μῆδοι.

[5] Harpagos seems to bear a non-Aryan name. He was probably the leader of the conspiracy, which, as we learn from the inscription of Kyros, caused the latter to gain so easy a victory over Astyagês.

[6] "By preferring others you bring destruction on yourself hereafter."

[7] "Assist his purpose."

[8] Xenophon's romance (*Kyrop.* i. 4) gives Astyages a son, Kyaxarês. Phraortês, however, the rival of Darius, does not call himself "Kyaxares, the son of Astyages," but "Kyaxares, the descendant of Vakistarra."

[9] Mitradates is a Zend word, "given to the sun." See ch. 113, note 3.

[1] *Spaka* cannot be identified with the

αἱ δὲ ὑπώρεαί εἰσι τῶν ὀρέων, ἔνθα τὰς νομὰς τῶν βοῶν εἶχε οὗτος δὴ ὁ βουκόλος, πρὸς βορέω τε ἀνέμου τῶν Ἀγβατάνων καὶ πρὸς τοῦ πόντου του Εὐξείνου· ταύτῃ μὲν γὰρ ἡ Μηδικὴ χώρη πρὸς Σασπείρων ὀρεινή ἐστι κάρτα καὶ ὑψηλή τε καὶ ἴδῃσι συνηρεφής, ἡ δὲ ἄλλη Μηδικὴ χώρη ἐστὶ πᾶσα ἄπεδος. ἐπεὶ ὦν ὁ βουκόλος σπουδῇ πολλῇ καλεόμενος ἀπίκετο, ἔλεγε ὁ Ἅρπαγος τάδε. "κελεύει σε Ἀστυάγης τὸ παιδίον τοῦτο λαβόντα θεῖναι ἐς τὸ ἐρημότατον τῶν ὀρέων, ὅκως ἂν τάχιστα διαφθαρείη. καὶ τάδε τοι ἐκέλευσε εἰπεῖν, ἢν μὴ ἀποκτείνῃς αὐτὸ ἀλλά τεῳ τρόπῳ περιποιήσῃς, ὀλέθρῳ τῷ κακίστῳ σε
111 διαχρήσεσθαι. ἐπορᾶν δὲ ἐκκείμενον τέταγμαι ἐγώ." τάοτα ἀκούσας ὁ βουκόλος καὶ ἀναλαβὼν τὸ παιδίον ἦιε τὴν αὐτὴν ὀπίσω ὁδὸν καὶ ἀπικνεῖται ἐς τὴν ἔπαυλιν. τῷ δ' ἄρα καὶ αὐτῷ ἡ γυνή, ἐπίτεξ ἐοῦσα πᾶσαν ἡμέρην, τότε κως κατὰ δαίμονα[2] τίκτει οἰχομένου τοῦ βουκόλου ἐς πόλιν. ἦσαν δὲ ἐν φρουτίδι ἀμφότεροι ἀλλήλων πέρι, ὁ μὲν τοῦ τόκου τῆς γυναικὸς ἀρρωδέων, ἡ δὲ γυνὴ ὅ τι οὐκ ἐωθὼς ὁ Ἅρπαγος μεταπέμψαιτο αὐτῆς τὸν ἄνδρα. ἐπείτε δὲ ἀπονοστήσας ἐπέστη, οἷα ἐξ ἀέλπτου ἰδοῦσα ἡ γυνὴ εἴρετο προτέρη ὅ τι μιν οὕτω προθύμως Ἅρπαγος μετεπέμψατο. ὁ δὲ εἶπε "ὦ γύναι, εἶδόν τε ἐς πόλιν ἐλθὼν καὶ ἤκουσα τὸ μήτε ἰδεῖν ὄφελον μήτε κοτὲ γενέσθαι ἐς δεσπότας τοὺς ἡμετέρους. οἶκος μὲν πᾶς Ἁρπάγου κλαυθμῷ κατείχετο, ἐγὼ δὲ ἐκπλαγεὶς ἤια ἔσω. ὡς δὲ τάχιστα ἐσῆλθον, ὁρέω παιδίον προκείμενον ἀσπαιρόν τε καὶ κραυγανώμενον, κεκοσμημένον χρυσῷ τε καὶ ἐσθῆτι ποικίλῃ. Ἅρπαγος δὲ ὡς εἶδέ με, ἐκέλευε τὴν ταχίστην ἀναλαβόντα τὸ παιδίον οἴχεσθαι φέροντα καὶ θεῖναι ἔνθα θηριωδέστατον εἴη τῶν ὀρέων, φὰς Ἀστυάγεα εἶναι τὸν τάοτα ἐπιθέμενόν μοι, πόλλ' ἀπειλήσας εἰ μή σφεα ποιήσαιμι. καὶ ἐγὼ ἀναλαβὼν ἔφερον, δοκέων τῶν

Zend *çpâ*, Skt. *çvan(n)*, Greek *κύων*, Lat. *canis*, Eng. *hound*, on account of the final guttural, and is rather to be regarded as a non-Aryan word. At the same time it is clear that the whole story came from the Persians, as well on account of the unfavourable light in which Astyages is represented as of the name Mitradates. The myth may have attached itself to Kyros in consequence of the meaning of his name ("shepherd of the country" in Elamite). See Appendix V. The legend is told of other heroes in both east and west. As Romulus and Remus were suckled by a wolf, so, according to the Chinese, Assena, the ancestor of the Turks, as well as Tsze-wan of T'sû, was suckled by a tiger, and Kw'en-mo, the powerful king of the Wu-sun in the second century B.C., by a wolf, after having been deserted in the wilderness. Kw'en-mo was also fed by ravens.

[2] An illustration of the piety or superstition of Herodotos. See ch. 62, note 9.

τινος οἰκετέων εἶναι· οὐ γὰρ ἄν κοτε κατέδοξα ἔνθεν γε ἦν. ἐθάμβεον δὲ ὀρέων χρυσῷ τε καὶ εἵμασι κεκοσμημένον, πρὸς δὲ καὶ κλαυθμὸν κατεστεῶτα ἐμφανέα ἐν Ἀρπάγου. καὶ πρόκατε δὴ κατ' ὁδὸν πυνθάνομαι τὸν πάντα λόγον θεράποντος, ὃς ἐμὲ προπέμπων ἔξω πόλιος ἐνεχείρισε τὸ βρέφος, ὡς ἄρα Μανδάνης τε εἴη παῖς τῆς Ἀστυάγεος θυγατρὸς καὶ Καμβύσεω τοῦ Κύρου, καί μιν Ἀστυάγης ἐντέλλεται ἀποκτεῖναι. νῦν τε ὅδε ἐστί." ἅμα δὲ τάοτα ἔλεγε ὁ βουκόλος καὶ ἐκκαλύψας ἀπεδείκνυε. ἡ 112
δὲ ὡς εἶδε τὸ παιδίον μέγα τε καὶ εὐειδὲς ἐόν, δακρύσασα καὶ λαβομένη τῶν γουνάτων τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐχρήιζε μηδεμιῇ τέχνῃ ἐκθεῖναί μιν. ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἔφη οἱός τ' εἶναι ἄλλως αὐτὰ ποιεῖν· ἐπιφοιτήσειν γὰρ κατασκόπους ἐξ Ἀρπάγου ἐποψομένους, ἀπολεῖσθαί τε κάκιστα ἢν μή σφεα ποιήσῃ. ὡς δὲ οὐκ ἔπειθε ἄρα τὸν ἄνδρα, δεύτερα λέγει ἡ γυνὴ τάδε. "ἐπεὶ τοίνυν οὐ δύναμαί σε πείθειν μὴ ἐκθεῖναι, σὺ δὲ ὧδε ποίησον, εἰ δὴ πᾶσα ἀνάγκη ὀφθῆναι ἐκκείμενον. τέτοκα γὰρ καὶ ἐγώ, τέτοκα δὲ τεθνεός. τοῦτο μὲν φέρων πρόθες, τὸν δὲ τῆς Ἀστυάγεος θυγατρὸς παῖδα ὡς ἐξ ἡμέων ἐόντα τρέφωμεν. καὶ οὕτω οὔτε σὺ ἁλώσεαι ἀδικέων τοὺς δεσπότας οὔτε ἡμῖν κακῶς βεβουλευμένα ἔσται· ὅ τε γὰρ τεθνεὼς βασιληίης ταφῆς κυρήσει καὶ ὁ περιὼν οὐκ ἀπολεῖ τὴν ψυχήν." κάρτα τε ἔδοξε τῷ βουκόλῳ 113
πρὸς τὰ παρεόντα εὖ λέγειν ἡ γυνή, καὶ αὐτίκα ἐποίει τάοτα. τὸν μὲν ἔφερε θανατώσων παῖδα, τοῦτον μὲν παραδιδοῖ τῇ ἑωυτοῦ γυναικί, τὸν δὲ ἑωυτοῦ ἐόντα νεκρὸν λαβὼν ἔθηκε ἐς τὸ ἄγγος ἐν τῷ ἔφερε τὸν ἕτερον· κοσμήσας δὲ τῷ κόσμῳ παντὶ τοῦ ἑτέρου παιδός, φέρων ἐς τὸ ἐρημότατον τῶν ὀρέων τιθεῖ. ὡς δὲ τρίτη ἡμέρη τῷ παιδίῳ ἐκκειμένῳ ἐγένετο, ἦιε ἐς πόλιν ὁ βουκόλος, τῶν τινα προβοσκῶν φύλακον αὐτοῦ καταλιπών, ἐλθὼν δὲ ἐς τοῦ Ἀρπάγου ἀποδεικνύναι ἔφη ἕτοιμος εἶναι τοῦ παιδίου τὸν νέκυν. πέμψας δὲ ὁ Ἅρπαγος τῶν ἑωυτοῦ δορυφόρων τοὺς πιστοτάτους εἶδέ τε διὰ τούτων καὶ ἔθαψε τοῦ βουκόλου τὸ παιδίον. καὶ τὸ μὲν ἐτέθαπτο, τὸν δὲ ὕστερον τούτων Κῦρον ὀνομασθέντα παραλαβοῦσα ἔτρεφε ἡ γυνὴ τοῦ βουκόλου, οὔνομα ἄλλο κού τι καὶ οὐ Κῦρον θεμένη.[3] καὶ ὅτε ἦν δεκαέτης ὁ παῖς, 114

[3] Strabo (xv. p. 1034) makes Agradatês the original name of Kyros, but this was probably his Persian title, "country-given," a translation of the Elamite Kuras ("country-shepherd"). See Appendix V. There is no reason for identifying Agradates with Atradates, "fire-given," a Mardian and robber, who, according to Nik. Damask., was the father of Kyros, and after being employed in a menial capacity in the court of Astyages, rose to be cupbearer and satrap of Persia. It is noticeable that he is made a Mardian or Amardian, *i.e.*

πρῆγμα ἐς αὐτὸν τοιόνδε γενόμενον ἐξέφηνέ μιν. ἔπαιζε ἐν τῇ κώμῃ ταύτῃ ἐν τῇ ἦσαν καὶ αἱ βουκόλιαι αὗται, ἔπαιζε δὲ μετ' ἄλλων ἡλίκων ἐν ὁδῷ. καὶ οἱ παῖδες παίζοντες εἵλοντο ἑωυτῶν βασιλέα εἶναι τοῦτον δὴ τὸν τοῦ βουκόλου ἐπίκλησιν παῖδα. ὁ δὲ αὐτῶν διέταξε τοὺς μὲν οἰκίας οἰκοδομεῖν, τοὺς δὲ δορυφόρους εἶναι, τὸν δέ κού τινα αὐτῶν ὀφθαλμὸν βασιλέος εἶναι, τῷ δέ τινι τὰς ἀγγελίας φέρειν ἐδίδου γέρας, ὡς ἑκάστῳ ἔργον προστάσσων. εἷς δὴ τούτων τῶν παιδίων συμπαίζων, ἐὼν Ἀρτεμβάρεος παῖς ἀνδρὸς δοκίμου ἐν Μήδοισι, οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἐποίησε τὸ προσταχθὲν ἐκ τοῦ Κύρου, ἐκέλευε αὐτὸν τοὺς ἄλλους παῖδας διαλαβεῖν, πειθομένων δὲ τῶν παίδων ὁ Κῦρος τὸν παῖδα τρηχέως κάρτα περιέσπε μαστιγέων. ὁ δὲ ἐπείτε μετείθη τάχιστα, ὥς γε δὴ ἀνάξια ἑωυτοῦ παθών, μᾶλλόν τι περιημέκτει, κατελθὼν δὲ ἐς πόλιν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα ἀποικτίζετο τῶν ὑπὸ Κύρου ἤντησε, λέγων δὲ οὐ Κύρου (οὐ γάρ κω ἦν τοῦτο τοὔνομα) ἀλλὰ πρὸς τοῦ βουκόλου τοῦ Ἀστυάγεος παιδός. ὁ δὲ Ἀρτεμβάρης ὀργῇ ὡς εἶχε ἐλθὼν παρὰ τὸν Ἀστυάγεα καὶ ἅμα ἀγόμενος τὸν παῖδα ἀνάρσια πρήγματα ἔφη πεπονθέναι, λέγων "ὦ βασιλεῦ, ὑπὸ τοῦ σοῦ δούλου, βουκόλου δὲ παιδὸς ὧδε περιυβρίσμεθα," δεικνὺς τοῦ
115 παιδὸς τοὺς ὤμους. ἀκούσας δὲ καὶ ἰδὼν Ἀστυάγης, θέλων τιμωρῆσαι τῷ παιδὶ τιμῆς τῆς Ἀρτεμβάρεος εἵνεκα, μετεπέμπετο τόν τε βουκόλον καὶ τὸν παῖδα. ἐπείτε δὲ παρῆσαν ἀμφότεροι, βλέψας πρὸς τὸν Κῦρον ὁ Ἀστυάγης ἔφη "σὺ δὴ ἐὼν τοῦδε τοιούτου ἐόντος παῖς ἐτόλμησας τὸν τοῦδε παῖδα ἐόντος πρώτου παρ' ἐμοὶ ἀείκειη τοιῇδε περισπεῖν;" ὁ δὲ ἀμείβετο ὧδε. "ὦ δέσποτα, ἐγὼ τάοτα τοῦτον ἐποίησα σὺν δίκῃ. οἱ γάρ με ἐκ τῆς κώμης παῖδες, τῶν καὶ ὅδε ἦν, παίζοντες σφέων αὐτῶν ἐστήσαντο βασιλέα· ἐδόκεον γάρ σφι εἶναι ἐς τοῦτο ἐπιτηδεότατος. οἱ μέν νυν ἄλλοι παῖδες τὰ ἐπιτασσόμενα ἐπετέλεον, οὗτος δὲ ἀνηκουστέει τε καὶ λόγον εἶχε οὐδένα, ἐξ ὃ ἔλαβε τὴν δίκην. εἰ ὦν δὴ τοῦδε εἵνεκα ἄξιός τεο κακοῦ εἰμι, ὅδε τοι
116 πάρειμι." τάοτα λέγοντος τοῦ παιδὸς τὸν Ἀστυάγεα ἐσήιε ἀναγνώσις αὐτοῦ, καί οἱ ὅ τε χαρακτὴρ τοῦ προσώπου προσφέρεσθαι ἐδόκει ἐς ἑωυτὸν καὶ ἡ ὑπόκρισις ἐλευθερωτέρη εἶναι, ὅ τε χρόνος τῆς ἐκθέσιος τῇ ἡλικίῃ τοῦ παιδὸς ἐδόκει συμβαίνειν. ἐκπλαγεὶς δὲ τούτοισι ἐπὶ χρόνον ἄφθογγος ἦν. μόγις δὲ δή κοτε ἀνενειχθεὶς εἶπε, θέλων ἐκπέμψαι τὸν Ἀρτεμβάρεα, ἵνα

a native of the district of which Kyros calls himself and his ancestors kings. His wife is called Argostê. Atradates must be the same as Mitradates, the name assigned by Herodotos to the pseudo-father of Kyros (ch. 110).

τὸν βουκόλον μοῦνον λαβὼν βασανίσῃ, "Ἀρτέμβαρες, ἐγὼ τάοτα ποιήσω ὥστε σὲ καὶ τὸν παῖδα τὸν σὸν μηδὲν ἐπιμέμφεσθαι." τὸν μὲν δὴ Ἀρτεμβάρεα πέμπει, τὸν δὲ Κῦρον ἦγον ἔσω οἱ θεράποντες κελεύσαντος τοῦ Ἀστυάγεος. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὑπελέλειπτο ὁ βουκόλος, μοῦνος μουνωθέντα τάδε αὐτὸν εἴρετο ὁ Ἀστυάγης, κόθεν λάβοι τὸν παῖδα καὶ τίς εἴη ὁ παραδούς. ὁ δὲ ἐξ ἑωυτοῦ τε ἔφη γεγονέναι καὶ τὴν τεκοῦσαν αὐτὸν ἔτι εἶναι παρ' ἑωυτῷ. Ἀστυάγης δέ μιν οὐκ εὖ βουλεύεσθαι ἔφη ἐπιθυμέοντα ἐς ἀνάγκας μεγάλας ἀπικνεῖσθαι, ἅμα τε λέγων τάοτα ἐσήμαινε τοῖσι δορυφόροισι λαμβάνειν αὐτόν. ὁ δὲ ἀγόμενος ἐς τὰς ἀνάγκας οὕτω δὴ ἔφαινε τὸν ἐόντα λόγον· ἀρχόμενος δὲ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς διεξήιε τῇ ἀληθείῃ χρεώμενος, καὶ κατέβαινε ἐς λιτάς τε καὶ συγγνώμην ἑωυτῷ κελεύων ἔχειν αὐτόν.

Ἀστυάγης δὲ τοῦ μὲν βουκόλου τὴν ἀληθείην ἐκφήναντος 117
λόγον ἤδη καὶ ἐλάσσω ἐποιεῖτο,[4] Ἁρπάγῳ δὲ καὶ μεγάλως μεμφόμενος καλεῖν αὐτὸν τοὺς δορυφόρους ἐκέλευε. ὡς δέ οἱ παρῆν ὁ Ἅρπαγος, εἴρετό μιν ὁ Ἀστυάγης "Ἅρπαγε, τέῳ δὴ μόρῳ τὸν παῖδα κατεχρήσαο τόν τοι παρέδωκα ἐκ θυγατρὸς γεγονότα τῆς ἐμῆς;" ὁ δὲ Ἅρπαγος ὡς εἶδε τὸν βουκόλον ἔνδον ἐόντα, οὐ τράπεται ἐπὶ ψευδέα ὁδόν, ἵνα μὴ ἐλεγχόμενος ἁλίσκηται, ἀλλὰ λέγει τάδε. "ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἐπείτε παρέλαβον τὸ παιδίον, ἐβούλευον σκοπέων ὅκως σοί τε ποιήσω κατὰ νόον, καὶ ἐγὼ πρὸς σὲ γινόμενος ἀναμάρτητος μήτε θυγατρὶ τῇ σῇ μήτε αὐτῷ σοὶ εἶην αὐθέντης. ποιῶ δὴ ὧδε. καλέσας τὸν βουκόλον τόνδε παραδίδωμι τὸ παιδίον, φὰς σέ τε εἶναι τὸν κελεύοντα ἀποκτεῖναι αὐτό. καὶ λέγων τοῦτό γε οὐκ ἐψευδόμην· σὺ γὰρ ἐνετέλλεο οὕτω. παραδίδωμι μέντοι τῷδε κατὰ τάδε ἐντειλάμενος, θεῖναί μιν ἐς ἔρημον ὄρος καὶ παραμένοντα φυλάσσειν ἄχρι οὗ τελευτήσῃ, ἀπειλήσας παντοῖα τῷδε ἢν μὴ τάδε ἐπιτελέα ποιήσῃ. ἐπείτε δὲ ποιήσαντος τούτου τὰ κελευόμενα ἐτελεύτησε τὸ παιδίον, πέμψας τῶν εὐνούχων τοὺς πιστοτάτους καὶ εἶδον δι' ἐκείνων καὶ ἔθαψά μιν. οὕτω ἔσχε ὦ βασιλεῦ περὶ τοῦ πρήγματος τούτου, καὶ τοιούτῳ μόρῳ ἐχρήσατό ὁ παῖς." Ἅρπαγος μὲν δὴ τὸν ἰθὺν 118
ἔφαινε λόγον· Ἀστυάγης δὲ κρύπτων τὸν οἱ ἐνεῖχε χόλον διὰ τὸ γεγονός, πρῶτα μέν, κατά περ ἤκουσε αὐτὸς πρὸς τοῦ βουκόλου τὸ πρῆγμα, πάλιν ἀπηγείτο τῷ Ἁρπάγῳ, μετὰ δέ, ὥς οἱ ἐπαλιλλόγητο, κατέβαινε λέγων ὡς περίεστί τε ὁ παῖς καὶ τὸ γεγονὸς ἔχει καλῶς· "τῷ τε γὰρ πεποιημένῳ" ἔφη λέγων "ἐς τὸν παῖδα

[4] "Took little further account of him."

τοῦτον ἔκαμνον μεγάλως, καὶ θυγατρὶ τῇ ἐμῇ διαβεβλημένος οὐκ ἐν ἐλαφρῷ ἐποιεόμην. ὡς ὦν τῆς τύχης εὖ μετεστεώσης, τοῦτο μὲν τὸν σεωυτοῦ παῖδα ἀπόπεμψον παρὰ τὸν παῖδα τὸν νεηλυδᾶ, τοῦτο δέ (σῶστρα γὰρ τοῦ παιδὸς μέλλω θύειν τοῖσι θεῶν τιμὴ
119 αὕτη προσκεῖται) πάρισθί μοι ἐπὶ δεῖπνον." Ἅρπαγος μὲν ὡς ἤκουσε τάοτα, προσκυνήσας καὶ μεγάλα ποιησάμενος ὅτι τε ἡ ἁμαρτάς οἱ ἐς δέον ἐγεγόνει καὶ ὅτι ἐπὶ τύχῃσι χρηστῇσι ἐπὶ δεῖπνον ἐκέκλητο,[5] ἤιε ἐς τὰ οἰκία. ἐσελθὼν δὲ τὴν ταχίστην, ἦν γάρ οἱ παῖς εἷς μοῦνος ἔτεα τρία καὶ δέκα κου μάλιστα γεγονώς, τοῦτον ἐκπέμπει ἰέναι τε κελεύων ἐς Ἀστυάγεος καὶ ποιεῖν ὅ τι ἂν ἐκεῖνος κελεύῃ, αὐτὸς δὲ περίχαρὴς ἐὼν φράζει τῇ γυναικὶ τὰ συγκυρήσαντα. Ἀστυάγης δέ, ὡς οἱ ἀπίκετο ὁ Ἅρπάγου παῖς, σφάξας αὐτὸν καὶ κατὰ μέλεα διελὼν τὰ μὲν ὤπτησε τὰ δὲ ἥψησε τῶν κρεῶν, εὖτ᾽ ὦν δὲ ποιησάμενος εἶχε ἕτοιμα. ἐπείτε δὲ τῆς ὥρης γινομένης τοῦ δείπνου παρῆσαν οἵ τε ἄλλοι δαιτυμόνες καὶ ὁ Ἅρπαγος, τοῖσι μὲν ἄλλοισι καὶ αὐτῷ Ἀστυάγει παρετιθέατο τράπεζαι ἐπίπλεαι μηλείων κρεῶν, Ἅρπάγῳ δὲ τοῦ παιδὸς τοῦ ἑωυτοῦ, πλὴν κεφαλῆς τε καὶ ἄκρων χειρῶν τε καὶ ποδῶν, τἆλλα πάντα· τάοτα δὲ χωρὶς ἔκειτο ἐπὶ κανέῳ κατακεκαλυμμένα. ὡς δὲ τῷ Ἅρπάγῳ ἐδόκεε ἄλις ἔχειν τῆς βορῆς, Ἀστυάγης εἴρετό μιν εἰ ἡσθείη τι τῇ θοίνῃ. φαμένου δὲ Ἅρπάγου καὶ κάρτα ἡσθῆναι, παρέφερον τοῖσι προσέκειτο τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ παιδὸς κατακεκαλυμμένην καὶ τὰς χεῖρας καὶ τοὺς πόδας, Ἅρπαγον δὲ ἐκέλευον προσστάντες ἀποκαλύπτειν τε καὶ λαβεῖν τὸ βούλεται αὐτῶν. πειθόμενος δὲ ὁ Ἅρπαγος καὶ ἀποκαλύπτων ὁρᾷ τοῦ παιδὸς τὰ λείμματα, ἰδὼν δὲ οὔτε ἐξεπλάγη ἐντός τε ἑωυτοῦ γίνεται. εἴρετο δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ Ἀστυάγης εἰ γινώσκοι ὅτεο θηρίου κρέα βεβρώκοι. ὁ δὲ καὶ γινώσκειν ἔφη καὶ ἀρεστὸν εἶναι πᾶν τὸ ἂν βασιλεὺς ἔρδῃ. τούτοισι δὲ ἀμειψάμενος καὶ ἀναλαβὼν τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν κρεῶν ἤιε ἐς τὰ οἰκία, ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ἔμελλε, ὡς ἐγὼ δοκέω, ἁλίσας θάψειν τὰ πάντα.[6]
120 Ἅρπάγῳ μὲν Ἀστυάγης δίκην ταύτην ἐπέθηκε, Κύρου δὲ πέρι βουλεύων ἐκάλει τοὺς αὐτοὺς τῶν Μάγων οἳ τὸ ἐνύπνιον οἱ ταύτῃ ἔκριναν. ἀπικομένους δὲ εἴρετο ὁ Ἀστυάγης τῇ ἔκρινάν οἱ τὴν ὄψιν. οἱ δὲ κατὰ ταὐτὰ εἶπαν, λέγοντες ὡς βασιλεῦσαι

[5] "Congratulating himself that his crime had had a happy termination, and that he was summoned to a banquet in honour of a fortunate event." For ἐς δέον comp. ch. 186, vi. 89, vii. 144.

[6] The legend of a feast on human flesh was an old Greek myth originally attached to Tantalos of Lydia as the representative of Asiatic monarchy.

χρῆν τὸν παῖδα, εἰ ἐπέζωσε καὶ μὴ ἀπέθανε πρότερον. ὁ δὲ ἀμείβεται αὐτοὺς τοῖσιδε. "ἔστι τε ὁ παῖς καὶ περίεστι, καί μιν ἐπ' ἀγροῦ διαιτώμενον οἱ ἐκ τῆς κώμης παῖδες ἐστήσαντο βασιλέα. ὁ δὲ πάντα, ὅσα περ οἱ ἀληθέι λόγῳ βασιλεῖς, ἐτελέωσε ποιήσας· καὶ γὰρ δορυφόρους καὶ θυρωροὺς καὶ ἀγγελιηφόρους καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ πάντα διατάξας ἦρχε. καὶ νῦν ἐς τί ὑμῖν τάοτα φαίνεται φέρειν;" εἶπαν οἱ Μάγοι "εἰ μὲν περίεστί τε καὶ ἐβασίλευσε ὁ παῖς μὴ ἐκ προνοίης τινός, θάρσει τε τούτου εἵνεκα καὶ θυμὸν ἔχε ἀγαθόν· οὐ γὰρ ἔτι τὸ δεύτερον ἄρξει. παρὰ σμικρὰ γὰρ καὶ τῶν λογίων ἡμῖν ἕνια κεχώρηκε,[7] καὶ τά γε τῶν ὀνειράτων ἐχόμενα τελέως ἐς ἀσθενὲς ἔρχεται." ἀμείβεται ὁ Ἀστυάγης τοῖσιδε. "καὶ αὐτὸς ὦ Μάγοι ταύτῃ πλεῖστος γνώμην εἰμί, βασιλέος ὀνομασθέντος τοῦ παιδὸς ἐξηκεῖν τε τὸν ὄνειρον καί μοι τὸν παῖδα τοῦτον εἶναι δεινὸν ἔτι οὐδέν. ὅμως μέν γέ τοι συμβουλεύσατέ μοι εὖ περισκεψάμενοι τὰ μέλλει ἀσφαλέστατα εἶναι οἴκῳ τε τῷ ἐμῷ καὶ ὑμῖν." εἶπαν πρὸς τάοτα οἱ Μάγοι "ὦ βασιλεῦ, καὶ αὐτοῖσι ἡμῖν περὶ πολλοῦ ἐστι κατορθοῦσθαι ἀρχὴν τὴν σήν. κείνως μὲν γὰρ ἀλλοτριοῦται ἐς τὸν παῖδα τοῦτον περιιοῦσα ἐόντα Πέρσην, καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐόντες Μῆδοι δουλούμεθά τε καὶ λόγου οὐδενὸς γινόμεθα πρὸς Περσέων, ἐόντες ξεῖνοι·[8] σέο δ' ἐνεστεῶτος βασιλέος, ἐόντος πολιήτεω, καὶ ἄρχομεν τὸ μέρος καὶ τιμὰς πρὸς σέο μεγάλας ἔχομεν. οὕτω ὦν πάντως ἡμῖν σέο καὶ τῆς σῆς ἀρχῆς πρόσπτεόν ἐστί. καὶ νῦν εἰ φοβερόν τι ἐνωρῶμεν, πᾶν ἂν σοὶ προεφράζομεν. νῦν δὲ ἀποσκήψαντος τοῦ ἐνυπνίου ἐς φαῦλον αὐτοί τε θαρσέομεν καὶ σοὶ ἕτερα τοιαῦτα παρακελευόμεθα. τὸν δὲ παῖδα τοῦτον ἐξ ὀφθαλμῶν ἀπόπεμψαι ἐς Πέρσας τε καὶ τοὺς γειναμένους." ἀκούσας 121
τάοτα ὁ Ἀστυάγης ἐχάρη τε καὶ καλέσας τὸν Κῦρον ἔλεγέ οἱ τάδε. "ὦ παῖ, σὲ γὰρ ἐγὼ δι' ὄψιν ὀνείρου οὐ τελέην ἠδίκεον, τῇ σεωυτοῦ δὲ μοίρῃ περιεῖς· νῦν ὦν ἴθι χαίρων ἐς Πέρσας, πομποὺς δὲ ἐγὼ ἅμα πέμψω. ἐλθὼν δὲ ἐκεῖ πατέρα τε καὶ μητέρα εὑρήσεις οὐ κατὰ Μιτραδάτην τε τὸν βουκόλον καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ." τάοτα εἶπας ὁ Ἀστυάγης ἀποπέμπει τὸν 122
Κῦρον. νοστήσαντα δέ μιν ἐς τοῦ Καμβύσεω τὰ οἰκία ἐδέξαντο οἱ γεινάμενοι, καὶ δεξάμενοι ὡς ἐπύθοντο,[9] μεγάλως ἀσπάζοντο οἷα δὴ ἐπιστάμενοι αὐτίκα τότε τελευτῆσαι,[1] ἱστόρεόν τε ὅτεῳ

[7] "Some oracles even have had an unimportant issue."

[8] This seems to imply a difference of race between the Persians and that part of the Medes to which the Magi belonged.

[9] "When they learnt who he was."

[1] "As they had always been con-

τρόπῳ περιγένοιτο. ὁ δέ σφι ἔλεγε, φὰς πρὸ τοῦ μὲν οὐκ εἰδέναι ἀλλ' ἡμαρτηκέναι πλεῖστον, κατ' ὁδὸν δὲ πυθέσθαι πᾶσαν τὴν ἑωυτοῦ πάθην· ἐπίστασθαι μὲν γὰρ ὡς βουκόλου τοῦ Ἀστυάγεος εἴη παῖς, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς κεῖθεν ὁδοῦ τὸν πάντα λόγον τῶν πομπῶν πυθέσθαι. τραφῆναι δὲ ἔλεγε ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ βουκόλου γυναικός, ἥμέ τε ταύτην αἰνέων διὰ παντός, ἦν τέ οἱ ἐν τῷ λόγῳ τὰ πάντα ἡ Κυνώ. οἱ δὲ τοκεῖς παραλαβόντες τὸ οὔνομα τοῦτο, ἵνα θειοτέρως δοκέῃ τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι περιεῖναί σφι ὁ παῖς, κατέβαλον φάτιν ὡς ἐκκείμενον Κῦρον κύων ἐξέθρεψε. ἐνθεῦτεν μὲν ἡ φάτις αὕτη κεχώρηκε.

123 Κύρῳ δὲ ἀνδρευμένῳ καὶ ἐόντι τῶν ἡλίκων ἀνδρειοτάτῳ καὶ προσφιλεστάτῳ προσεκείτο ὁ Ἅρπαγος δῶρα πέμπων, τίσασθαι Ἀστυάγεα ἐπιθυμέων· ἀπ' ἑωυτοῦ γὰρ ἐόντος ἰδιώτεω οὐκ ἐνεώρα τιμωρίην ἐσομένην ἐς Ἀστυάγεα, Κῦρον δὲ ὁρέων ἐπιτρεφόμενον ἐποιεῖτο σύμμαχον, τὰς πάθας τὰς Κύρου τῇσι ἑωυτοῦ ὁμοιούμενος. πρὸ δ' ἔτι τούτου τάδε οἱ κατεργάστο. ἐόντος τοῦ Ἀστυάγεος πικροῦ ἐς τοὺς Μήδους,[2] συμμίσγων ἑνὶ ἑκάστῳ ὁ Ἅρπαγος τῶν πρώτων Μήδων ἀνέπειθε ὡς χρὴ Κῦρον προστησαμένους Ἀστυάγεα παῦσαι τῆς βασιληίης. κατεργασμένου δέ οἱ τούτου καὶ ἐόντος ἑτοίμου, οὕτω δὴ τῷ Κύρῳ διαιτωμένῳ ἐν Πέρσῃσι βουλόμενος Ἅρπαγος δηλῶσαι τὴν ἑωυτοῦ γνώμην ἄλλως μὲν οὐδαμῶς εἶχε ἅτε τῶν ὁδῶν φυλασσομενέων, ὁ δὲ ἐπιτεχνᾶται τοιόνδε. λαγὸν μηχανησάμενος καὶ ἀνασχίσας τούτου τὴν γαστέρα καὶ οὐδὲν ἀποτίλας, ὡς δὲ εἶχε, οὕτω ἐσέθηκε βυβλίον, γράψας τά οἱ ἐδόκει· ἀπορράψας δὲ τοῦ λαγοῦ τὴν γαστέρα, καὶ δίκτυα δοὺς ἅτε θηρευτῇ τῶν οἰκετέων τῷ πιστοτάτῳ, ἀπέστελλε ἐς τοὺς Πέρσας, ἐντειλάμενός οἱ ἀπὸ γλώσσης διδόντα τὸν λαγὸν Κύρῳ ἐπειπεῖν αὐτοχειρίῃ μιν διελεῖν καὶ

124 μηδένα οἱ τάοτα ποιέοντι παρεῖναι. τάοτά τε δὴ ὧν ἐπιτελέα ἐγίνετο καὶ ὁ Κῦρος παραλαβὼν τὸν λαγὸν ἀνέσχισε. εὑρὼν δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ τὸ βυβλίον ἐνεὸν λαβὼν ἐπελέγετο· τὰ δὲ γράμματα ἔλεγε τάδε. "ὦ παῖ Καμβύσεω, σὲ γὰρ θεοὶ ἐπορέουσι· οὐ γὰρ ἄν κοτε ἐς τοσοῦτο τύχης ἀπίκεο· σύ νυν Ἀστυάγεα τὸν σεωυτοῦ φονέα τῖσαι. κατὰ μὲν γὰρ τὴν τούτου προθυμίην τέθνηκας, τὸ

vinced that he had died immediately after birth."

[2] Kyros says in his inscription: "Astyages gathered (his forces) and went against Kyros, king of Ansan. Against Astyages his soldiers revolted and took him prisoner and handed him over to Kyros. Kyros to the land of Agamtanu (Ekbatana) the royal city (went); silver, gold, furniture, and goods from the land of Agamtanu he carried off, and to the land of Ansan brought the furniture and goods which he had taken."

δὲ κατὰ θεούς τε καὶ ἐμὲ περίεις. τά σε καὶ πάλαι δοκέω πάντα ἐκμεμαθηκέναι, σέο τε αὐτοῦ πέρι ὡς ἐπρήχθη, καὶ οἷα ἐγὼ ὑπὸ Ἀστυάγεος πέπονθα, ὅτι σε οὐκ ἀπέκτεινα ἀλλὰ ἔδωκα τῷ βουκόλῳ. σύ νυν, ἢν βούλῃ ἐμοὶ πείθεσθαι, τῆς περ Ἀστυάγης ἄρχει χώρης, ταύτης ἀπάσης ἄρξεις. Πέρσας γὰρ ἀναπείσας ἀπίστασθαι στρατηλατέω ἐπὶ Μήδους· καὶ ἢν τε ἐγὼ ὑπὸ Ἀστυάγεος ἀποδεχθέω στρατηγὸς ἀντία σέο, ἔστι τοι τὰ σὺ βούλεαι, ἢν τε τῶν τις δοκίμων ἄλλος Μήδων· πρῶτοι γὰρ οὗτοι ἀποστάντες ἀπ' ἐκείνου καὶ γενόμενοι πρὸς σέο Ἀστυάγεα καταιρεῖν πειρήσονται. ὡς ὦν ἑτοίμου τοῦ γε ἐνθάδε ἐόντος, ποίει τάδε καὶ ποίει κατὰ τάχος." ἀκούσας τάδε ὁ Κῦρος 125
ἐφρόντιζε ὅτεῳ τρόπῳ σοφωτάτῳ Πέρσας ἀναπείσει ἀπίστασθαι, φροντίζων δὲ εὑρίσκεται τάδε καιριώτατα εἶναι· ἐποίει δὴ τάδε. γράψας ἐς βυβλίον τὰ ἐβούλετο, ἁλίην τῶν Περσέων ἐποιήσατο, μετὰ δὲ ἀναπτύξας τὸ βυβλίον καὶ ἐπιλεγόμενος ἔφη Ἀστυάγεά μιν στρατηγὸν Περσέων ἀποδεικνύναι. "νῦν τε," ἔφη λέγων, "ὦ Πέρσαι, προαγορεύω ὑμῖν παρεῖναι ἕκαστον ἔχοντα δρέπανον." Κῦρος μὲν τάδε προηγόρευσε. ἔστι δὲ Περσέων συχνὰ γένεα,[3] καὶ τὰ μὲν αὐτῶν ὁ Κῦρος συνάλισε καὶ

[3] Instead of ten Persian tribes Xenophon reckons twelve (*Kyr.* i. 2). The Pasargadæ, Maraphii, and Maspii were those on whom "all the other Persians were dependent," *i.e.* they were the principal tribes. According to Anaximenes (ap. Steph. Byz., *s. v.*), Kyros founded Pasargadæ, the old capital of the country, called Parsagadæ by Quint. Curt. (v. 6, x. 1), but Nik. Dam. represents it as already existing in his father's time. Kyros was buried there (Strab. xv. 1035), and it remained the capital of Persia until the foundation of Persepolis by Darius Hystaspis. It stood on the Kyros in the south-east of Persia, and consequently cannot be identified with Murghab, which is on the ancient Araxes. The tomb of Kyros at Murghab cannot belong to the founder of the Persian empire on account of its architectural ornamentation, and probably belongs to the brother of Xerxes, the satrap of Egypt, who is called Akhæmenes, "the Akhæmenian," by Ktêsias. The royal clan of the Akhæmenidæ or "friends" traced its descent from Akhæmenes (Hakhâmanish), whom the Persian kings in their inscriptions claim as their ancestor. Steph. Byz. reads Penthiadæ for Penthialæi, Karmanii for Germanii, and (apparently) Derbikhi for Dropiki. Karmania lay on the eastern frontier of Persis. The Dai were an Elamite tribe, and are called Dehavites in Ezra iv. 9. The Mardi are the Amardi of Strabo (xi. p. 761), who inhabited the range of mountains which separated Persepolis from the Persian Gulf (though they seem to have extended northward as far as the neighbourhood of Susa). The Derbikhi were to the south-west of the Caspian, while the Sagartians were the eastern neighbours of the Medes. The Sagartian opponent of Darius claimed to be the descendant of Vakistarra like the pretender to the Median throne. The nomad tribes were not Aryans at all, and we can account for their being reckoned among the Persians by Herodotos only by supposing that his classi-

ἀνέπεισε ἀπίστασθαι ἀπὸ Μήδων· ἔστι δὲ τάδε, ἐξ ὧν ὦλλοι πάντες ἀρτέαται Πέρσαι, Πασαργάδαι Μαράφιοι Μάσπιοι. τούτων Πασαργάδαι εἰσὶ ἄριστοι, ἐν τοῖσι καὶ Ἀχαιμενίδαι εἰσὶ φρήτρη, ἔνθεν οἱ βασιλεῖς οἱ Περσεῖδαι γεγόνασι. ἄλλοι δὲ Πέρσαι εἰσὶ ὧδε, Πανθιαλαῖοι Δηρουσιαῖοι Γερμάνιοι. οὗτοι μὲν πάντες ἀροτῆρές εἰσι, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι νομάδες, Δάοι Μάρδοι
126 Δροπικοὶ Σαγάρτιοι. ὡς δὲ παρῆσαν ἅπαντες ἔχοντες τὸ πρηνεφρημένον, ἐνθαῦτα ὁ Κῦρος, ἦν γάρ τις χῶρος τῆς Περσικῆς ἀκανθώδης ὅσον τε ἐπὶ ὀκτωκαίδεκα σταδίους ἢ εἴκοσι πάντῃ, τοῦτόν σφι τὸν χῶρον προεῖπε ἐξημερῶσαι ἐν ἡμέρῃ. ἐπιτελεσάντων δὲ τῶν Περσέων τὸν προκείμενον ἄεθλον, δεύτερά σφι προεῖπε ἐς τὴν ὑστεραίην παρεῖναι λελουμένους. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τά τε αἰπόλια καὶ τὰς ποίμνας καὶ τὰ βουκόλια ὁ Κῦρος πάντα τοῦ πατρὸς συναλίσας ἐς τὠυτὸ ἔθυε καὶ παρεσκεύαζε ὡς δεξόμενος τὸν Περσέων στρατόν, πρὸς δὲ οἴνῳ τε καὶ σιτίοισι ὡς ἐπιτηδεοτάτοισι. ἀπικομένους δὲ τῇ ὑστεραίῃ τοὺς Πέρσας κατακλίνας ἐς λειμῶνα εὐώχεε. ἐπείτε δὲ ἀπὸ δείπνου ἦσαν, εἴρετό σφεας ὁ Κῦρος κότερα τὰ τῇ προτεραίῃ εἶχον ἢ τὰ παρεόντα σφι εἴη αἱρετώτερα. οἱ δὲ ἔφασαν πολλὸν εἶναι αὐτῶν τὸ μέσον·[4] τὴν μὲν γὰρ προτέρην ἡμέρην πάντα σφι κακὰ ἔχειν, τὴν δὲ τότε παρεοῦσαν πάντα ἀγαθά. παραλαβὼν δὲ τοῦτο τὸ ἔπος ὁ Κῦρος παρεγύμνου τὸν πάντα λόγον, λέγων "ἄνδρες Πέρσαι, οὕτω ὑμῖν ἔχει. βουλομένοισι μὲν ἐμέο πείθεσθαι ἔστι τάδε τε καὶ ἄλλα μυρία ἀγαθά, οὐδένα πόνον δουλοπρεπέα ἔχουσι, μὴ βουλομένοισι δὲ ἐμέο πείθεσθαι εἰσὶ ὑμῖν πόνοι τῷ χθιζῷ παραπλήσιοι ἀναρίθμητοι. νῦν ὦν ἐμέο πειθόμενοι γίνεσθε ἐλεύθεροι. αὐτός τε γὰρ δοκέω θείῃ τύχῃ γεγονὼς τάδε ἐς χεῖρας ἄγεσθαι,[5] καὶ ὑμέας ἤγημαι ἄνδρας Μήδων εἶναι οὐ φαυλοτέρους οὔτε τἆλλα οὔτε τὰ πολέμια. ὡς ὦν ἐχόντων ὧδε, ἀπίστασθε ἀπ' Ἀστυάγεος τὴν ταχίστην."
127 Πέρσαι μέν νυν προστάτεω ἐπιλαβόμενοι ἄσμενοι ἐλευθεροῦντο, καὶ πάλαι δεινὸν ποιεόμενοι ὑπὸ Μήδων ἄρχεσθαι. Ἀστυάγης δὲ ὡς ἐπύθετο Κῦρον τάοτα πρήσσοντα, πέμψας ἄγγελον ἐκάλει αὐτόν. ὁ δὲ Κῦρος ἐκέλευε τὸν ἄγγελον ἀπαγγέλλειν ὅτι πρότερον ἥξοι παρ' ἐκεῖνον ἢ Ἀστυάγης αὐτὸς βουλήσεται. ἀκούσας δὲ τάοτα ὁ Ἀστυάγης Μήδους τε ὥπλισε

fication is purely geographical, and included the aboriginal tribes who were held in subjection by the Aryan immigrants.

[4] "The distance between them is great." Comp. ix. 82.

[5] "I think I am destined to take this into my hands." Comp. iv. 79, vii. 8.

πάντας, καὶ στρατηγὸν αὐτῶν ὥστε θεοβλαβὴς ἐὼν Ἅρπαγον ἀπέδεξε, λήθην ποιεύμενος τά μιν ἐώργει. ὡς δὲ οἱ Μῆδοι στρατευσάμενοι τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι συνέμισγον, οἱ μέν τινες αὐτῶν ἐμάχοντο, ὅσοι μὴ τοῦ λόγου μετέσχον, οἱ δὲ αὐτομόλεον πρὸς τοὺς Πέρσας, οἱ δὲ πλεῖστοι ἐθελοκάκεόν τε καὶ ἔφευγον. διαλυθέντος δὲ τοῦ Μηδικοῦ στρατεύματος αἰσχρῶς, ὡς ἐπύθετο τάχιστα ὁ Ἀστυάγης, ἔφη ἀπειλέων τῷ Κύρῳ "ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὣς Κύρός γε χαιρήσει." τοσαῦτα εἴπας πρῶτον μὲν τῶν Μάγων τοὺς ὀνειροπόλους, οἳ μιν ἀνέγνωσαν μετεῖναι τὸν Κῦρον, τούτους ἀνεσκολόπισε, μετὰ δὲ ὥπλισε τοὺς ὑπολειφθέντας ἐν τῷ ἄστει τῶν Μήδων, νέους τε καὶ πρεσβύτας ἄνδρας. ἐξαγαγὼν δὲ τούτους καὶ συμβαλὼν τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι ἐσσώθη, καὶ αὐτός τε Ἀστυάγης ἐζωγρήθη καὶ τοὺς ἐξήγαγε τῶν Μήδων ἀπέβαλε.[6] ἐόντι δὲ αἰχμαλώτῳ τῷ Ἀστυάγει προσστὰς ὁ Ἅρπαγος κατέχαιρέ τε καὶ κατεκερτόμει, καὶ ἄλλα λέγων ἐς αὐτὸν θυμαλγέα ἔπεα, καὶ δὴ καὶ εἴρετό μιν πρὸς τὸ ἑωυτοῦ δεῖπνον, τό μιν ἐκεῖνος σαρξὶ τοῦ παιδὸς ἐθοίνησε, ὅ τι εἴη ἡ ἐκείνου δουλοσύνη ἀντὶ τῆς βασιληίης. ὁ δέ μιν προσιδὼν ἀντείρετο εἰ ἑωυτοῦ ποιεῖται τὸ Κύρου ἔργον. Ἅρπαγος δὲ ἔφη, αὐτὸς γὰρ γράψαι, τὸ πρῆγμα δὴ ἑωυτοῦ δικαίως εἶναι.[7] Ἀστυάγης δέ μιν ἀπέφαινε τῷ λόγῳ σκαιότατόν τε καὶ ἀδικώτατον ἐόντα πάντων ἀνθρώπων, σκαιότατον μέν γε, εἰ παρεὸν αὐτῷ βασιλέα γενέσθαι, εἰ δὴ δι' ἑωυτοῦ γε ἐπρήχθη τὰ παρεόντα, ἄλλῳ περιέθηκε τὸ κράτος, ἀδικώτατον δέ, ὅτι τοῦ δείπνου εἵνεκεν Μήδους κατεδούλωσε. εἰ γὰρ δὴ δεῖν πάντως περιθεῖναι ἄλλῳ τέῳ τὴν βασιληίην καὶ μὴ αὐτὸν ἔχειν, δικαιότερον εἶναι Μήδων τέῳ περιβαλεῖν τοῦτο τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἢ Περσέων. νῦν δὲ Μήδους μὲν ἀναίτιους τούτου ἐόντας δούλους ἀντὶ δεσποτέων γεγονέναι, Πέρσας δὲ δούλους ἐόντας τὸ πρὶν Μήδων νῦν γεγονέναι δεσπότας. 128 129

Ἀστυάγης μέν νυν βασιλεύσας ἐπ' ἔτεα πέντε καὶ τριήκοντα οὕτω τῆς βασιληίης κατεπαύσθη, Μῆδοι δὲ ὑπεκύψαν Πέρσῃσι διὰ τὴν τούτου πικρότητα, ἄρξαντες τῆς ἄνω Ἅλυος ποταμοῦ Ἀσίης ἐπ' ἔτεα τριήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν δυῶν δέοντα, πάρεξ ἢ ὅσον 130

[6] Nikolaos of Damascus states that five battles were fought between Astyages and Kyros in Persia, Astyages winning the two first. The next two were fought on two successive days just outside Pasargadæ. After the fifth, Kyros pursued and captured Astyages, who had fled with a few friends. The recently-discovered inscription of Kyros shows the whole narrative to be unhistorical. Nor is the account of Herodotos altogether correct. See note on ch. 123.

[7] "Because he had written, and therefore the deed was justly his."

οἱ Σκύθαι ἦρχον.[8] ὑστέρῳ μέντοι χρόνῳ μετεμέλησέ τέ σφι τάδε ποιήσασι καὶ ἀπέστησαν ἀπὸ Δαρείου,[9] ἀποστάντες δὲ ὀπίσω κατεστράφθησαν μάχῃ νικηθέντες. τότε δὲ ἐπὶ Ἀστυάγεος οἱ Πέρσαι τε καὶ ὁ Κῦρος ἐπαναστάντες τοῖσι Μήδοισι ἦρχον τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου τῆς Ἀσίης.[1] Ἀστυάγεα δὲ Κῦρος κακὸν οὐδὲν ἄλλο ποιήσας εἶχε παρ' ἑωυτῷ, ἐς ὃ ἐτελεύτησε.

Οὕτω δὴ Κῦρος γενόμενός τε καὶ τραφεὶς ἐβασίλευσε καὶ Κροῖσον ὕστερον τούτων ἄρξαντα ἀδικίης[2] κατεστρέψατο, ὡς εἴρηταί μοι πρότερον, τοῦτον δὲ καταστρεψάμενος οὕτω πάσης τῆς Ἀσίης ἦρξε.

131 Πέρσας δὲ οἶδα νόμοισι τοιοῖσιδε χρεωμένους, ἀγάλματα μὲν καὶ νηοὺς καὶ βωμοὺς οὐκ ἐν νόμῳ ποιεομένους ἱδρύεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖσι ποιέουσι μωρίην ἐπιφέρουσι, ὡς μὲν ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν, ὅτι οὐκ ἀνθρωποφυέας ἐνόμισαν τοὺς θεοὺς κατά περ οἱ Ἕλληνες εἶναι· οἱ δὲ νομίζουσι Διὶ μὲν ἐπὶ τὰ ὑψηλότατα τῶν ὀρέων ἀναβαίνοντες θυσίας ἔρδειν, τὸν κύκλον πάντα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ Δία καλέοντες· θύουσι δὲ ἡλίῳ τε καὶ σελήνῃ καὶ γῇ καὶ πυρὶ καὶ ὕδατι καὶ ἀνέμοισι.[3] τούτοισι μὲν δὴ θύουσι μούνοισι ἀρχῆθεν, ἐπιμεμαθήκασι δὲ καὶ τῇ Οὐρανίῃ θύειν, παρά τε Ἀσσυρίων μαθόντες καὶ Ἀραβίων· καλέουσι δὲ Ἀσσύριοι τὴν Ἀφροδίτην

[8] "Except as long as"; πάρεξ ἤ cannot possibly mean "besides," as it has often been rendered. Comp. πλὴν ἤ, vi. 5; ἔξω ἤ, vii. 228. What Herodotos seems to mean is that the Medes ruled Asia "east of the Halys" (notice the use of ἄνω) 128 – 28 years, *i.e.* 100 years. This would place the beginning of their empire in B.C. (649 + 28 =) 677, when the Assyrian empire was still intact. One hundred years, however, is a round and therefore indefinite number, which Herodotos has treated as though it were a definite one, adding to it the twenty-eight years of the Skythian inroad. The Median empire could not have lasted more than eighty years at the most, and is probably to be reckoned from the date of the battle of the Halys (B.C. 584).

[9] This is the Median revolt which took place in the third year of Darius Hystaspis, as described by him in the Behistun Inscription.

[1] The Kyros tablet shows (1) that Kyros was king of Elam, not Persia; (2) that it was the Median army which revolted against Istuvegu or Astyagês.

[2] Because Krœsos had begun the war.

[3] See Appendix V. The "vault of heaven" is the Thwâsa, "god of the celestial space," of the Avesta. Sacrifices were not offered to the moon, earth, water, or winds, though *vâta* "the wind," *vayu* "the air," the earth, and the water, were "honoured" as "pure" elements. Xerxes scourged the Hellespont (vii. 35), which he would hardly have done had he accounted water divine. Fire was the visible symbol of the supreme god Ahuramazda. The Persians built fire-temples (each called *dâityô gâtus*, "house of the law"), and Dareios, at Behistun, complains that Gomates the Magian destroyed "the temples of the gods." Polybios (v. 10) implies that the Persians had temples. Altars were equally used by them.

Μύλιττα,[4] Ἀράβιοι δὲ Ἀλιλάτ,[5] Πέρσαι δὲ Μίτραν.[6] θυσίη δὲ τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι περὶ τοὺς εἰρημένους θεοὺς ἥδε κατέστηκε. οὔτε 132
βωμοὺς ποιέονται οὔτε πῦρ ἀνακαίουσι μέλλοντες θύειν·[7] οὐ σπονδῇ χρέωνται, οὐκὶ αὐλῷ, οὐ στέμμασι, οὐκὶ οὐλῇσι. τῶν δὲ ὡς ἑκάστῳ θύειν θέλῃ, ἐς χῶρον καθαρὸν ἀγαγὼν τὸ κτῆνος καλεῖ τὸν θεόν, ἐστεφανωμένος τὸν τιάραν μυρσίνῃ μάλιστα. ἐωυτῷ μὲν δὴ τῷ θύοντι ἰδίῃ μούνῳ οὔ οἱ ἐγγίνεται ἀρᾶσθαι ἀγαθά· ὁ δὲ τοῖσι πᾶσι Πέρσῃσι κατεύχεται εὖ γίνεσθαι καὶ τῷ βασιλέι· ἐν γὰρ δὴ τοῖσι ἅπασι Πέρσῃσι καὶ αὐτὸς γίνεται.[8] ἐπεὰν δὲ διαμιστύλας κατὰ μέρεα τὸ ἱερήιον ἑψήσῃ τὰ κρέα, ὑποπάσας ποίην ὡς ἁπαλωτάτην, μάλιστα δὲ τὸ τρίφυλλον, ἐπὶ ταύτης ἔθηκε ὧν πάντα τὰ κρέα. διαθέντος δὲ αὐτοῦ Μάγος ἀνὴρ[9] παρεστεὼς ἐπαείδει θεογονίην, οἵην δὴ ἐκεῖνοι λέγουσι εἶναι τὴν ἐπαοιδήν·[1] ἄνευ γὰρ δὴ Μάγου οὔ σφι νόμος ἐστὶ

[4] Istar is not called Mulidatu or Mulidtu, "the bearer," in any of the Assyrian texts we possess, but such might easily have been her popular title. See ch. 199.

[5] Restored from iii. 8. The *codices* have Ἄλιττα, probably through the jingle of Μύλιττα. Alilat is the feminine of *hêlêl*, "the shining one," the morning star of Is. 14, 12 (in Assyrian *ellu*, fem. *ellîtu*). See iii. 8. De Vogüé is wrong in identifying it with the name of the goddess Allath in Palmyrene and Nabathean inscriptions, whose chief seat was Taif in the Hijaz.

[6] This is an error. Mitra or Mithra was the sun-god. The Zoroastrians made him the visible form of Ahuramazda or Ormazd. The Persian Aphroditê was Anahid or Anaitis, whose statue was set up in the temples of the chief cities of the empire by Artaxerxes Mnêmôn (B.C. 405), as we learn from an inscription found at Susa, a fragment of Berosos wrongly assigning the deed to Artaxerxes Okhos.

[7] This is either a truism or an error. A truism if Herodotos meant that altars were not built and fires kindled just before the actual sacrifice began; an error if he supposed that there were no altars and fires. Libations were used (see vii. 54); one of the chief ceremonies during a sacrifice was that of the drink of the Haoma (the Vedic Soma). Instruments of music—the flute with fifteen holes, the tambourine, etc.,—were also employed in the sacrificial ceremonies.

[8] "He also is included."

[9] Here Magos is synonymous with "priest," as in the later period of the Persian monarchy. Up to the time of Darius Hystaspis, however, the Magians were one of the non-Aryan Median tribes (as in ch. 101), who placed the pseudo-Smerdis on the throne. The festival which recorded the overthrow of the usurper was called Μαγοφονία, not Μηδοφονία. Having lost their political importance, however, the Magi acquired a sacerdotal one after the amalgamation of the Medes and Persians, and the gradual infiltration of Persian Zoroastrianism by Median superstitions. See Appendix V. In the Avesta the priest is called *âtharvan* or "fire priest."—For the birthday feast cp. Xen. *Kyrop.* i. 3. There is no allusion to it in the Avesta.

[1] A rhythmic prayer, recited in monotone, and addressed first to Ormazd and Mithra, and then to the other holy beings, many examples of which are to be found in the Avesta. Cp. Lucian, *Nekyomant.* xi.

θυσίας ποιεῖσθαι. ἐπισχὼν δὲ ὀλίγον χρόνον ἀποφέρεται ὁ
133 θύσας τὰ κρέα, καὶ χρᾶται ὅ τι μιν λόγος αἱρεῖ. ἡμέρην δὲ ἀπασέων μάλιστα ἐκείνην τιμᾶν νομίζουσι τῇ ἕκαστος ἐγένετο. ἐν ταύτῃ δὲ πλέω δαῖτα τῶν ἀλλέων δικαιέουσι προτίθεσθαι· ἐν τῇ οἱ εὐδαίμονες αὐτῶν βοῦν καὶ ἵππον καὶ κάμηλον καὶ ὄνον προτιθέαται ὅλους ὀπτοὺς ἐν καμίνοισι, οἱ δὲ πένητες αὐτῶν τὰ λεπτὰ τῶν προβάτων προτιθέαται. σίτοισι δὲ ὀλίγοισι χρέωνται, ἐπιφορήμασι δὲ πολλοῖσι καὶ οὐκ ἀλέσι· καὶ διὰ τοῦτό φασι Πέρσαι τοὺς Ἕλληνας σιτεομένους πεινῶντας παύεσθαι, ὅτι σφι ἀπὸ δείπνου παραφορεῖται οὐδὲν λόγου ἄξιον· εἰ δέ τι παραφέροιτο, ἐσθίοντας ἂν οὐ παύεσθαι. οἴνῳ δὲ κάρτα προσκέαται,[2] καί σφι οὐκ ἐμέσαι ἔξεστι, οὐκὶ οὐρῆσαι ἀντίον ἄλλου. τάοτα μέν νυν οὕτω φυλάσσεται, μεθυσκόμενοι δὲ ἐώθασι βουλεύεσθαι τὰ σπουδαιέστατα τῶν πρηγμάτων. τὸ δ' ἂν ἄδῃ σφι βουλευομένοισι, τοῦτο τῇ ὑστεραίῃ νήφουσι προτιθεῖ ὁ στεγέαρχος, ἐν τοῦ ἂν ἐόντες βουλεύωνται· καὶ ἢν μὲν ἄδῃ καὶ νήφουσι, χρέωνται αὐτῷ, ἢν δὲ μὴ ἄδῃ, μετεῖσι. τὰ δ' ἂν νήφοντες προβουλεύσωνται, μεθυσκόμενοι ἐπιδιαγινώσκουσι.[3]
134 ἐντυγχάνοντες δ' ἀλλήλοισι ἐν τῇσι ὁδοῖσι, τῷδε ἄν τις διαγνοίη εἰ ὁμοιοί εἰσι οἱ συντυγχάνοντες· ἀντὶ γὰρ τοῦ προσαγορεύειν ἀλλήλους φιλέουσι τοῖσι στόμασι· ἢν δὲ ᾖ οὗτερος ὑποδεέστερος ὀλίγῳ, τὰς παρειὰς φιλέονται· ἢν δὲ πολλῷ ᾖ οὗτερος ἀγενέστερος, προσπίπτων προσκυνεῖ τὸν ἕτερον. τιμῶσι δὲ ἐκ πάντων τοὺς ἄγχιστα ἑωυτῶν οἰκέοντας μετά γε ἑωυτούς, δεύτερα δὲ τοὺς δευτέρους· μετὰ δὲ κατὰ λόγον προβαίνοντες τιμῶσι· ἥκιστα δὲ τοὺς ἑωυτῶν ἑκαστάτω οἰκημένους ἐν τιμῇ ἄγονται, νομίζοντες ἑωυτοὺς εἶναι ἀνθρώπων μακρῷ τὰ πάντα ἀρίστους.[4] τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους κατὰ λόγον [τῷ λεγομένῳ] τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀντέχεσθαι, τοὺς δὲ ἑκαστάτω οἰκέοντας ἀπὸ ἑωυτῶν κακίστους εἶναι. ἐπὶ δὲ Μήδων ἀρχόντων καὶ ἦρχε τὰ ἔθνεα ἀλλήλων,[5] συναπάν-

[2] Still a characteristic of the Persians. The statement that the Persians cooked whole animals in their ovens seems to be parodied by Aristophanes, *Akharn.* 85-7. Cp. Maxim. Tyr., ed. Dübner, *Dissert.* xxviii. According to Ktêsias (ed. Didot, p. 79) the king was allowed to be drunk only on the day when sacrifices were made to Mithras.

[3] Plainly a Greek story. Ἐπι- means "yet again." Tacitus ascribes a similar custom to the Germans (*Germ.* 22).

[4] Compare the pretensions of the Celestial Empire, or of the English tourist. Stein regards τῷ λεγομένῳ in the next clause as a false interpretation of κατὰ λόγον, "in proportion."

[5] "In the time of the Median supremacy the several nations had the following precedence over each other." Herodotos imagines a feudal system conditioned by geography; those furthest from the ruling power being under those nearer to it. Perhaps the notion was

των μὲν Μῆδοι *καὶ τῶν ἄγχιστα οἰκεόντων σφίσι, οὗτοι δὲ καὶ τῶν ὁμούρων, οἱ δὲ μάλα τῶν ἐχομένων, κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν δὴ λόγον καὶ οἱ* Πέρσαι *τιμῶσι· προέβαινε γὰρ δὴ τὸ ἔθνος ἄρχον τε καὶ ἐπιτροπεῦον.*[6] *ξεινικὰ δὲ νόμαια* Πέρσαι *πρόσίενται*[7] 135
ἀνδρῶν μάλιστα. καὶ γὰρ δὴ τὴν Μηδικὴν *ἐσθῆτα νομίσαντες τῆς ἑωυτῶν εἶναι καλλίω φορέουσι,*[8] *καὶ ἐς τοὺς πολέμους τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους θώρηκας· καὶ εὐπαθείας τε παντοδαπὰς πυνθανόμενοι ἐπιτηδεύουσι, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἀπ' Ἑλλήνων μαθόντες παισὶ μίσγονται. γαμέουσι δὲ ἕκαστος αὐτῶν πολλὰς μὲν κουριδίας*[9]
γυναῖκας, πολλῷ δ' ἔτι πλέονας παλλακὰς κτῶνται. ἀνδραγαθίη 136
δὲ αὕτη ἀποδέδεκται, μετὰ τὸ μάχεσθαι εἶναι ἀγαθόν, ὃς ἂν πολλοὺς ἀποδέξῃ παῖδας· τῷ δὲ τοὺς πλείστους ἀποδεικνύντι δῶρα ἐκπέμπει βασιλεὺς ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος. τὸ πολλὸν δ' ἡγέαται ἰσχυρὸν εἶναι. παιδεύουσι δὲ τοὺς παῖδας, ἀπὸ πενταέτεος ἀρξάμενοι μέχρι εἰκοσαέτεος, τρία μοῦνα, ἱππεύειν καὶ τοξεύειν καὶ ἀληθίζεσθαι.[1] *πρὶν δὲ ἢ πενταέτης γένηται, οὐκ ἀπικνεῖται ἐς ὄψιν τῷ πατρί, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τῇσι γυναιξὶ δίαιταν ἔχει. τοῦδε δὲ εἵνεκα τοῦτο οὕτω ποιεῖται, ἵνα, ἢν ἀποθάνῃ τρεφόμενος,*
μηδεμίαν ἄσην τῷ πατρὶ προσβάλῃ. αἰνέω μέν νυν τόνδε τὸν 137
νόμον, αἰνέω δὲ καὶ τόνδε, τὸ μὴ μιῆς αἰτίης εἵνεκα μήτε αὐτὸν τὸν βασιλέα μηδένα φονεύειν, μήτε τῶν ἄλλων Περσέων *μηδένα*

suggested by the seven walls of the citadel of Ekbatana (ch. 98).

[6] "The nation continually made advances in ruling and administering." This means that the empire of Persia had been continually growing, so that new countries were added to its borders, as well as new subjects who took rank after those nearer than themselves to Persia proper itself. Others understand the sentence of Media and render: "it governed first immediately, then mediately, in a progressive fashion." Stein asks whether we should not read *ἀρχόμενον* for *ἄρχον*?

[7] "Adopt foreign customs."

[8] According to ch. 71 the old Persian dress consisted of a leather tunic and trousers. On the monuments the kings wear a long sleeved robe, reaching to the ankles, and fastened round the waist by a girdle.

[9] The "Homeric" *κουρίδιος*, from *κοῦρος*, belonging to "a free youth," and hence "lawfully wedded," is, it will be noticed, a word of the new Ionic dialect of the age of Herodotos.

[1] Persian respect for truth is forcibly illustrated by the Behistun inscription where Dareios calls the Magian usurpation "a lie," declares that he is favoured by Ormazd because he is not "a liar," and orders his successors to destroy every one who is "a liar." Cp. ch. 138. It is difficult to suppose that Kyros was unable to read the inscriptions drawn up for him by the Babylonian scribes; and still more difficult to suppose it of Dareios; whence we may conclude that Persian education was not quite so illiterate as Herodotos would imply. Indeed the inscriptions Dareios took such pains to have inscribed by the side of the public road imply that a knowledge of letters was fairly widely spread.

τῶν ἑωυτοῦ οἰκετέων ἐπὶ μιῇ αἰτίῃ ἀνήκεστον πάθος ἔρδειν· ἀλλὰ λογισάμενος ἦν εὑρίσκῃ πλέω τε καὶ μέζω τὰ ἀδικήματα ἐόντα τῶν ὑπουργημάτων, οὕτω τῷ θυμῷ χρᾶται. ἀποκτεῖναι δὲ οὐδένα κω λέγουσι τὸν ἑωυτοῦ πατέρα οὐδὲ μητέρα, ἀλλὰ ὁκόσα ἤδη τοιαῦτα ἐγένετο, πᾶσαν ἀνάγκην φασὶ ἀναζητεόμενα τάοτα ἂν εὑρεθῆναι ἤτοι ὑποβολιμαῖα ἐόντα ἢ μοιχίδια·[2] οὐ γὰρ δή φασι οἰκὸς εἶναι τόν γε ἀληθέως τοκέα ὑπὸ τοῦ ἑωυτοῦ παιδὸς
138 ἀποθνήσκειν. ἄσσα δέ σφι ποιεῖν οὐκ ἔξεστι,[2a] τάοτα οὐδὲ λέγειν ἔξεστι. αἴσχιστον δὲ αὐτοῖσι τὸ ψεύδεσθαι νενόμισται, δεύτερα δὲ τὸ ὀφείλειν χρέος, πολλῶν μὲν καὶ ἄλλων εἵνεκα, μάλιστα δὲ ἀναγκαῖην φασὶ εἶναι τὸν ὀφείλοντα καί τι ψεῦδος λέγειν. ὃς ἂν δὲ τῶν ἀστῶν λέπρην ἢ λεύκην ἔχῃ, ἐς πόλιν οὔτος οὐ κατέρχεται οὐδὲ συμμίσγεται τοῖσι ἄλλοισι Πέρσῃσι· φασὶ δέ μιν ἐς τὸν ἥλιον ἁμαρτόντα τι τάοτα ἔχειν. ξεῖνον δὲ πάντα τὸν λαμβανόμενον ὑπὸ τουτέων [πολλοὶ] ἐξελαύνουσι ἐκ τῆς χώρης, καὶ τὰς λευκὰς περιστερὰς . . ., τὴν αὐτὴν αἰτίην
139 ἐπιφέροντες. ἐς ποταμὸν δὲ οὔτε ἐνουρέουσι οὔτε ἐμπτύουσι, οὐ χεῖρας ἐναπονίζονται, οὐδὲ ἄλλον οὐδένα περιορέουσι, ἀλλὰ σέβονται ποταμοὺς μάλιστα.[3] καὶ τόδε ἄλλο σφι ὧδε συμπέπτωκε γίνεσθαι, τὸ Πέρσας μὲν αὐτοὺς λέληθε, ἡμέας μέντοι οὔ· τὰ οὐνόματά σφι ἐόντα ὅμοια τοῖσι σώμασι καὶ τῇ μεγαλοπρεπείῃ τελευτῶσι πάντα ἐς τὠυτὸ γράμμα, τὸ Δωριεῖς μὲν σὰν καλέουσι, Ἴωνες δὲ σίγμα·[4] ἐς τοῦτο διζήμενος εὑρήσεις τελευτῶντα τῶν Περσέων τὰ οὐνόματα, οὐ τὰ μὲν τὰ δ' οὔ, ἀλλὰ πάντα ὁμοίως.[5]

[2] "Wherever such cases occurred . . . they would turn out on enquiry to have been the crimes either of changelings or of children born in adultery."

[2a] Tournier conjectures ὁσίη for ἔξεστι (*Revue de Phil.* 1877).

[3] Xerxes could not have had very much respect for the water when he chastised the Hellespont (vii. 35). Superstitious respect for the water, however, was an Elamite rather than a Zoroastrian virtue.

[4] *Sigma* is the *samech* of the Hebrew alphabet, *san* the Hebrew *shin*. The Greeks, not having the sound expressed by samech, fused the two sibilants together, making *sigma* take the place of *shin* before *tau*, and giving to the symbol which denoted *samech* the sound of *xi*. Among the Dorians, however, the name of *sigma* (*samech*) never displaced the older *shin*. A reminiscence of the two original letters was preserved in the system of numeration, where *sampi*, *i.e.* *san* + *pi*, denoted 900.

[5] This only proves Herodotos's ignorance of the Persian language. The Greeks, of course, bestowed a final *s* on Persian proper names, but in old Persian only nominatives of nouns in *i* and *u* had it. Names like Bardiy(a), Gaumát(a), etc., end in a vowel, like feminines in *-d*. Herodotos was equally wrong in imagining that all the names had reference to bodily or mental excellence. Cf. Pott on Old Persian proper

Τάοτα μὲν ἀτρεκέως ἔχω περὶ αὐτῶν εἰδὼς εἰπεῖν· τάδε 140
μέντοι ὡς κρυπτόμενα λέγεται καὶ οὐ σαφηνέως περὶ τοῦ ἀπο-
θανόντος, ὡς οὐ πρότερον θάπτεται ἀνδρὸς Πέρσεω ὁ νέκυς πρὶν
ἂν ὑπ' ὄρνιθος ἢ κυνὸς ἑλκυσθῇ.[6] Μάγους μὲν γὰρ ἀτρεκέως
οἶδα τάοτα ποιέοντας· ἐμφανέως γὰρ δὴ ποιέουσι. κατακηρώ-
σαντες δὲ ὦν τὸν νέκυν Πέρσαι γέᾳ κρύπτουσι. Μάγοι δὲ
κεχωρίδαται πολλὸν τῶν τε ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων καὶ τῶν ἐν
Αἰγύπτῳ ἱερέων. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἁγνεύουσι ἔμψυχον μηδὲν κτείνειν,
εἰ μὴ ὅσα θύουσι· οἱ δὲ δὴ Μάγοι αὐτοχειρίῃ πάντα πλὴν κυνὸς
καὶ ἀνθρώπου κτείνουσι,[7] καὶ ἀγώνισμα μέγα τοῦτο ποιέονται,
κτείνοντες ὁμοίως μύρμηκάς τε καὶ ὄφις καὶ τἆλλα ἑρπετὰ καὶ
πετεινά. καὶ ἀμφὶ μὲν τῷ νόμῳ τούτῳ ἐχέτω ὡς καὶ ἀρχὴν
ἐνομίσθη, ἄνειμι δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν πρότερον λόγον.

Ἴωνες δὲ καὶ Αἰολεῖς, ὡς οἱ Λυδοὶ τάχιστα κατεστράφατο 141
ὑπὸ Περσέων, ἔπεμπον ἀγγέλους ἐς Σάρδις παρὰ Κῦρον, ἐθέλοντες
ἐπὶ τοῖσι αὐτοῖσι εἶναι τοῖσι καὶ Κροίσῳ ἦσαν κατήκοοι. ὁ δὲ
ἀκούσας αὐτῶν τὰ προέσχοντο, ἔλεξέ σφι λόγον, ἄνδρα φὰς
αὐλητὴν ἰδόντα ἰχθῦς ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ αὐλεῖν, δοκέοντά σφεας
ἐξελεύσεσθαι ἐς γῆν· ὡς δὲ ψευσθῆναι τῆς ἐλπίδος, λαβεῖν
ἀμφίβληστρον καὶ περιβαλεῖν τε πλῆθος πολλὸν τῶν ἰχθύων
καὶ ἐξειρύσαι, ἰδόντα δὲ παλλομένους εἰπεῖν ἄρα αὐτὸν πρὸς
τοὺς ἰχθῦς "παύεσθέ μοι ὀρχεόμενοι, ἐπεὶ οὐδ' ἐμέο αὐλέοντος
ἠθέλετε ἐκβαίνειν ὀρχεόμενοι." Κῦρος μὲν τοῦτον τὸν λόγον
τοῖσι Ἴωσι καὶ τοῖσι Αἰολεῦσι τῶνδε εἵνεκα ἔλεξε, ὅτι δὴ οἱ
Ἴωνες πρότερον αὐτοῦ Κύρου δεηθέντος δι' ἀγγέλων ἀπίστασθαί
σφεας ἀπὸ Κροίσου οὐκ ἐπείθοντο, τότε δὲ κατεργασμένων τῶν
πρηγμάτων ἦσαν ἕτοιμοι πείθεσθαι Κύρῳ. ὁ μὲν δὴ ὀργῇ
ἐχόμενος ἔλεγέ σφι τάδε· Ἴωνες δὲ ὡς ἤκουσαν τούτων ἀνενειχ-
θέντων ἐς τὰς πόλιας, τείχεά τε περιεβάλοντο ἕκαστοι, καὶ
συνελέγοντο ἐς Πανιώνιον οἱ ἄλλοι πλὴν Μιλησίων· πρὸς μούνους
γὰρ τούτους ὅρκιον Κῦρος ἐποιήσατο ἐπ' οἷσί περ ὁ Λυδός.

names, in the *Journal of the German Oriental Society*, xiii. (1859), pp. 359 *sq.*

[6] According to Zoroastrian belief neither earth nor fire may be polluted by contact with a corpse; the only way of getting rid of the dead, therefore, is that mentioned in the text. The modern Parsis place the dead body on a round tower, called a "tower of silence," where it is devoured by the vultures. We may notice that Herodotos ascribes this custom to the Magi rather than to the Persians generally, so completely had the Magi become identified with the Zoroastrian priests.

[7] An exaggeration of the religious duty enjoined on the Zoroastrians of destroying all animals noxious to man. See Appendix V. Ants are ordered to be killed in Vendidad, xvi. 28; snakes, lizards, ants, rats, and gnats, in Vend. xiv. 10 *sq.*

τοῖσι δὲ λοιποῖσι Ἴωσι ἔδοξε κοινῷ λόγῳ πέμπειν ἀγγέλους ἐς Σπάρτην δεησομένους Ἴωσι τιμωρεῖν.

142 Οἱ δὲ Ἴωνες οὗτοι, τῶν καὶ τὸ Πανιώνιόν ἐστι, τοῦ μὲν οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῶν ὡρέων ἐν τῷ καλλίστῳ ἐτύγχανον ἱδρυσάμενοι πόλιας πάντων ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν· οὔτε γὰρ τὰ ἄνω αὐτῆς χωρία τὠυτὸ ποιεῖ τῇ Ἰωνίῃ οὔτε τὰ κάτω, [οὔτε τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἠῶ οὔτε τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἑσπέρην,] τὰ μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ ψυχροῦ τε καὶ ὑγροῦ πιεζόμενα, τὰ δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ θερμοῦ τε καὶ αὐχμώδεος. γλῶσσαν δὲ οὐ τὴν αὐτὴν οὗτοι νενομίκασι, ἀλλὰ τρόπους τέσσερας παραγωγέων.[8] Μίλητος μὲν αὐτέων πρώτη κεῖται πόλις πρὸς μεσαμβρίην, μετὰ δὲ Μυοῦς τε καὶ Πριήνη. αὗται μὲν ἐν τῇ Καρίῃ κατοίκηνται κατὰ ταὐτὰ διαλεγόμεναι σφίσι,[9] αἵδε δὲ ἐν τῇ Λυδίῃ, Ἔφεσος Κολοφὼν Λέβεδος Τέως Κλαζομεναὶ Φώκαια· αὗται δὲ αἱ πόλιες τῇσι πρότερον λεχθείσῃσι ὁμολογέουσι κατὰ γλῶσσαν οὐδέν, σφίσι δὲ ὁμοφωνέουσι. ἔτι δὲ τρεῖς ὑπόλοιποι Ἰάδες πόλιες, τῶν αἱ δύο μὲν νήσους οἰκέαται, Σάμον τε καὶ Χίον, ἡ δὲ μία ἐν τῇ ἠπείρῳ ἵδρυται, Ἐρυθραί. Χῖοι μέν νυν καὶ Ἐρυθραῖοι κατὰ τὠυτὸ διαλέγονται, Σάμιοι δὲ ἐπ' ἑωυτῶν μούνοι. οὗτοι χαρακτῆρες γλώσσης τέσσερες γίνονται.

143 Τούτων δὴ ὧν τῶν Ἰώνων οἱ Μιλήσιοι μὲν ἦσαν ἐν σκέπῃ τοῦ φόβου, ὅρκιον ποιησάμενοι, τοῖσι δὲ αὐτῶν νησιώτῃσι ἦν δεινὸν οὐδέν· οὔτε γὰρ Φοίνικες ἦσαν κω Περσέων κατήκοοι οὔτε αὐτοὶ οἱ Πέρσαι ναυβάται. ἀπεσχίσθησαν δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων Ἰώνων οὗτοι κατ' ἄλλο μὲν οὐδέν, ἀσθενέος δὲ ἐόντος τοῦ παντὸς τότε Ἑλληνικοῦ γένεος, πολλῷ δὴ ἦν ἀσθενέστατον τῶν ἐθνέων τὸ Ἰωνικὸν καὶ λόγου ἐλαχίστου· ὅτι γὰρ μὴ Ἀθῆναι, ἦν οὐδὲν ἄλλο πόλισμα λόγιμον. οἱ μέν νυν ἄλλοι Ἴωνες καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἔφυγον τὸ οὔνομα, οὐ βουλόμενοι Ἴωνες κεκλῆσθαι,[1] ἀλλὰ καὶ νῦν φαίνονταί μοι οἱ πολλοὶ αὐτῶν ἐπαισχύνεσθαι τῷ οὐνόματι· αἱ δὲ δυώδεκα πόλιες αὗται τῷ τε οὐνόματι ἠγάλλοντο καὶ ἱερὸν ἱδρύσαντο ἐπὶ σφέων αὐτῶν, τῷ οὔνομα ἔθεντο Πανιώνιον, ἐβουλεύσαντο δὲ αὐτοῦ μεταδοῦναι μηδαμοῖσι ἄλλοισι Ἰώνων (οὐδ'

144 ἐδεήθησαν δὲ οὐδαμοὶ μετασχεῖν ὅτι μὴ Σμυρναῖοι)· κατά περ οἱ ἐκ τῆς πενταπόλιος νῦν χώρης Δωριεῖς, πρότερον δὲ ἑξαπόλιος

[8] "Four slightly-differing dialects." Scarcely any trace of these differences can be detected in the Neo-Ionic inscriptions which we possess.

[9] "And use the same dialect."

[1] In consequence of the cowardly conduct of the Ionians at the time of the Ionic revolt, which brought the very name of "Ionian" into contempt. At an earlier date, the poet of the Homeric Hymn to Apollo is proud of the title.

τῆς αὐτῆς ταύτης καλεομένης, φυλάσσονται ὧν μηδαμοὺς ἐσδέξασθαι τῶν προσοίκων Δωρίων ἐς τὸ Τριοπικὸν ἱερόν,[2] ἀλλὰ καὶ σφέων αὐτῶν τοὺς περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ἀνομήσαντας ἐξεκλήισαν τῆς μετοχῆς. ἐν γὰρ τῷ ἀγῶνι τοῦ Τριοπίου Ἀπόλλωνος ἐτίθεσαν τὸ πάλαι τρίποδας χαλκέους τοῖσι νικῶσι, καὶ τούτους χρῆν τοὺς λαμβάνοντας ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ μὴ ἐκφέρειν ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ ἀνατιθέναι τῷ θεῷ. ἀνὴρ ὧν Ἁλικαρνησσεύς, τῷ οὔνομα ἦν Ἀγασικλέης, νικήσας τὸν νόμον κατηλόγησε, φέρων δὲ πρὸς τὰ ἑωυτοῦ οἰκία προσεπασσάλευσε τὸν τρίποδα. διὰ ταύτην τὴν αἰτίην αἱ πέντε πόλιες, Λίνδος καὶ Ἰήλυσός τε καὶ Κάμειρος[3] καὶ Κῶς τε καὶ Κνίδος, ἐξεκλήισαν τῆς μετοχῆς τὴν ἕκτην πόλιν Ἁλικαρνησσόν. τούτοισι μέν νυν οὗτοι ταύτην τὴν ζημίην 145
ἐπέθηκαν· δυώδεκα δέ μοι δοκέουσι πόλιας ποιήσασθαι οἱ Ἴωνες καὶ οὐκ ἐθελῆσαι πλέονας ἐσδέξασθαι τοῦδε εἵνεκα, ὅτι καὶ ὅτε ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ οἴκεον, δυώδεκα ἦν αὐτῶν μέρεα, κατά περ νῦν Ἀχαιῶν τῶν ἐξελασάντων Ἴωνας δυώδεκά ἐστι μέρεα,[4] Πελλήνη μέν γε πρώτη πρὸς Σικυῶνος, μετὰ δὲ Αἴγειρα καὶ Αἰγαί, ἐν τῇ Κρᾶθις[5] ποταμὸς ἀείναός ἐστι, ἀπ' ὅτεο ὁ ἐν Ἰταλίῃ ποταμὸς τὸ οὔνομα ἔσχε, καὶ Βοῦρα καὶ Ἑλίκη, ἐς τὴν κατέφυγον Ἴωνες ὑπὸ Ἀχαιῶν μάχῃ ἐσσωθέντες, καὶ Αἴγιον καὶ Ῥύπες καὶ Πατρεῖς καὶ Φαρεῖς καὶ Ὤλενος, ἐν τῷ Πεῖρος ποταμὸς μέγας ἐστί, καὶ Δύμη καὶ Τριταιεῖς, οἳ μοῦνοι τούτων μεσόγαιοι οἰκέουσι. τάδε δυώδεκα μέρεα νῦν Ἀχαιῶν ἐστὶ καὶ τότε γε Ἰώνων ἦν. τούτων δὴ εἵνεκα καὶ οἱ Ἴωνες δυώδεκα πόλιας ἐποιήσαντο, ἐπεὶ 146
ὥς γέ τι μᾶλλον οὗτοι Ἴωνές εἰσι τῶν ἄλλων Ἰώνων ἢ κάλλιόν τι γεγόνασι,[6] μωρίη πολλὴ λέγειν· τῶν[7] Ἄβαντες μὲν ἐξ Εὐβοίης

[2] The Triopian cape was the three-forked promontory on which Knidos stood. An inscription found at Knidos states that a γυμνικὸς ἀγὼν took place there every five years.

[3] Lindos, Ialysos, and Kameiros were all of Phœnician foundation, but afterwards occupied by the Dorians like the other Phœnician settlements in the Ægean. Lindos still exists on the southern coast of Rhodes, but nothing save tombs remains of Ialysos (a little southward of the town of Rhodes) and Kameiros (near Kalavarda) on the northern coast of the island.

[4] This refers to the legend which made the Akhæans, when driven by the Dorian invasion from Argolis, Lakonia, and Messenia, expel the Ionians from the part of the northern coast of the Peloponnêsos afterwards known as Akhæa.

[5] The Krathis ran past Thurii in Magna Græcia, where Herodotos finished his history and ended his days. The original Krathis was in Arkadia.

[6] "That these Ionians are at all more Ionian than the rest, or in any way better."

[7] As in Homer, "of whom." According to Aristotle the Abantes were prehistoric Thrakians who settled in Eubœa (also in Khios, Paus. vii. 4, 9). See *Il.* ii. 536.

εἰσὶ οὐκ ἐλαχίστη μοῖρα, τοῖσι Ἰωνίης μέτα οὐδὲ τοῦ οὐνόματος οὐδέν, Μινύαι δὲ Ὀρχομένιοί[8] σφι ἀναμεμίχαται καὶ Καδμεῖοι καὶ Δρύοπες καὶ Φωκεῖς ἀποδάσμιοι καὶ Μολοσσοὶ καὶ Ἀρκάδες Πελασγοὶ καὶ Δωριεῖς Ἐπιδαύριοι, ἄλλα τε ἔθνεα πολλὰ ἀναμεμίχαται· οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ πρυτανηίου[9] τοῦ Ἀθηναίων ὁρμηθέντες καὶ νομίζοντες γενναιότατοι εἶναι Ἰώνων, οὗτοι δὲ οὐ γυναῖκας ἠγάγοντο ἐς τὴν ἀποικίην ἀλλὰ Καείρας ἔσχον, τῶν ἐφόνευσαν τοὺς γονέας. διὰ τοῦτον δὲ τὸν φόνον αἱ γυναῖκες αὗται νόμον θέμεναι σφίσι αὐτῇσι ὅρκους ἐπήλασαν καὶ παρέδοσαν τῇσι θυγατράσι, μή κοτε ὁμοσιτῆσαι τοῖσι ἀνδράσι μηδὲ οὐνόματι βῶσαι τὸν ἑωυτῆς ἄνδρα,[1] τοῦδε εἵνεκα ὅτι ἐφόνευσάν σφεων τοὺς πατέρας καὶ ἄνδρας καὶ παῖδας καὶ ἔπειτεν τάοτα ποιήσαντες αὐτῇσι συνοίκεον. τάοτα δὲ ἦν γινόμενα ἐν Μιλήτῳ.

[8] The prehistoric Minyans of Orkhomenos in Bœotia were famous for their wealth (*Il.* ix. 381), and seem to have been the rivals of the Akhæans of Mykenæ. The shafts cut through the rock in the neighbourhood of Kopæ (*Topolia*) in order to let off the water of the Kephissos may have been their work. A prehistoric naval alliance between Orkhomenos, Athens, Epidauros, Hermionê, Prasiæ (afterwards Spartan), and Nauplia (afterwards Argive), which met every year in the island of Kalauria, off Argolis, was preserved in name into historic times. The recent excavations of Dr. Schliemann have shown that the Minyan city occupied only the southern part of the later historical acropolis of Orkhomenos. Prehistoric pottery and stone implements, similar to those found at Mykenæ, have been brought to light. The "Treasury of Minyas," a gigantic *tholos* or beehive tomb, like the Treasuries of Mykenæ, only built of well-cut and well-fitted blocks of white marble, has been shown to have led into a rectangular chamber, the ceiling of which consisted of four huge blocks of green marble, while the walls were lined with slabs of the same material. The ceiling and slabs were adorned with sculptures in the form of rosettes, spirals, and "sphinx-tails," resembling the ornamentation of one of the tombstones discovered at Mykenæ, as well as of some of the gold objects found in one of the tombs there. The Minyans are said to have founded Teos (Paus. vii. 3), and the Phokians Phokæa, while the Abantes helped to found Khios, and the Kadmeians Priênê. Attica was filled with fugitives from all parts (Thuk. i. 2). It is probable, however, that the coasts of Asia Minor were occupied by "Ionian" Greeks long before they were reinforced by the fugitives from the Dorians.

[9] When a colony was founded, some of the sacred fire, which was always kept alight in the Prytaneion, was taken from the mother city.

[1] "Nor call her husband by his name." A Kafir woman is not allowed to name her father-in-law even mentally, or any of her husband's male relations. The Bogo women may not name their husbands (Munzinger, *Sitten und Recht der Bogos*, p. 95). Elsewhere, as in America, persons avoid the use of their own names, while the Tahitians disused all words containing a syllable of the name of the reigning sovereign. It is clear, therefore, that the custom originated in a fear lest by mentioning a name the attention of the evil spirits might be attracted to the person to whom it belonged. In Miletos its origin was forgotten.

βασιλέας δὲ ἐστήσαντο οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν Λυκίους ἀπὸ Γλαύκου τοῦ 147
Ἱππολόχου γεγονότας, οἱ δὲ Καύκωνας Πυλίους ἀπὸ Κόδρου τοῦ
Μελάνθου, οἱ δὲ καὶ συναμφοτέρους. ἀλλὰ γὰρ περιέχονται
τοῦ οὐνόματος μᾶλλόν τι τῶν ἄλλων Ἰώνων, ἔστωσαν δὴ καὶ
οἱ καθαρῶς γεγονότες Ἴωνες· εἰσὶ δὲ πάντες Ἴωνες, ὅσοι ἀπ' |
Ἀθηνέων γεγόνασι καὶ Ἀπατούρια[2] ἄγουσι ἑορτήν· ἄγουσι δὲ
πάντες πλὴν Ἐφεσίων καὶ Κολοφωνίων· οὗτοι γὰρ μοῦνοι Ἰώνων
οὐκ ἄγουσι Ἀπατούρια, καὶ οὗτοι κατὰ φόνου τινὰ σκῆψιν.
τὸ δὲ Πανιώνιον ἐστὶ τῆς Μυκάλης χῶρος ἱερὸς πρὸς ἄρκτον 148
τετραμμένος, κοινῇ ἐξαιρημένος ὑπὸ Ἰώνων Ποσειδέωνι Ἑλι-
κωνίῳ. ἡ δὲ Μυκάλη ἐστὶ τῆς ἠπείρου ἄκρη πρὸς ζέφυρον
ἄνεμον κατήκουσα Σάμῳ, ἐς τὴν συλλεγόμενοι ἀπὸ τῶν πολίων
Ἴωνες ἄγεσκον ὁρτὴν τῇ ἔθεντο οὔνομα Πανιώνια.[3] [πεπόνθασι
δὲ οὔτι μοῦναι αἱ Ἰώνων ὁρταὶ τοῦτο, ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἑλλήνων πάντων
ὁμοίως πᾶσαι ἐς τὠυτὸ γράμμα τελευτῶσι, κατά περ τῶν Περ-
σέων τὰ οὐνόματα.[4]]

Αὗται μὲν αἱ Ἰάδες πόλιές εἰσι, αἵδε δὲ αἱ Αἰολίδες, Κύμη 149
ἡ Φρικωνὶς καλεομένη, Λήρισαι, Νέον τεῖχος, Τῆμνος, Κίλλα,
Νότιον, Αἰγιρόεσσα, Πιτάνη, Αἰγαῖαι, Μύρινα, Γρύνεια.[5] αὗται
ἕνδεκα Αἰολέων πόλιες αἱ ἀρχαῖαι· μία γάρ σφεων παρελύθη
Σμύρνη ὑπὸ Ἰώνων· ἦσαν γὰρ καὶ αὗται δυώδεκα αἱ ἐν τῇ
ἠπείρῳ. οὗτοι δὲ οἱ Αἰολεῖς χώρην μὲν ἔτυχον κτίσαντες ἀμείνω
Ἰώνων, ὠρέων δὲ ἧκουσαν οὐκ ὁμοίως. Σμύρνην δὲ ὧδε ἀπέ- 150
βαλον Αἰολεῖς. Κολοφωνίους ἄνδρας στάσει ἐσσωθέντας καὶ
ἐκπεσόντας ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος ὑπεδέξαντο. μετὰ δὲ οἱ φυγάδες
τῶν Κολοφωνίων φυλάξαντες τοὺς Σμυρναίους ὁρτὴν ἔξω τείχεος
ποιεομένους Διονύσῳ, τὰς πύλας ἀποκλησίαντες ἔσχον τὴν πόλιν.
βοηθησάντων δὲ πάντων Αἰολέων ὁμολογίῃ ἐχρήσαντο, τὰ

[2] The Apaturia was the annual meeting of the phratries, when the children born during the two or three preceding years were enrolled as citizens. It took place in Pyanepsion (November), and lasted three days. On the first (δορτία) the members of each phratry dined together; on the second (ἀνάῤῥυσις) sacrifices were offered to Zeus Phratrios; and on the third (κουρεῶτις) the children's names were registered.

[3] In the time of Thukydides (iii. 104) this feast was in great measure superseded by the Ephesia.

[4] This seems too absurd a truism to have been written by a Greek.

[5] In place of Ægiroessa other writers have Elæa. Recent discoveries fix the site of Myrina at Kalabassery, a few miles north of Kymê, at the mouth of the Koja Chai. Mr. W. M. Ramsay has found the site of Temnos on the northern side of the Boghaz or Pass leading into the western part of the plain of Magnesia. Menimen, with which Texier identified it, had no existence in the Greek period. Phokæa, which intervened between Kymê and Smyrna, must

ἔπιπλα ἀποδόντων τῶν Ἰώνων ἐκλιπεῖν Σμύρνην Αἰολέας. ποιησάντων δὲ τάοτα Σμυρναίων ἐπιδιείλοντό σφεας αἱ ἕνδεκα
151 πόλιες καὶ ἐποιήσαντο σφέων αὐτέων πολιήτας. αὗται μέν νυν αἱ ἠπειρώτιδες Αἰολίδες πόλιες, ἔξω τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἴδῃ οἰκημενέων· κεχωρίδαται γὰρ αὗται. αἱ δὲ τὰς νήσους ἔχουσαι πέντε μὲν πόλιες τὴν Λέσβον νέμονται (τὴν γὰρ ἕκτην ἐν τῇ Λέσβῳ οἰκεομένην Ἀρίσβαν ἠνδραπόδισαν Μηθυμναῖοι ἐόντας ὁμαίμους), ἐν Τενέδῳ δὲ μία οἰκεῖται πόλις, καὶ ἐν τῇσι Ἑκατὸν νήσοισι καλεομένῃσι[6] ἄλλη μία. Λεσβίοισι μέν νυν καὶ Τενεδίοισι, κατά περ Ἰώνων τοῖσι τὰς νήσους ἔχουσι, ἦν δεινὸν οὐδέν· τῇσι δὲ λοιπῇσι πόλισι ἔαδε κοινῇ Ἴωσι ἕπεσθαι τῇ ἂν οὗτοι ἐξηγέωνται.

152 Ὡς δὲ ἀπίκοντο ἐς τὴν Σπάρτην τῶν Ἰώνων καὶ Αἰολέων οἱ ἄγγελοι (κατὰ γὰρ δὴ τάχος ἦν τάοτα πρησσόμενα), εἵλοντο πρὸ πάντων λέγειν τὸν Φωκαέα, τῷ οὔνομα ἦν Πύθερμος. ὁ δὲ πορφύρεόν τε εἷμα περιβαλόμενος, ὡς ἂν πυνθανόμενοι πλεῖστοι συνέλθοιεν Σπαρτιητέων,[7] καὶ καταστὰς ἔλεγε πολλὰ τιμωρεῖν ἑωυτοῖσι χρηίζων. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ οὔ κως ἐσήκουον, ἀλλ' ἀπέδοξέ σφι μὴ τιμωρεῖν Ἴωσι.[8] οἱ μὲν δὴ ἀπαλλάσσοντο, Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ἀπωσάμενοι τῶν Ἰώνων τοὺς ἀγγέλους ὅμως ἀπέστειλαν πεντηκοντέρῳ ἄνδρας, ὡς μὲν ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, κατασκόπους τῶν τε Κύρου πρηγμάτων καὶ Ἰωνίης. ἀπικόμενοι δὲ οὗτοι ἐς Φώκαιαν ἔπεμπον ἐς Σάρδις σφέων αὐτῶν τὸν δοκιμώτατον, τῷ οὔνομα ἦν Λακρίνης, ἀπερέοντα Κύρῳ Λακεδαιμονίων ῥῆσιν, γέας τῆς Ἑλλάδος μηδεμίαν πόλιν σιναμωρεῖν, ὡς αὐτῶν
153 οὐ περιοψομένων. τάοτα εἰπόντος τοῦ κήρυκος, λέγεται Κῦρον ἐπείρεσθαι τοὺς παρεόντας οἱ Ἑλλήνων τίνες ἐόντες ἄνθρωποι Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ κόσοι πλῆθος τάοτα ἑωυτῷ προαγορεύουσι. πυνθανόμενον δὲ μιν εἰπεῖν πρὸς τὸν κήρυκα τὸν Σπαρτιήτην "οὐκ ἔδεισά κω ἄνδρας τοιούτους, τοῖσι ἐστὶ χῶρος ἐν μέσῃ τῇ πόλει ἀποδεδεγμένος ἐς τὸν συλλεγόμενοι ἀλλήλους ὀμνύντες ἐξαπατῶσι·[9] τοῖσι, ἢν ἐγὼ ὑγιαίνω, οὐ τὰ Ἰώνων πάθεα ἔσται ἔλλεσχα[1] ἀλλὰ τὰ οἰκήια." τάοτα ἐς τοὺς πάντας Ἕλληνας

have been founded by the Ionians after their capture of Smyrna.

[6] Opposite the northern end of Lesbos.

[7] "In order that most of the Spartiates might hear of him and come together." A purple robe seems to have been a luxury unknown in Sparta.

[8] Yet they had been willing enough to assist a foreign despot, Krœsos, a short time before.

[9] "Into which they come together to swear and cheat one another."

[1] "A matter to talk about." Λέσχη, "a club-room," seems borrowed from Phœnician (Heb. *lishcâh* "a chamber").

ἀπέρριψε ὁ Κῦρος τὰ ἔπεα, ὅτι ἀγορὰς στησάμενοι ὠνῇ τε καὶ πρήσι χρέωνται· αὐτοὶ γὰρ οἱ Πέρσαι ἀγορῇσι οὐδὲν ἐώθασι χρᾶσθαι, οὐδέ σφι ἐστὶ τὸ παράπαν ἀγορή. μετὰ τάοτα ἐπιτρέψας τὰς μὲν Σάρδις Ταβάλῳ ἀνδρὶ Πέρσῃ, τὸν δὲ χρυσὸν τόν τε Κροίσου καὶ τὸν τῶν ἄλλων Λυδῶν Πακτύῃ ἀνδρὶ Λυδῷ κομίζειν, ἀπήλαυνε αὐτὸς ἐς Ἀγβάτανα, Κροῖσόν τε ἅμα ἀγόμενος καὶ τοὺς Ἴωνας ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ ποιησάμενος τὴν πρώτην εἶναι.[2] ἦ τε γὰρ Βαβυλών οἱ ἦν ἐμπόδιος καὶ τὸ Βάκτριον ἔθνος καὶ Σάκαι[3] τε καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι, ἐπ' οὓς ἐπείχέ τε στρατηλατεῖν αὐτός, ἐπὶ δὲ Ἴωνας ἄλλον πέμπειν στρατηγόν.

Ὡς δὲ ἀπήλασε ὁ Κῦρος ἐκ τῶν Σαρδίων, τοὺς Λυδοὺς 154
ἀπέστησε ὁ Πακτύης ἀπό τε Ταβάλου καὶ Κύρου, καταβὰς δὲ ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, ἅτε τὸν χρυσὸν ἔχων πάντα τὸν ἐκ τῶν Σαρδίων, ἐπικούρους τε ἐμισθοῦτο καὶ τοὺς ἐπιθαλασσίους ἀνθρώπους ἔπειθε σὺν ἑωυτῷ στρατεύεσθαι. ἐλάσας δὲ ἐπὶ τὰς Σάρδις ἐπολιόρκει Τάβαλον ἀπεργμένον ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει. πυθόμενος 155
δὲ κατ' ὁδὸν τάοτα ὁ Κῦρος εἶπε πρὸς Κροῖσον τάδε. "Κροῖσε, τί ἔσται τέλος τῶν γινομένων τούτων ἐμοί; οὐ παύσονται Λυδοί, ὡς οἰκασι, πρήγματα παρέχοντες καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔχοντες. φροντίζω μὴ ἄριστον ᾖ ἐξανδραποδίσασθαί σφεας. ὁμοίως γάρ μοι νῦν γε φαίνομαι πεποιηκέναι ὡς εἴ τις πατέρα ἀποκτείνας τῶν παίδων αὐτοῦ φείσαιτο·[3a] ὡς δὲ καὶ ἐγὼ Λυδῶν τὸν μὲν πλέον τι ἢ πατέρα ἐόντα σὲ λαβὼν ἄγω, αὐτοῖσι δὲ Λυδοῖσι τὴν πόλιν παρέδωκα, καὶ ἔπειτα θωυμάζω εἴ μοι ἀπεστᾶσι." ὁ μὲν δὴ τά περ ἐνόει ἔλεγε, ὁ δ' ἀμείβετο τοῖσιδε, δείσας μὴ ἀναστάτους ποιήσῃ τὰς Σάρδις. "ὦ βασιλεῦ, τὰ μὲν οἰκότα εἴρηκας, σὺ

[2] "Accounting the Ionians to be in no way his first object." So ἐξ ὑστέρης, ch. 108, v. 106; ἐκ νέης, ch. 60; ἐκ τῆς ἰθέης, ii. 161. With the name of Paktyas compare *Pakt-ôlos*.

[3] In the inscription on the tomb of Darius Hystaspis at Nakhsh-i-Rusta'm, the Sakæ are divided into the *Saka Humavarga* and the *Saka Tigrakhuda*. In vii. 64 Herodotos calls them Amyrgian (= Humavarga) Skythians. They denoted the nomad tribes on the eastern borders of Baktria, some of whom may have been of Aryan origin. They lived north of the Jaxartes according to Arrian (iii. 8; iv. 1, 4; and see Strab. xi. p. 748), where Herodotos places the Massagetæ. In the Babylonian transcripts of the Persian inscriptions the Saka are rendered Zimmirrai or Kurds, and there were Sakæ in Armenia adjoining the Medes and Kadusians (Strab. vi. pp. 745, 767, etc.; Pliny, *N. H.* xi. 10; Ptol. v. 13). The Skythians who overthrew the Greek kingdom in Baktria are also called Sakæ. According to Ktêsias the conquest of the Sakæ and Baktrians preceded the capture of Sardes.

[3a] From the old proverb ascribed to the Epic poet Stasinos (Arist. *Rhet.* iii. 21), but more probably forming part of the Kypria (see ii. 117, note 5): νήπιος ὃς πατέρα κτείνας παῖδας καταλείπει.

μέντοι μὴ πάντα θυμῷ χρέο, μηδὲ πόλιν ἀρχαίην ἐξαναστήσῃς ἀναμάρτητον ἐοῦσαν καὶ τῶν πρότερον καὶ τῶν νῦν ἐστεώτων. τὰ μὲν γὰρ πρότερον ἐγώ τε ἔπρηξα καὶ ἐγὼ κεφαλῇ ἀναμάξας[35] φέρω· τὰ δὲ νῦν παρεόντα Πακτύης γάρ ἐστι ὁ ἀδικέων, τῷ σὺ ἐπέτρεψας Σάρδις, οὗτος δότω τοι δίκην. Λυδοῖσι δὲ συγγνώμην ἔχων τάδε αὐτοῖσι ἐπίταξον, ὡς μήτε ἀποστέωσι μήτε δεινοί τοι ἔωσι. ἄπειπε μέν σφι πέμψας ὅπλα ἀρήια μὴ ἐκτῆσθαι, κέλευε δέ σφεας κιθῶνάς τε ὑποδύνειν τοῖσι εἵμασι καὶ κοθόρνους ὑποδεῖσθαι, πρόειπε δ' αὐτοῖσι κιθαρίζειν τε καὶ ψάλλειν καὶ καπηλεύειν παιδεύειν τοὺς παῖδας. καὶ ταχέως σφέας ὦ βασιλεῦ γυναῖκας ἀντ' ἀνδρῶν ὄψεαι γεγονότας, ὥστε οὐδὲν δεινοί τοι
156 ἔσονται μὴ ἀποστέωσι." Κροῖσος μὲν δὴ τάοτά οἱ ὑπετίθετο, αἱρετώτερα τάοτα εὑρίσκων Λυδοῖσι ἢ ἀνδραποδισθέντας πρηθῆναί σφεας, ἐπιστάμενος ὅτι ἢν μὴ ἀξιόχρεον πρόφασιν προτείνῃ, οὐκ ἀναπείσει μιν μεταβουλεύσασθαι, ἀρρωδέων δὲ μὴ καὶ ὕστερόν κοτε οἱ Λυδοί, ἢν τὸ παρεὸν ὑπεκδράμωσι, ἀποστάντες ἀπὸ τῶν Περσέων ἀπόλωνται. Κῦρος δὲ ἡσθεὶς τῇ ὑποθήκῃ καὶ ὑπεὶς τῆς ὀργῆς ἔφη οἱ πείθεσθαι. καλέσας δὲ Μαζάρεα ἄνδρα Μῆδον, τάοτά τέ οἱ ἐνετείλατο προειπεῖν Λυδοῖσι τὰ ὁ Κροῖσος ὑπετίθετο, καὶ πρὸς ἐξανδραποδίσασθαι τοὺς ἄλλους πάντας οἳ μετὰ Λυδῶν ἐπὶ Σάρδις ἐστρατεύσαντο, αὐτὸν δὲ Πακτύην πάντως ζῶντα ἀγαγεῖν παρ' ἑωυτόν.

157 Ὁ μὲν δὴ τάοτα ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ ἐντειλάμενος ἀπήλαυνε ἐς ἤθεα τὰ Περσέων, Πακτύης δὲ πυθόμενος ἀγχοῦ εἶναι στρατὸν ἐπ' ἑωυτὸν ἰόντα, δείσας οἴχετο φεύγων ἐς Κύμην. Μαζάρης δὲ ὁ Μῆδος ἐλάσας ἐπὶ τὰς Σάρδις τοῦ Κύρου στρατοῦ μοῖραν ὅσην δή κοτε ἔχων, ὡς οὐκ εὗρε ἔτι ἐόντας τοὺς ἀμφὶ Πακτύην ἐν Σάρδισι, πρῶτα μὲν τοὺς Λυδοὺς ἠνάγκασε τὰς Κύρου ἐντολὰς ἐπιτελεῖν, ἐκ τούτου δὲ κελευσμοσύνης Λυδοὶ τὴν πᾶσαν δίαιταν τῆς ζόης μετέβαλον. Μαζάρης δὲ μετὰ τοῦτο ἔπεμπε ἐς τὴν Κύμην ἀγγέλους ἐκδιδόναι κελεύων Πακτύην. οἱ δὲ Κυμαῖοι ἔγνωσαν συμβουλῆς πέρι ἐς θεὸν ἀνοῖσαι τὸν ἐν Βραγχίδῃσι· ἦν γὰρ αὐτόθι μαντήιον ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἱδρυμένον, τῷ Ἴωνές τε πάντες καὶ Αἰολεῖς ἐώθεσαν χρᾶσθαι. ὁ δὲ χῶρος οὗτός ἐστι τῆς

[35] The phrase occurs in the Odyssey. Μάσσω is to "rub," "knead," hence "smear"; Skt. *mach*, "grind small": κεφ. ἀναμ. is not "to rub off on the head," *i.e.* "to incur responsibility," but "to knead" or "work up with the head" instead of with the hands. It was the difference between thought-making and bread-making. Both here and in the Odyssey, therefore, the phrase means "what one will have reason to think of."

Μιλησίης ὑπὲρ Πανόρμου λιμένος. πέμψαντες ὦν οἱ Κυμαῖοι 158
ἐς τοὺς Βραγχίδας θεοπρόπους εἰρώτεον περὶ Πακτύην ὁκοῖόν τι
ποιέοντες θεοῖσι μέλλοιεν χαριεῖσθαι. ἐπειρωτῶσι δέ σφι τάοτα
χρηστήριον ἐγένετο ἐκδιδόναι Πακτύην Πέρσῃσι. τάοτα δὲ ὡς
ἀπενειχθέντα ἤκουσαν οἱ Κυμαῖοι, ὁρμέατο ἐκδιδόναι· ὁρμημένου
δὲ ταύτῃ τοῦ πλήθεος, Ἀριστόδικος ὁ Ἡρακλείδεω ἀνὴρ τῶν
ἀστῶν ἐὼν δόκιμος ἔσχε μὴ ποιῆσαι τάοτα Κυμαίους, ἀπιστέων
τε τῷ χρησμῷ καὶ δοκέων τοὺς θεοπρόπους οὐ λέγειν ἀληθέως,[4]
ἐς ὃ τὸ δεύτερον περὶ Πακτύεω ἐπειρησόμενοι ἦισαν ἄλλοι θεο-
πρόποι, τῶν καὶ Ἀριστόδικος ἦν. ἀπικομένων δὲ ἐς Βραγχίδας
ἐχρηστηριάζετο ἐκ πάντων Ἀριστόδικος ἐπειρωτέων τάδε. "ὦναξ, 159
ἦλθε παρ' ἡμέας ἱκέτης Πακτύης ὁ Λυδός, φεύγων θάνατον βίαιον
πρὸς Περσέων· οἱ δὲ μιν ἐξαιτέονται, προεῖναι Κυμαίους κελεύ-
οντες. ἡμεῖς δὲ δειμαίνοντες τὴν Περσέων δύναμιν, τὸν ἱκέτην
ἐς τόδε οὐ τετολμήκαμεν ἐκδιδόναι, πρὶν ἂν τὸ ἀπὸ σέο ἡμῖν
δηλωθῇ ἀτρεκέως ὁκότερα ποιῶμεν." ὁ μὲν τάοτα ἐπειρώτα,
ὁ δ' αὖτις τὸν αὐτόν σφι χρησμὸν ἔφαινε, κελεύων ἐκδιδόναι
Πακτύην Πέρσῃσι. πρὸς τάοτα ὁ Ἀριστόδικος ἐκ προνοίης
ἐποίει τάδε. περιιὼν τὸν νηὸν κύκλῳ ἐξαίρει τοὺς στρουθοὺς
καὶ ἄλλα ὅσα ἦν νενοσσευμένα ὀρνίθων γένεα ἐν τῷ νηῷ. ποιέ-
οντος δὲ αὐτοῦ τάοτα λέγεται φωνὴν ἐκ τοῦ ἀδύτου γενέσθαι
φέρουσαν μὲν πρὸς τὸν Ἀριστόδικον, λέγουσαν δὲ τάδε "ἀνο-
σιώτατε ἀνθρώπων, τί τάδε τολμᾷς ποιεῖν; τοὺς ἱκέτας μου ἐκ
τοῦ νηοῦ κεραΐζεις;" Ἀριστόδικον δὲ οὐκ ἀπορήσαντα πρὸς
τάοτα εἰπεῖν "ὦναξ, αὐτὸς μὲν οὕτω τοῖσι ἱκέτῃσι βοηθεῖς,
Κυμαίους δὲ κελεύεις τὸν ἱκέτην ἐκδιδόναι;" τὸν δὲ αὖτις
ἀμείψασθαι τοῖσιδε "ναὶ κελεύω, ἵνα γε ἀσεβήσαντες θᾶσσον
ἀπόλησθε, ὡς μὴ τὸ λοιπὸν περὶ ἱκετέων ἐκδόσιος ἔλθητε ἐπὶ τὸ
χρηστήριον." τάοτα ὡς ἀπενειχθέντα ἤκουσαν οἱ Κυμαῖοι, οὐ 160
βουλόμενοι οὔτε ἐκδόντες ἀπολέσθαι οὔτε παρ' ἑωυτοῖσι ἔχοντες
πολιορκεῖσθαι ἐκπέμπουσι αὐτὸν ἐς Μυτιλήνην. οἱ δὲ Μυτιλη-
ναῖοι ἐπιπέμποντος τοῦ Μαζάρεος ἀγγελίας ἐκδιδόναι τὸν Πακ-
τύην παρεσκευάζοντο ἐπὶ μισθῷ ὅσῳ δή· οὐ γὰρ ἔχω τοῦτό γε
εἰπεῖν ἀτρεκέως· οὐ γὰρ ἐτελεώθη. Κυμαῖοι γὰρ ὡς ἔμαθον
τάοτα πρησσόμενα ἐκ τῶν Μυτιληναίων, πέμψαντες πλοῖον ἐς
Λέσβον ἐκκομίζουσι Πακτύην ἐς Χίον. ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ἐξ ἱεροῦ
Ἀθηναίης πολιούχου ἀποσπασθεὶς ὑπὸ Χίων ἐξεδόθη· ἐξέδοσαν

[4] This mistrust even of their oracles and messengers is characteristic of the Greeks. The oracle of Delphi only too well justified the charge of bribery and corruption.

δὲ οἱ Χῖοι ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀταρνέι μισθῷ·[5] τοῦ δὲ Ἀταρνέος τούτου ἐστὶ χῶρος τῆς Μυσίης, Λέσβου ἀντίος. Πακτύην μέν νυν παραδεξάμενοι οἱ Πέρσαι εἶχον ἐν φυλακῇ, θέλοντες Κύρῳ ἀποδέξαι· ἦν δὲ χρόνος οὗτος οὐκ ὀλίγος γενόμενος, ὅτε Χίων οὐδεὶς ἐκ τοῦ Ἀταρνέος τούτου οὔτε οὐλὰς κριθέων πρόχυσιν ἐποιεῖτο θεῶν οὐδενὶ οὔτε πέμματα ἐπέσσετο καρποῦ τοῦ ἐνθεῦτεν, ἀπείχετό τε τῶν πάντων ἱερῶν τὰ πάντα ἐκ τῆς χώρης ταύτης γινόμενα.

161 Χῖοι μέν νυν Πακτύην ἐξέδοσαν. Μαζάρης δὲ μετὰ τάοτα ἐστρατεύετο ἐπὶ τοὺς συμπολιορκήσαντας Τάβαλον, καὶ τοῦτο μὲν Πριηνέας ἐξηνδραποδίσατο, τοῦτο δὲ Μαιάνδρου πεδίον πᾶν ἐπέδραμε λῃήν ποιεόμενος τῷ στρατῷ, Μαγνησίην[6] τε ὡσαύτως.

162 μετὰ δὲ τάοτα αὐτίκα νούσῳ τελευτᾷ. ἀποθανόντος δὲ τούτου Ἄρπαγος κατέβη διάδοχος τῆς στρατηγίης, γένος καὶ αὐτὸς ἐὼν Μήδος, τὸν ὁ Μήδων βασιλεὺς Ἀστυάγης ἀνόμῳ τραπέζῃ ἔδαισε, ὁ τῷ Κύρῳ τὴν βασιληίην συγκατεργασάμενος. οὗτος ὠνὴρ τότε ὑπὸ Κύρου στρατηγὸς ἀποδεχθεὶς ὡς ἀπίκετο ἐς τὴν Ἰωνίην, αἱρει τὰς πόλιας χώμασι· ὅκως[7] γὰρ τειχήρεας ποιήσειε, τὸ

163 ἐνθεῦτεν χώματα χῶν πρὸς τὰ τείχεα ἐπόρθει. πρώτῃ δὲ Φωκαίῃ Ἰωνίης ἐπεχείρησε. οἱ δὲ Φωκαιεῖς οὗτοι ναυτιλίῃσι μακρῇσι πρῶτοι Ἑλλήνων ἐχρήσαντο, καὶ τόν τε Ἀδρίην καὶ τὴν Τυρσηνίην καὶ τὴν Ἰβηρίην καὶ τὸν Ταρτησσὸν οὗτοί εἰσι οἱ καταδέξαντες·[8] ἐναυτίλλοντο δὲ οὐ στρογγύλῃσι νηυσὶ ἀλλὰ πεντηκοντέροισι. ἀπικόμενοι δὲ ἐς τὸν Ταρτησσὸν προσφιλεῖς ἐγένοντο τῷ βασιλέι τῶν Ταρτησσίων, τῷ οὔνομα μὲν ἦν Ἀργανθώνιος,[9] ἐτυράννευσε δὲ Ταρτησσοῦ ὀγδώκοντα ἔτεα, ἐβίωσε δὲ πάντα εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατόν. τούτῳ δὴ τῷ ἀνδρὶ προσφιλεῖς οἱ Φωκαιεῖς οὕτω δή τι ἐγένοντο ὡς τὰ μὲν πρώτα σφεας ἐκλιπόντας Ἰωνίην ἐκέλευε τῆς ἑωυτοῦ χώρης οἰκῆσαι ὅκου

[5] "On condition of receiving Atarneus as a recompense." Athena does not seem to have visited the perpetrators of this piece of treachery with the punishment inflicted by the Eumenides upon the Alkmæonids. Atarneus was opposite Mitylênê.

[6] Magnesia ad Mæandrum, with its temple still surrounded by a *peribolos*, not Magnesia ad Sipylum.

[7] "When he had."

[8] "Who made known" (καταδείκνυμι). Tartessos, the Tarshish of the Old Testament, was the district in the neighbourhood of Gibraltar which extended perhaps as far as Cadiz, Iberia being the north-western coast of Spain.

[9] Anakreon (ap. Plin. *N. H.* vii. 48) made A. live 150 years. The same age was assigned him by Phlegon of Tralles. Registers of birth were evidently not kept in Spain at the time. The "round-sided" merchantmen were "the ships of Tarshish" of the Old Testament, *i.e.* the Phœnician trading-ships whose furthest voyages westwards were to Tarshish.

βούλονται, μετὰ δέ, ὡς τοῦτό γε οὐκ ἔπειθε τοὺς Φωκαιέας, ὁ δὲ πυθόμενος τὸν Μῆδον παρ' αὐτῶν ὡς αὔξοιτο, ἐδίδου σφι χρήματα τεῖχος περιβαλέσθαι τὴν πόλιν· ἐδίδου δὲ ἀφειδέως· καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἡ περίοδος τοῦ τείχεος οὐκ ὀλίγοι στάδιοί εἰσι, τοῦτο δὲ πᾶν λίθων μεγάλων καὶ εὖ συναρμοσμένων. τὸ μὲν δὴ τεῖχος 164
τοῖσι Φωκαιεῦσι τρόπῳ τοιῷδε ἐξεποιήθη.[1] ὁ δὲ Ἅρπαγος ὡς ἐπήλασε τὴν στρατιήν, ἐπολιόρκει αὐτούς, προϊσχόμενος ἔπεα ὡς οἱ καταχρᾷ εἰ βούλονται Φωκαιεῖς προμαχεῶνα ἕνα μοῦνον τοῦ τείχεος ἐρεῖψαι καὶ οἴκημα ἓν κατιερῶσαι. οἱ δὲ Φωκαιεῖς περιημεκτέοντες τῇ δουλοσύνῃ ἔφασαν θέλειν βουλεύσασθαι ἡμέρην μίαν καὶ ἔπειτα ὑποκρινεῖσθαι· ἐν ᾧ δὲ βουλεύονται αὐτοί, ἀπαγαγεῖν ἐκεῖνον ἐκέλευον τὴν στρατιὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχεος. ὁ δ' Ἅρπαγος ἔφη εἰδέναι μὲν εὖ τὰ ἐκεῖνοι μέλλοιεν ποιεῖν, ὅμως δέ σφι παριέναι βουλεύσασθαι. ἐν ᾧ ὦν ὁ Ἅρπαγος ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχεος ἀπήγαγε τὴν στρατιήν, οἱ Φωκαιεῖς ἐν τούτῳ κατασπάσαντες τὰς πεντηκοντέρους, ἐσθέμενοι τέκνα καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ ἔπιπλα πάντα, πρὸς δὲ καὶ τὰ ἀγάλματα τὰ ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἀναθήματα, χωρὶς ὅ τι χαλκὸς ἢ λίθος ἢ γραφὴ[2] ἦν, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα πάντα ἐσθέντες καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐσβάντες ἔπλεον ἐπὶ Χίου. τὴν δὲ Φωκαίην ἐρημωθεῖσαν ἀνδρῶν ἔσχον οἱ Πέρσαι. οἱ δὲ Φωκαιεῖς, ἐπείτε σφι Χῖοι τὰς νήσους τὰς Οἰνούσσας[3] 165
καλεομένας οὐκ ἐβούλοντο ὠνεομένοισι πωλεῖν, δειμαίνοντες μὴ αἱ μὲν ἐμπόριον γένωνται, ἡ δὲ αὐτῶν νῆσος ἀποκλησθῇ τούτου εἵνεκα, πρὸς τάδε οἱ Φωκαιεῖς ἐστέλλοντο ἐς Κύρνον· ἐν γὰρ τῇ Κύρνῳ εἴκοσι ἔτεσι πρότερον τούτων ἐκ θεοπροπίου ἀνεστήσαντο πόλιν, τῇ οὔνομα ἦν Ἀλαλίη. Ἀργανθώνιος δὲ τηνικαῦτα ἤδη τετελευτήκει. στελλόμενοι δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν Κύρνον, πρῶτα καταπλεύσαντες ἐς τὴν Φωκαίην κατεφόνευσαν τῶν Περσέων τὴν φυλακήν, ἣ ἐφρούρει παραδεξαμένη παρὰ Ἅρπάγου τὴν πόλιν. μετὰ δέ, ὡς τοῦτό σφι ἐξέργαστο, ἐποιήσαντο ἰσχυρὰς κατάρας τῷ ὑπολειπομένῳ ἑωυτῶν τοῦ στόλου. πρὸς δὲ ταύτῃσι καὶ μύδρον σιδήρεον κατεπόντωσαν καὶ ὤμοσαν μὴ πρὶν ἐς Φωκαίην ἥξειν πρὶν ἢ τὸν μύδρον τοῦτον ἀναφανῆναι. στελλομένων δὲ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὴν Κύρνον,[4] ὑπὲρ ἡμίσεας τῶν

[1] Old Fokia lies a little to the south of New Fokia, a town founded by the Venetians or Genoese. The substructions of a temple exist on a small island in front of the harbour of Old Fokia.

[2] "Writing" rather than "painting," inscriptions being on stone or bronze.

[3] The Œnussæ (now Spalmadori) are five islands between the mainland and the northern part of Khios.

[4] Corsica. Alalia, afterwards Aleria, and originally founded in B.C. 572, on the east coast of the island, was destroyed by Scipio (B.C. 262), but restored

ἀστῶν ἔλαβε πόθος τε καὶ οἶκτος τῆς πόλιος καὶ τῶν ἠθέων τῆς χώρης, ψευδόρκιοι δὲ γενόμενοι ἀπέπλεον ὀπίσω ἐς τὴν Φωκαίην. οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν τὸ ὅρκιον ἐφύλασσον, ἀερθέντες ἐκ τῶν
166 Οἰνουσσέων ἔπλεον. ἐπείτε δὲ ἐς τὴν Κύρνον ἀπίκοντο, οἴκεον κοινῇ μετὰ τῶν πρότερον ἀπικομένων ἐπ' ἔτεα πέντε, καὶ ἱερὰ ἐνιδρύσαντο. καὶ ἦγον γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἔφερον τοὺς περιοίκους ἅπαντας· στρατεύονται ὧν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς κοινῷ λόγῳ χρησάμενοι Τυρσηνοὶ καὶ Καρχηδόνιοι,[5] νηυσὶ ἑκάτεροι ἑξήκοντα. οἱ δὲ Φωκαιεῖς πληρώσαντες καὶ αὐτοὶ τὰ πλοῖα, ἐόντα ἀριθμὸν ἑξήκοντα, ἀντίαζον ἐς τὸ Σαρδόνιον καλεόμενον πέλαγος. συμμισγόντων δὲ τῇ ναυμαχίῃ Καδμείη τις νίκη[6] τοῖσι Φωκαιεῦσι ἐγένετο· αἱ μὲν γὰρ τεσσεράκοντά σφι νέες διεφθάρησαν, αἱ δὲ εἴκοσι αἱ περιεοῦσαι ἦσαν ἄχρηστοι· ἀπεστράφατο γὰρ τοὺς ἐμβόλους. καταπλώσαντες δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἀλαλίην ἀνέλαβον τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας καὶ τὴν ἄλλην κτῆσιν ὅσην οἷαί τε ἐγίνοντο αἱ νέες σφι ἄγειν, καὶ ἔπειτα ἀπέντες τὴν Κύρνον
167 ἔπλεον ἐς Ῥήγιον. τῶν δὲ διαφθαρεισέων νεῶν τοὺς ἄνδρας οἵ τε Καρχηδόνιοι καὶ οἱ Τυρσηνοὶ . . .[7] ἔλαχόν τε αὐτῶν πολλῷ πλείστους καὶ τούτους ἐξαγαγόντες κατέλευσαν. μετὰ δὲ Ἀγυλλαίοισι πάντα τὰ παριόντα τὸν χῶρον, ἐν τῷ οἱ Φωκαιεῖς καταλευσθέντες ἐκέατο, ἐγίνετο διάστροφα καὶ ἔμπηρα καὶ ἀπόπληκτα, ὁμοίως πρόβατα καὶ ὑποζύγια καὶ ἄνθρωποι. οἱ δὲ

by Sylla. The Delphic oracle largely promoted colonisation at this time, urging the foundation of Greek colonies in the western part of the Mediterranean (as, for example, at Kyrênê), which had hitherto been in the hands of the Phœnicians. The pilgrims and merchants from these trading settlements brought in a handsome revenue to the oracle. Hence Apollo was the patron god of new colonies.

[5] The Tyrsenians mean the Etruscans. Traces of their trade have been met with as far north as Belgium; their colonisation southward extended to Campania, and their fleets contended with the Carthaginians for the command of the north-western basin of the Mediterranean. The Latin Carthago is the Greek Karkhêdôn, both attempts to reproduce the Phœnician Kiryath-Khadashath or "New Town." The older Latin form of the name was Carthada (Solin. *Polyh.* xxvii. 10; Isid. *Hisp. Et.* xv. 1, 30). The "Old Town" was either Utica or, less probably, the mother-city Tyre.

[6] *i.e.* a victory which produces more harm than profit. The phrase is derived from the combat between Polynikês and Eteoklês by Plutarch, from the conquest of the Seven Heroes by the Thebans, which only led to the return of the Epigoni, by Eustathios (ad *Hom. Il.* iv. 407).

[7] The lacuna has been conjecturally supplied thus: *διέλαχον, τῶν δὲ Τυρσηνῶν οἱ Ἀγυλλαῖοι.* Agylla was said to have been founded by the "Pelasgians." The name of its port, Pyrgi, and its consultation of the Delphic oracle, go far to show that it was not originally Etruscan, and that the later name Cære (now Cervetri) indicates its passing under Etruscan rule.

Ἀγυλλαῖοι ἐς Δελφοὺς ἔπεμπον βουλόμενοι ἀκέσασθαι τὴν ἁμαρτάδα. ἡ δὲ Πυθίη σφέας ἐκέλευσε ποιεῖν τὰ καὶ νῦν οἱ Ἀγυλλαῖοι ἔτι ἐπιτελέουσι· καὶ γὰρ ἐναγίζουσί σφι μεγάλως καὶ ἀγῶνα γυμνικὸν καὶ ἱππικὸν ἐπιστᾶσι. καὶ οὗτοι μὲν τῶν Φωκαιέων τοιούτῳ μόρῳ διεχρήσαντο, οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν ἐς τὸ Ῥήγιον καταφυγόντες ἐνθεῦτεν ὁρμεόμενοι ἐκτήσαντο πόλιν γέας τῆς Οἰνωτρίης ταύτην ἥτις νῦν Τέλη[8] καλεῖται· ἔκτισαν δὲ ταύτην πρὸς ἀνδρὸς Ποσειδωνιήτεω μαθόντες ὡς τὸν Κύρνον σφι ἡ Πυθίη ἔχρησε κτίσαι ἥρων ἐόντα, ἀλλ' οὐ τὴν νῆσον.[9]

Φωκαίης μέν νυν πέρι τῆς ἐν Ἰωνίῃ οὕτω ἔσχε, παραπλήσια 168
δὲ τούτοισι καὶ Τήιοι[1] ἐποίησαν. ἐπείτε γάρ σφεων εἷλε χώματι τὸ τεῖχος Ἅρπαγος, ἐσβάντες πάντες ἐς τὰ πλοῖα οἴχοντο πλέοντες ἐπὶ τῆς Θρηίκης, καὶ ἐνθαῦτα ἔκτισαν πόλιν Ἄβδηρα,[2] τὴν πρότερος τούτων Κλαζομένιος Τιμήσιος κτίσας οὐκ ἀπώνητο, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ Θρηίκων ἐξελασθεὶς τιμὰς νῦν ὑπὸ Τηίων τῶν ἐν Ἀβδήροισι ὡς ἥρως ἔχει.

Οὗτοι μέν νυν Ἰώνων μοῦνοι τὴν δουλοσύνην οὐκ ἀνεχόμενοι 169
ἐξέλιπον τὰς πατρίδας· οἱ δ' ἄλλοι Ἴωνες πλὴν Μιλησίων διὰ μάχης μὲν ἀπίκοντο Ἁρπάγῳ[3] κατά περ οἱ ἐκλιπόντες, καὶ ἄνδρες ἐγένοντο ἀγαθοὶ περὶ τῆς ἑωυτοῦ ἕκαστος μαχόμενοι, ἐσσωθέντες δὲ καὶ ἁλόντες ἔμενον κατὰ χώρην ἕκαστοι καὶ τὰ ἐπιτασσόμενα ἐπετέλεον. Μιλήσιοι δέ, ὡς καὶ πρότερόν μοι εἴρηται, αὐτῷ Κύρῳ, ὅρκιον ποιησάμενοι ἡσυχίην ἦγον. οὕτω δὴ τὸ δεύτερον Ἰωνίη ἐδεδούλωτο. ὡς δὲ τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἠπείρῳ Ἴωνας ἐχειρώσατο Ἅρπαγος, οἱ τὰς νήσους ἔχοντες Ἴωνες καταρρωδήσαντες τάδε σφέας αὐτοὺς ἔδοσαν Κύρῳ.[4]

Κεκακωμένων δὲ Ἰώνων καὶ συλλεγομένων οὐδὲν ἧσσον ἐς 170

[8] Better known as Velia or Elea, whence the philosophic school of Xenophanes and Parmenides took the name Eleatic. Œnôtria or "Vineland" was the name given by the Greek colonists to that part of Lucania into which they had imported the vine. Poseidonion is better known as Pæstum, southward of Naples.

[9] "The Kyrnos the oracle had bidden them establish was a hero, not the island." A very convenient way of explaining away the failure of the oracle. Kyrnos was called the son of Hêraklês, *i.e.* the sun-god of the Phœnicians who had discovered and colonised the island.

[1] The ruins of Teos lie on an isthmus 1½ miles south of Sighajik on the mainland north of Samos. They consist of little else besides the theatre and the temple of Dionysos.

[2] Abdêra, originally founded by the Phœnicians, and the birthplace of Protagoras, Anaxarkhos, and Demokritos, is now lost in the marshes of Bulusra or Balustra.

[3] "Entered into a struggle with H." Compare vi. 9; Æskh. *Prom.* 121.

[4] Samos, however, continued independent until the reign of Darius.

τὸ Πανιώνιον, πυνθάνομαι γνώμην Βίαντα ἄνδρα Πριηνέα ἀποδέξασθαι Ἴωσι χρησιμωτάτην,[5] τῇ εἰ ἐπείθοντο, παρεῖχε ἄν σφι εὐδαιμονεῖν Ἑλλήνων μάλιστα· ὃς ἐκέλευε κοινῷ στόλῳ Ἴωνας ἀερθέντας πλεῖν ἐς Σαρδὼ καὶ ἔπειτα πόλιν μίαν κτίζειν πάντων Ἰώνων, καὶ οὕτω ἀπαλλαχθέντας σφέας δουλοσύνης εὐδαιμονήσειν, νήσων τε ἁπασέων μεγίστην[6] νεμομένους καὶ ἄρχοντας ἄλλων· μένουσι δέ σφι ἐν τῇ Ἰωνίῃ οὐκ ἔφη ἐνορᾶν ἐλευθερίην ἔτι ἐσομένην. αὕτη μὲν Βίαντος τοῦ Πριηνέος γνώμη ἐπὶ διεφθαρμένοισι Ἴωσι γενομένη, χρηστὴ δὲ καὶ πρὶν ἢ διεφθαρῆναι Ἰωνίην Θάλεω ἀνδρὸς Μιλησίου ἐγένετο, τὸ ἀνέκαθεν γένος ἐόντος Φοίνικος.[7] ὃς ἐκέλευε ἓν βουλευτήριον Ἴωνας ἐκτῆσθαι, τὸ δὲ εἶναι ἐν Τέῳ (Τέων γὰρ μέσον εἶναι Ἰωνίης), τὰς δὲ ἄλλας πόλιας οἰκεομένας ἧσσον νομίζεσθαι κατά περ εἰ δῆμοι εἶεν. οὗτοι μὲν δή σφι γνώμας τοιάσδε ἀπεδέξαντο.

171 Ἅρπαγος δὲ καταστρεψάμενος Ἰωνίην ἐποιεῖτο στρατηίην ἐπὶ Κᾶρας καὶ Καυνίους καὶ Λυκίους,[8] ἅμα ἀγόμενος καὶ Ἴωνας

[5] Mahaffy (*Hist. of Cl. Greek Lit.* i. p. 178, edit. i.), comparing the verbally similar statement of Diog. Laertius, i. 5, concludes that in Theognis 757-68 we have an actual fragment of Bias preserved, describing the blessings of the proposed Ionic settlement in Sardinia.

[6] Comp. v. 106, vi. 2, whence it appears that Herodotos thought Sardinia the largest island in the world. But even Sicily seems to be larger.

[7] The Phœnician ancestry of Thalês, the founder of Greek science, and one of the seven wise men of Hellas, is significant. See note 1 on the first ch. of this book. His philosophic system, which derived the world from water, was of Babylonian origin: in Phœnician cosmogony Môt was the watery chaos from which the universe has been evolved. Comp. Gen. i. 2. The astronomy of Thalês equally came from Chaldea, where eclipses had been regularly predicted centuries before.

[8] The statements of Herodotos which follow have a special importance, as he was a native of Halikarnassos, and so better acquainted with the Karians than most other Greek writers. The Kaunians lived between Karia and Lykia, the ruins of their capital Kaunos being upon a small stream, the Koigez, and including cyclopean walls. We learn from Thukyd. (i. 8) that Karian tombs existed in Delos. Köhler has suggested that the remains found at Spata and Menidi in Attika may be those of Karian settlers; but of this there is neither artistic nor architectural proof. Mysos, Lydos, and Kar were brothers (cp. vii. 74, where the Mysians are called Lydian colonists); but while the remains of the Lydian language preserved in Greek glosses are Aryan, the remains of the Karian tongue hardly seem to be so. Thirteen Karian inscriptions, in an alphabet only partially deciphered as yet, have been discovered, all except one (from the ruins of Krya, on the Gulf of Skopea), in Egypt, where they were inscribed by the Karian mercenaries of Psammetikhos and his successors. A long list of Karian names is contained in the inscription found in the castle of Budrum (Newton, *Essays on Art and Archæology*, pp. 427, etc.) The semi-mythical Leleges are as ubiquitous as the Pelasgians. They turn up in Lykia and Akarnania (Aristot.), Karia (Strab.), Mount Ida (Nymph.), Samos (Menodot.),

καὶ Αἰολέας. εἰσὶ δὲ τούτων Κᾶρες μὲν ἀπιγμένοι ἐς τὴν ἤπειρον ἐκ τῶν νήσων. τὸ γὰρ παλαιὸν ἐόντες Μίνω [9] κατήκοοι καὶ καλεόμενοι Λέλεγες εἶχον τὰς νήσους, φόρον μὲν οὐδένα ὑποτελέοντες, ὅσον καὶ ἐγὼ δυνατός εἰμι ἐπὶ μακρότατον ἐξικέσθαι ἀκοῇ· οἱ δέ, ὅκως Μίνως δέοιτο, ἐπλήρουν οἱ τὰς νέας. ἅτε δὴ Μίνω τε κατεστραμμένου γῆν πολλὴν καὶ εὐτυχέοντος τῷ πολέμῳ, τὸ Καρικὸν ἦν ἔθνος λογιμώτατον τῶν ἐθνέων ἁπάντων κατὰ τοῦτον ἅμα τὸν χρόνον μακρῷ μάλιστα. καί σφι τριξὰ ἐξευρήματα ἐγένετο τοῖσι οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐχρήσαντο· καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ τὰ κράνεα λόφους ἐπιδεῖσθαι Κᾶρές εἰσι οἱ καταδέξαντες καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς ἀσπίδας τὰ σημήια ποιεῖσθαι,[1] καὶ ὄχανα ἀσπίσι

Khios (Pherykyd.), Thessaly (Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Ἄμυρος), Megara (Paus.), Bœotia, Lokris, and Ætolia (Aristot.), and Lakonia (Paus.) They appear along with the mythical Kaukônes and "divine Pelasgians" in *Il.* x. 429, and between the Karians and Lykians. See also *Il.* xx. 96, and xxi. 86. The Kaukônes appear in *Il.* xx. 329, and *Od.* iii. 366 (cp. Herod. i. 147, iv. 148). Strabo makes them one of the earliest races of Greece (vii. 465), where they gave their name to the Kaukôn in the N.W. angle of the Peloponnêsos, and to the Kaukonitæ on the Parthenios. The Lykians called themselves Tramelê, the name Lykia being derived from the Greek settlers on the coast, who called the country to the east, where the sun rose from behind the mountains, "the land of light" or Λυκία. Hence the legend that the Ionian Lykos gave his name to the country. The Lykian inscriptions have been partly deciphered by the help of a few bilingual (Greek and Lykian) texts; the language of them, though inflectional, is not Aryan, in spite of all the attempts that have been made to show the contrary.

[9] The name Minôs may have the same origin as Minyas, but it has nothing to do, as has been sometimes said, either with the Aryan word *man* or with the Egyptian Menes. The "thalassokratia" of Minôs denotes the period when the Phœnicians were colonising and ruling in the Ægean; and the connection of Dædalos, the cunning craftsman, and of the Minotaur or bull, with Minôs further indicates his Semitic character. Perhaps his name comes from the Semitic root *mânâh*, "to apportion" or "measure" (whence μνᾶ). It is difficult not to associate the name with that of the Minyans of Orkhomenos, more especially when we remember that the Phœnician legend of Athamas or Tammuz, the sun-god, is connected with them, Athamas being called the son of Minyas. Herodotos does not seem to know of the later belief, shared by Thukyd., that Minôs was a Greek. Hence he asserts that the thalassokratia of Minôs and of the Karians must have been at the same time. In the Iliad Sarpêdôn is a descendant of the Greek Bellerophôn; and Minôs, who is two generations older, has only one brother, Rhadamanthys (*Il.* xiv. 322). The earlier legend, which made Minôs and Sarpêdôn Phœnicians, was found in Hesiod (according to the Scholiast on Eurip. *Rhes.* 28). Herodotos does not seem to know the version of the myth given in the Iliad.

[1] The Balawât bronzes (B.C. 840) represent the soldiers of Ararat (Van) with crested helmets and small round shields held by a handle in the middle. Their short tunics and shoes with turned-up toes are identical with those of the Hittites, and there are many reasons for

οὗτοι εἰσι οἱ ποιησάμενοι πρῶτοι· τέως δὲ ἄνευ ὀχάνων ἐφόρεον τὰς ἀσπίδας πάντες οἵ περ ἐώθεσαν ἀσπίσι χράσθαι, τελαμῶσι σκυτίνοισι οἰηκίζοντες, περὶ τοῖσι αὐχέσι τε καὶ τοῖσι ἀριστεροῖσι ὤμοισι περικείμενοι. μετὰ δὲ τοὺς Κᾶρας χρόνῳ ὕστερον πολλῷ Δωριεῖς τε καὶ Ἴωνες ἐξανέστησαν ἐκ τῶν νήσων, καὶ οὕτω ἐς τὴν ἤπειρον ἀπίκοντο. κατὰ μὲν δὴ Κᾶρας οὕτω Κρῆτες λέγουσι γενέσθαι· οὐ μέντοι αὐτοί γε ὁμολογέουσι τούτοισι οἱ Κᾶρες, ἀλλὰ νομίζουσι αὐτοὶ ἑωυτοὺς εἶναι αὐτόχθονας ἠπειρώτας, καὶ τῷ οὐνόματι τῷ αὐτῷ αἰεὶ διαχρεωμένους τῷ περ νῦν. ἀποδεικνῦσι δὲ ἐν Μυλάσοισι Διὸς Καρίου ἱερὸν ἀρχαῖον, τοῦ Μυσοῖσι μὲν καὶ Λυδοῖσι μέτεστι ὡς κασιγνήτοισι ἐοῦσι τοῖσι Καρσί·[2] τὸν γὰρ Λυδὸν καὶ τὸν Μυσὸν λέγουσι εἶναι Καρὸς ἀδελφεούς. τούτοισι μὲν δὴ μέτεστι, ὅσοι δὲ ἐόντες ἄλλου ἔθνεος ὁμόγλωσσοι τοῖσι Καρσὶ ἐγένοντο, τούτοισι δὲ οὐ μέτα.

172 οἱ δὲ Καύνιοι αὐτόχθονες δοκεῖν ἐμοὶ εἰσί, αὐτοὶ μέντοι ἐκ Κρήτης φασὶ εἶναι. προσκεχωρήκασι δὲ γλῶσσαν μὲν πρὸς τὸ Καρικὸν ἔθνος, ἢ οἱ Κᾶρες πρὸς τὸ Καυνικόν (τοῦτο γὰρ οὐκ ἔχω ἀτρεκέως διακρῖναι). νόμοισι δὲ χρέωνται κεχωρισμένοισι πολλὸν τῶν τε ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων καὶ Καρῶν. τοῖσι γὰρ κάλλιστόν ἐστι κατ' ἡλικίην τε καὶ φιλότητα εἰλαδὸν συγγίνεσθαι ἐς πόσιν, καὶ ἀνδράσι καὶ γυναιξὶ καὶ παισί. ἱδρυθέντων δέ σφι ἱερῶν ξεινικῶν, μετέπειτα, ὥς σφι ἀπέδοξε, ἔδοξε δὲ τοῖσι πατρίοισι μοῦνον χρᾶσθαι θεοῖσι, ἐνδύντες τὰ ὅπλα ἅπαντες Καύνιοι ἠβηδόν, τύπτοντες δόρασι τὸν ἠέρα, μέχρι οὔρων τῶν Καλυνδικῶν εἴποντο, καὶ ἔφασαν ἐκβάλλειν τοὺς ξεινικοὺς θεούς.

173 καὶ οὗτοι μὲν τρόποισι τοιούτοισι χρέωνται, οἱ δὲ Λύκιοι ἐκ Κρήτης τὠρχαῖον γεγόνασι (τὴν γὰρ Κρήτην εἶχον τὸ παλαιὸν πᾶσαν βάρβαροι)· διενειχθέντων δὲ ἐν Κρήτῃ περὶ τῆς βασιληίης

thinking that the Hittites and Proto-Armenians belonged to the same race. Perhaps the devices on the shields of which Herodotos speaks were originally Hittite hieroglyphics, which were borrowed by the people of Western Asia Minor during the Hittite occupation of the country. Compare the devices on the shields of the seven champions in the legendary war against Thebes.

[2] Mylasa, now Melassa, is about twenty miles inland, with a pyramidal mausoleum just outside the walls, and numerous fragments of ancient buildings built into the houses. About twelve miles distant are the ruins of a temple which probably mark the site of the temple of Zeus Labrandeus (derived from the Karian *labranda*, Lydian *labryn*, "an axe"). Karios was made a son of Zeus and Torrhebia by Xanthus, and was worshipped in the Lydian district of Torhebia, according to Steph. Byz. As Herodotos had special means of information about the Karians, his assertion of their recognition of the common kinship of the Karians, Lydians, and Mysians is valuable.

τῶν Εὐρώπης παίδων Σαρπηδόνα [illegible] καὶ Μίνω, ὡς ἐπεκράτησε τῇ στάσει Μίνως, ἐξήλασε αὐτόν τε Σαρπηδόνα καὶ τοὺς στασιώτας αὐτοῦ, οἱ δὲ ἀπωσθέντες ἀπίκοντο τῆς Ἀσίης ἐς γῆν τὴν Μιλυάδα· τὴν γὰρ νῦν Λύκιοι νέμονται, αὖτη τὸ παλαιὸν ἦν Μιλυάς, οἱ δὲ Μιλύαι τότε Σόλυμοι ἐκαλέοντο.[3] τέως μὲν δὴ αὐτῶν Σαρπηδὼν ἦρχε, οἱ δὲ ἐκαλέοντο τό πέρ τε ἠνείκαντο οὔνομα καὶ νῦν ἔτι καλέονται ὑπὸ τῶν περιοίκων οἱ Λύκιοι, Τερμίλαι·[4] ὡς δὲ ἐξ Ἀθηνέων Λύκος ὁ Πανδίονος, ἐξελασθεὶς καὶ οὗτος ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀδελφεοῦ Αἰγέος, ἀπίκετο ἐς τοὺς Τερμίλας παρὰ Σαρπηδόνα, οὕτω δὴ κατὰ τοῦ Λύκου τὴν ἐπωνυμίην Λύκιοι ἀνὰ χρόνον ἐκλήθησαν. νόμοισι δὲ τὰ μὲν Κρητικοῖσι τὰ δὲ Καρικοῖσι χρέωνται. ἓν δὲ τόδε ἴδιον νενομίκασι καὶ οὐδαμοῖσι ἄλλοισι συμφέρονται ἀνθρώπων. καλέουσι ἀπὸ τῶν μητέρων ἑωυτοὺς καὶ οὐκὶ ἀπὸ τῶν πατέρων·[5] εἰρομένου δὲ

[3] The plain of the Kayster is called "the Asian mead" in *Il.* ii. 461 (see ch. 104, note 4), and it would seem that it was still known as "Asia" in the time of Herodotos. The name was afterwards extended to denote the Roman province of Asia (in Asia Minor), and Justin first speaks of "Asia Major" as denoting the continent in contradistinction to "Asia Minor." In the Augustan age Milyas was the plateau, 4000 feet above the sea, the capital of which is now Almali. It was bounded by Tauros on the north, and Klimax and Solyma on the east. Strabo makes the Milyans as well as the Kabalians Solymi (xiii. p. 904; xiv. p. 952), who once extended along the Tauros from Lykia to Pisidia. According to Pliny (*N. H.* v. 27) and Steph. Byz., the Pisidians were Solymi. Khœrilos (a poet of the fourth century B.C.) stated that the Solymi formed part of the army of Xerxes, inhabited the shores of a lake (supposed to be Egridir by Leake), and spoke the Phœnician language. The last assertion, however, was probably due to the fancied similarity of the word Solymi to Hierosolyma, the Greek form of Jerusalem. At any rate Josephus (*Cont. Ap.* i.) takes it for granted that Khœrilos meant the inhabitants of Judæa, though he describes the Solymi as having "sooty heads," all shorn except a single tuft of hair. As Klimax and Solyma were different mountains, there is little reason for explaining the latter name by the Hebrew *sullâm*, "a ladder." The Solymi are mentioned, *Il.* vi. 184, *sq.*; *Od.* v. 283.

[4] The Tramelê of the native inscriptions: Tremileis in Steph. Byz.

[5] Herodotos was mistaken here, as it is the rule among primitive tribes to trace the descent through the mother and not through the father. "Even among hunting tribes," says Sir J. Lubbock, "though men were unable to maintain so many wives, still, as changes are of frequent occurrence, the tie between a mother and child is much stronger than that which binds a child to its father." On the western coast of Africa a man's heirs are his sister's children, as also in Central Africa (Caillié's *Travels*, i. p. 153), on the Congo, among the Berbers, and in Madagascar. Descent was reckoned from the mother among the Lokrians, according to Polybios, and is still among the Kasias, Kochs, and Nairs of India. Property is transmitted through females alone on the Malabar coast (Sir W. Elliot, *Trans. Ethn. Soc.* 1869, p. 119). A chief's successor is his sister's son among the Battas of Sumatra and other Malay

ἑτέρου τὸν πλησίον τίς εἴη, καταλέξει ἑωυτὸν μητρόθεν καὶ τῆς μητρὸς ἀνανεμεῖται τὰς μητέρας. καὶ ἦν μέν γε γυνὴ ἀστὴ δούλῳ συνοικήσῃ, γενναῖα τὰ τέκνα νενόμισται· ἦν δὲ ἀνὴρ ἀστὸς καὶ[6] ὁ πρῶτος αὐτῶν γυναῖκα ξείνην ἢ παλλακὴν ἔχῃ, ἄτιμα τὰ τέκνα γίνεται.

174 Οἱ μέν νυν Κᾶρες οὐδὲν λαμπρὸν ἔργον ἀποδεξάμενοι ἐδουλώθησαν ὑπὸ Ἁρπάγου, οὔτε αὐτοὶ οἱ Κᾶρες ἀποδεξάμενοι οὐδέν, οὔτε ὅσοι Ἑλλήνων ταύτην τὴν χώρην οἰκέουσι· οἰκέουσι δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων ἄποικοι Κνίδιοι· οἳ τῆς χώρης τῆς σφετέρης τετραμμένης ἐς πόντον, τὸ δὴ Τριόπιον καλεῖται,[7] ἀργμένης δὲ ἐκ τῆς Χερσονήσου τῆς Βυβασσίης, ἐούσης τε πάσης τῆς Κνιδίης πλὴν ὀλίγης περιρρόου (τὰ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῆς πρὸς βορέην ἄνεμον ὁ Κεραμεικὸς κόλπος ἀπέργει, τὰ δὲ πρὸς νότον ἡ κατὰ Σύμην τε καὶ Ῥόδον θάλασσα), τὸ ὦν δὴ ὀλίγον τοῦτο, ἐὸν ὅσον τε ἐπὶ πέντε στάδια, ὤρυσσον οἱ Κνίδιοι ἐν ὅσῳ Ἅρπαγος τὴν Ἰωνίην κατεστρέφετο, βουλόμενοι νῆσον τὴν χώρην ποιῆσαι. ἐντὸς δὲ πᾶσά σφι ἐγίνετο· τῇ γὰρ ἡ Κνιδίη χώρη ἐς τὴν ἤπειρον τελευτᾷ, ταύτῃ ὁ ἰσθμός ἐστι τὸν ὤρυσσον. καὶ δὴ πολλῇ χειρὶ ἐργαζομένων τῶν Κνιδίων, μᾶλλον γάρ τι καὶ θειότερον ἐφαίνοντο τιτρώσκεσθαι οἱ ἐργαζόμενοι τοῦ οἰκότος τά τε ἄλλα τοῦ σώματος καὶ μάλιστα τὰ περὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς θραυομένης τῆς πέτρης, ἔπεμπον ἐς Δελφοὺς θεοπρόπους ἐπειρησομένους τὸ ἀντίξοον. ἡ δὲ Πυθίη σφι, ὡς αὐτοὶ Κνίδιοι λέγουσι, χρᾷ ἐν τριμέτρῳ τόνῳ τάδε.

ἰσθμὸν δὲ μὴ πυργοῦτε μηδ' ὀρύσσετε·
Ζεὺς γάρ κ' ἔθηκε νῆσον, εἴ κ' ἐβούλετο.[8]

Κνίδιοι μὲν τάοτα τῆς Πυθίης χρησάσης τοῦ τε ὀρύγματος ἐπαύσαντο καὶ Ἁρπάγῳ ἐπιόντι σὺν τῷ στρατῷ ἀμαχητὶ
175 σφέας αὐτοὺς παρέδοσαν. ἦσαν δὲ Πηδασεῖς οἰκέοντες ὑπὲρ Ἁλικαρνησσοῦ μεσόγαιαν, τοῖσι ὅκως τι μέλλοι ἀνεπιτήδεον ἔσεσθαι, αὐτοῖσί τε καὶ τοῖσι περιοίκοισι, ἡ ἱερίη τῆς Ἀθηναίης πώγωνα μέγαν ἴσχει. τρίς σφι τοῦτο ἐγένετο. οὗτοι τῶν περὶ Καρίην ἀνδρῶν μοῦνοί τε ἀντέσχον χρόνον Ἁρπάγῳ καὶ πρήγ-

tribes (Marsden's *Sumatra*, p. 376), and descent is in the female line among the Iroquois and most other North American Indian tribes, as well as among the Tongans of the Pacific and some of the Australians.

[6] "Even though he is their leading man."

[7] "As for them, since their country looks towards the sea—now it is called the Triopian peninsula—and juts out (ἄρχω) from the Bybassian Khersonese" (*i.e.* the peninsula between the mainland and the Triopian). Se ch. 144, note 2.

[8] "Dig not the isthmus, nor build:
An island it were had Zeus will'd."

ματα παρέσχον πλεῖστα, ὄρος τειχίσαντες τῷ οὔνομά ἐστι Λίδη.

Πηδασεῖς μέν νυν χρόνῳ ἐξαιρέθησαν· Λύκιοι δέ, ὡς ἐς τὸ 176
Ξάνθιον[9] πεδίον ἤλασε ὁ Ἅρπαγος τὸν στρατόν, ἐπεξιόντες καὶ μαχόμενοι ὀλίγοι πρὸς πολλοὺς ἀρετὰς ἀπεδείκνυντο, ἐσσωθέντες δὲ καὶ κατειληθέντες ἐς τὸ ἄστυ συνήλισαν ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν τάς τε γυναῖκας καὶ τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὰ χρήματα καὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας, καὶ ἔπειτα ὑπῆψαν τὴν ἀκρόπολιν πᾶσαν ταύτην καίεσθαι. τάστα δὲ ποιήσαντες καὶ συνομόσαντες ὅρκους δεινούς, ἐπεξελθόντες ἀπέθανον πάντες Ξάνθιοι μαχόμενοι. τῶν δὲ νῦν Λυκίων φαμένων Ξανθίων εἶναι οἱ πολλοί, πλὴν ὀγδώκοντα ἱστιαίων,[1] εἰσὶ ἐπήλυδες· αἱ δὲ ὀγδώκοντα ἱστίαι αὗται ἔτυχον τηνικαῦτα ἐκδημέουσαι καὶ οὕτω περιεγένοντο. τὴν μὲν δὴ Ξάνθον οὕτω ἔσχε ὁ Ἅρπαγος,[2] παραπλησίως δὲ καὶ τὴν Καύνον ἔσχε· καὶ γὰρ οἱ Καύνιοι τοὺς Λυκίους ἐμιμήσαντο τὰ πλέω.

Τὰ μέν νυν κάτω τῆς Ἀσίης Ἅρπαγος ἀνάστατα ἐποίει, τὰ 177
δὲ ἄνω αὐτῆς αὐτὸς Κῦρος, πᾶν ἔθνος καταστρεφόμενος καὶ οὐδὲν παριείς. τὰ μέν νυν αὐτῶν πλέω παρήσομεν· τὰ δέ οἱ παρέσχε τε πόνον πλεῖστον καὶ ἀξιαπηγητότατά ἐστι, τούτων ἐπιμνήσομαι.

Κῦρος ἐπείτε τὰ πάντα τῆς ἠπείρου ὑποχείρια ἐποιήσατο, 178
Ἀσσυρίοισι[3] ἐπετίθετο. τῆς δὲ Ἀσσυρίης ἐστὶ μέν κου καὶ ἄλλα πολίσματα μεγάλα πολλά, τὸ δὲ ὀνομαστότατον καὶ ἰσχυρότατον καὶ ἔνθα σφι Νίνου[4] ἀναστάτου γενομένης τὰ βασιλήια κατεστήκει, ἦν Βαβυλών, ἐοῦσα τοιαύτη δή τις πόλις. κεῖται ἐν πεδίῳ μεγάλῳ, μέγαθος ἐοῦσα μέτωπον ἕκαστον εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν σταδίων, ἐούσης τετραγώνου· οὗτοι στάδιοι τῆς περιόδου

[9] The town of Xanthos is called Arina on the native coins and inscriptions (Arna in Steph. Byz.) Koprlle also appears on the coins of the place, and may denote the district in which Arina stood, as Canon Rawlinson suggests. Xanthos was primarily the Greek name of the river on which Arina stood, and which was called Sirbê or Sirbes by the natives (Strabo, xiv. p. 951; Steph. Byz. s.v. Τρεμίλη; Eustath. ad Il. xii. 907-30).

[1] "Belonging to the hearth," *i.e.* "families," a peculiar use of the word. Comp. ἑπίστια, v. 72.

[2] The Lykian obelisk now in the British Museum mentions Kaias, "the son of Harpagos"; but as this seems to belong to a period nearly 100 years later than the Persian conquest of Karia, a different Harpagos must be meant.

[3] Herodotos means the Babylonians who had succeeded to the power of the Assyrians. The same inaccuracy occurs in 2d Kings xxiii. 29. The conquest of Babylonia took place in B.C. 538. See Appendix II.

[4] Nineveh — Ninua or Nina in the native texts — was of Accadian foundation, and is now represented by the mounds of Kouyunjik and Nebi Yunus opposite Mosul.

τῆς πόλιος γίνονται συνάπαντες ὀγδώκοντα καὶ τετρακόσιοι.[5] τὸ μέν νυν μέγαθος τοσοῦτόν ἐστι τοῦ ἄστεος τοῦ Βαβυλωνίου, ἐκεκόσμητο δὲ ὡς οὐδὲν ἄλλο πόλισμα τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν. τάφρος μὲν πρῶτά μιν βαθέα τε καὶ εὐρέα καὶ πλέη ὕδατος περιθεῖ, μετὰ δὲ τεῖχος πεντήκοντα μὲν πηχέων βασιληίων ἐὸν τὸ εὖρος, ὕψος δὲ διηκοσίων πηχέων·[6] ὁ δὲ βασιλήιος πῆχυς τοῦ μετρίου
179 ἐστὶ πήχεος μέζων τρισὶ δακτύλοισι.[7] δεῖ δή με πρὸς τούτοισι ἔτι φράσαι ἵνα τε ἐκ τῆς τάφρου ἡ γῆ ἀναισιμώθη, καὶ τὸ τεῖχος ὅντινα τρόπον ἔργαστο. ὀρύσσοντες ἅμα τὴν τάφρον ἐπλίνθευον τὴν γῆν τὴν ἐκ τοῦ ὀρύγματος ἐκφερομένην, ἑλκύσαντες δὲ πλίνθους ἱκανὰς ὤπτησαν αὐτὰς ἐν καμίνοισι· μετὰ δὲ τέλματι χρεώμενοι ἀσφάλτῳ θερμῇ καὶ διὰ τριήκοντα δόμων πλίνθου ταρσοὺς καλάμων διαστοιβάζοντες,[8] ἔδειμαν πρῶτα μὲν τῆς τάφρου τὰ χείλεα, δεύτερα δὲ αὐτὸ τὸ τεῖχος τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον. ἐπάνω δὲ τοῦ τείχεος παρὰ τὰ ἔσχατα οἰκήματα μουνόκωλα ἔδειμαν, τετραμμένα ἐς ἄλληλα· τὸ μέσον δὲ τῶν οἰκημάτων ἔλιπον τεθρίππῳ περιέλασιν. πύλαι δὲ ἐνεστᾶσι πέριξ τοῦ τείχεος ἑκατόν, χάλκεαι πᾶσαι, καὶ σταθμοί τε καὶ ὑπέρθυρα ὡσαύτως. ἔστι δὲ ἄλλη πόλις ἀπέχουσα ὀκτὼ ἡμερέων ὁδὸν ἀπὸ Βαβυλῶνος· Ἴς οὔνομα αὐτῇ. ἔνθα ἐστὶ ποταμὸς οὐ μέγας· Ἴς καὶ τῷ ποταμῷ τὸ οὔνομα· ἐσβάλλει δὲ οὗτος ἐς τὸν Εὐφρήτην[9] ποταμὸν τὸ ῥεῖθρον. οὗτος ὦν ὁ Ἴς ποταμὸς ἅμα τῷ ὕδατι θρόμβους ἀσφάλτου ἀναδιδοῖ πολλούς,

[5] That is 56 miles, enclosing an area of about 200 square miles, which is absurd. Ktêsias, who adds a third wall, contrary to the evidence of the monuments, makes the circuit 360 stades (42 miles), Strabo (xvi. 1, 5) 385 stades, Qu. Curtius (vi. 1, 26) 368 stades, and Kleitarkhos (ap. Diod. Sic. ii. 7) 365 stades. Nebuchadrezzar himself states that "the citadel of Babylon" occupied a space of 4000 square cubits.

[6] The height would then be about 385 feet (the width being 85 feet); Ktêsias made the height 200 cubits, Strabo only 50 cubits. In the time of Xenophon, we may remember, the ruined wall of Nineveh was 150 feet high (*Anab.* iii. 4, 10).

[7] It is impossible to determine the exact equivalents of these two measures, but we may reckon the *ammat* or cubit at about twenty inches.

[8] Layers of reeds have been found bedding the courses of crude brick among the ruins of Babylonia, and so binding them together. Asphalt (*iddu* in Semitic, *ebu* in Accadian) was plentiful in the Babylonian plain, especially at *Is*, now Hit, which probably took its name from the word *iddu*. As, however, *hid* was the Accadian term for "a river," it is possible that the town was named after the river on which it stood. It is called Aeipolis by Isid. Khar., Idikara by Ptolemy.

[9] The Euphrates was called by the Accadians the Pur-rat or "winding water," whence the Assyrian Purratu; Heb., P'rath; Old Persian, Ufratu; and Greek, Euphrates (with a play on *εὖ* in reference to the "good" waters of the river).

ἔνθεν ἡ ἄσφαλτος ἐς τὸ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι τεῖχος ἐκομίσθη. ἐτετείχιστο μέν νυν ἡ Βαβυλὼν[1] τρόπῳ τοιῷδε, ἔστι δὲ δύο φάρσεα 180
τῆς πόλιος. τὸ γὰρ μέσον αὐτῆς ποταμὸς διέργει, τῷ οὔνομα ἐστι Εὐφρήτης· ῥεῖ δὲ ἐξ Ἀρμενίων, ἐὼν μέγας καὶ βαθὺς καὶ ταχύς· ἐξίει δὲ οὗτος ἐς τὴν Ἐρυθρὴν θάλασσαν. τὸ ὦν δὴ τεῖχος ἑκάτερον τοὺς ἀγκῶνας ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν ἐλήλαται· τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου αἱ ἐπικαμπαὶ[2] παρὰ χεῖλος ἑκάτερον τοῦ ποταμοῦ αἰμασιὴ πλίνθων ὀπτέων παρατείνει. τὸ δὲ ἄστυ αὐτὸ ἐὸν πλῆρες οἰκιῶν τριωρόφων τε καὶ τετρωρόφων[3] κατατέτμηται τὰς ὁδοὺς ἰθέας, τάς τε ἄλλας καὶ τὰς ἐπικαρσίας τὰς ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐχούσας. κατὰ δὴ ὧν ἑκάστην ὁδὸν ἐν τῇ αἰμασιῇ τῇ παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν πυλίδες ἐπῆσαν, ὅσαι περ αἱ λαῦραι, τοσαῦται ἀριθμόν· ἦσαν δὲ καὶ αὗται χάλκεαι, φέρουσαι καὶ αὐταὶ ἐς αὐτὸν τὸν ποταμόν. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τὸ τεῖχος θώρηξ 181
ἐστί, ἕτερον δὲ ἔσωθεν τείχος περιθεῖ,[4] οὐ πολλῷ τεῳ ἀσθενέστερον τοῦ ἑτέρου τείχεος, στεινότερον δέ. ἐν δὲ φάρσει ἑκατέρῳ τῆς πόλιος ἐτετείχιστο [ἐν μέσῳ] ἐν τῷ μὲν τὰ βασιλήια[5] περιβόλῳ τε μεγάλῳ καὶ ἰσχυρῷ, ἐν δὲ τῷ ἑτέρῳ Διὸς Βήλου ἱερὸν χαλκόπυλον, καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἔτι τοῦτο ἐόν, δύο σταδίων πάντῃ, ἐὸν τετράγωνον.[6] ἐν μέσῳ δὲ τοῦ ἱεροῦ πύργος στερεὸς οἰκοδόμηται,

[1] Babylon, now represented by *Hillah*, is the Hebrew Babel, the Assyro-Babylonian Bab-ili, "Gate of the god," the Semitic translation of the original Accadian name Ka-dimirra. It was also known in Accadian times as E, "the hollow," and Din-Tir, "the city of the tree (of life)." It first became the capital of the country under Khammuragas, the leader of the Cassite dynasty.

[2] "Winding" with the river.

[3] "Three and four stories high." This shows that the city was more densely built than is usually supposed, and that the system of building in stories which prevailed in Rome had already been known in Babylon.

[4] The *salkhu* or outer wall is called Nimitti-Bilu ("foundation of Bel") in the inscriptions, the inner wall being called Imgur-Bilu ("habitation of Bel"). Both were built by Nebuchadrezzar.

[5] Now represented by the *Kasr* or "Palace" mound, which Herodotos incorrectly transfers to the western bank of the river. According to Diodoros (ii. 8, 4) it was surrounded by three walls, the outermost being sixty stades (seven miles) in circuit. The inner walls were adorned with painted bricks, and two of its gates, opened and shut by machines, were of brass. It was begun by Nabopolassar, and finished in fifteen days by Nebuchadrezzar, who calls it "The guardhouse of mankind." It overlooked the Ai-ipur-sabu, or great reservoir of Babylon, and stretched from this to the Euphrates on the one side, and from the Imgur-Bel to the Libil or eastern canal on the other. Within it were the hanging gardens, watered by means of a screw. An earlier ruined palace is represented by the *Amram* mound, the smaller palace of Neriglissar standing in the western part of the city.

[6] Now represented by the *Babil* or *Mujellibeh* mound. Bel (*Bilu* in the inscriptions) is the same word as the Phœniko-Hebrew Baal, "lord," and was

σταδίου καὶ τὸ μῆκος καὶ τὸ εὖρος, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῷ πύργῳ ἄλλος πύργος ἐπιβέβηκε, καὶ ἕτερος μάλα ἐπὶ τούτῳ, μέχρι οὗ ὀκτὼ πύργων. ἀνάβασις δὲ ἐς αὐτοὺς ἔξωθεν κύκλῳ περὶ πάντας τοὺς πύργους ἔχουσα πεποίηται. μεσοῦντι δέ κου τῆς ἀναβάσιος ἐστὶ καταγωγή τε καὶ θῶκοι ἀμπαυστήριοι, ἐν τοῖσι κατίζοντες ἀμπαύονται οἱ ἀναβαίνοντες. ἐν δὲ τῷ τελευταίῳ πύργῳ νηὸς ἔπεστι μέγας· ἐν δὲ τῷ νηῷ κλίνη μεγάλη κεῖται εὖ ἐστρωμένη καί οἱ τράπεζα παρακεῖται χρυσέη. ἄγαλμα δὲ οὐκ ἔνι οὐδὲν αὐτόθι ἐνίδρυμένον· οὐδὲ νύκτα οὐδεὶς ἐναυλίζεται ἀνθρώπων ὅτι μὴ γυνὴ μούνη τῶν ἐπιχωρίων, τὴν ἂν ὁ θεὸς ἕληται ἐκ πασέων, ὡς λέγουσι οἱ Χαλδαῖοι[7] ἐόντες ἱερεῖς τούτου τοῦ θεοῦ. φασὶ δὲ οἱ αὐτοὶ οὗτοι, ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐ πιστὰ λέγοντες,
182 τὸν θεὸν αὐτὸν φοιτᾶν τε ἐς τὸν νηὸν καὶ ἀμπαύεσθαι ἐπὶ τῆς κλίνης, κατά περ ἐν Θήβῃσι τῇσι Αἰγυπτίῃσι κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον, ὡς λέγουσι οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι· καὶ γὰρ δὴ ἐκεῖθι κοιμᾶται ἐν τῷ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Θηβαιέος γυνή· ἀμφότεραι δὲ αὗται λέγονται ἀνδρῶν οὐδαμῶν ἐς ὁμιλίην φοιτᾶν· καὶ κατά περ ἐν Πατάροισι[8] τῆς Λυκίης ἡ πρόμαντις τοῦ θεοῦ, ἐπεὰν γένηται· οὐ γὰρ ὢν αἰεί ἐστι χρηστήριον αὐτόθι· ἐπεὰν δὲ γένηται, τότε ὢν συγκατακληίεται τὰς νύκτας ἔσω ἐν τῷ νηῷ. ἔστι δὲ τοῦ ἐν
183 Βαβυλῶνι ἱεροῦ καὶ ἄλλος κάτω νηός, ἔνθα ἄγαλμα μέγα τοῦ Διὸς ἔνι κατήμενον χρύσεον καί οἱ τράπεζα μεγάλη παρακεῖται χρυσέη, καὶ τὸ βάθρον οἱ καὶ ὁ θρόνος χρύσεός ἐστι· καὶ ὡς ἔλεγον οἱ Χαλδαῖοι, ταλάντων ὀκτακοσίων χρυσίου πεποίηται τάοτα. ἔξω δὲ τοῦ νηοῦ βωμός ἐστι χρύσεος. ἔστι δὲ καὶ

specially applied to Merodach, the patron deity of Babylon. The Accadian god of the lower world was also called Bel by the Assyro-Babylonians, and in later times was distinguished from Bel-Merodach by the epithet of "the older." In saying that the temple of Bel still existed in his time, Herodotos betrays the fact that he had never really visited Babylon; see ch. 183, note 1.

[7] The Kaldai are first met with in the inscriptions as a small non-Semitic tribe on the shores of the Persian Gulf in the ninth century B.C. Under their chief, Merodach-baladan, they conquered Babylonia, and became so integral a portion of the population as to give their name to the whole of it among the Greeks. The reputation of the Babylonians for magic and astrology caused the name Khaldæan to become synonymous with "priest" and "soothsayer," as in this passage. The Casdim of the Old Testament cannot be identified with the Khaldæans, but are probably to be explained as the *Casidi* or Semitic "conquerors" of Accad and Sumir.

[8] Still called Patara on the sea coast, and marked by ruins of tombs, temples, and other buildings, besides a theatre, containing thirty-four rows of seats. Apollo was supposed to dwell here during the six months of winter, delivering his oracles at Delos during the summer. (See Hor. *Od.* iii. 4, 64.)

ἄλλος βωμὸς μέγας, ὅκου θύεται τὰ τέλεα τῶν προβάτων· ἐπὶ γὰρ τοῦ χρυσέου βωμοῦ οὐκ ἔξεστι θύειν ὅτι μὴ γαλαθηνὰ μοῦνα.[9] ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ μέζονος βωμοῦ καὶ καταγίζουσι λιβανωτοῦ χίλια τάλαντα ἔτεος ἑκάστου οἱ Χαλδαῖοι τότε ἐπεὰν τὴν ὁρτὴν ἄγωσι τῷ θεῷ τούτῳ. ἦν δὲ ἐν τῷ τεμένει τούτῳ ἔτι τὸν χρόνον ἐκεῖνον καὶ ἀνδριὰς δυώδεκα πηχέων χρύσεος στερεός· ἐγὼ μέν μιν οὐκ εἶδον, τὰ δὲ λέγεται ὑπὸ Χαλδαίων, τάοτα λέγω. τούτῳ τῷ ἀνδριάντι Δαρεῖος μὲν ὁ Ὑστάσπεος ἐπιβουλεύσας οὐκ ἐτόλμησε λαβεῖν, Ξέρξης δὲ ὁ Δαρείου ἔλαβε καὶ τὸν ἱερέα ἀπέκτεινε ἀπαγορεύοντα μὴ κινεῖν τὸν ἀνδριάντα.[1] τὸ μὲν δὴ ἱερὸν τοῦτο οὕτω κεκόσμηται, ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἴδια ἀναθήματα πολλά.

Τῆς δὲ Βαβυλῶνος ταύτης πολλοὶ μέν κου καὶ ἄλλοι ἐγένοντο βασιλεῖς, τῶν ἐν τοῖσι Ἀσσυρίοισι λόγοισι μνήμην ποιήσομαι,[2] 184
οἳ τὰ τείχεά τε ἐπεκόσμησαν καὶ τὰ ἱερά, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ γυναῖκες δύο. ἡ μὲν πρότερον ἄρξασα, τῆς ὕστερον γενεῇσι πέντε πρότερον γενομένη, τῇ οὔνομα ἦν Σεμίραμις,[3] αὕτη μὲν ἀπεδέξατο

[9] The incense altar before the ark in the Jewish tabernacle was similarly overlaid with gold (Ex. xxxvii. 26). In front of the ark was also a table overlaid with gold (Ex. xxxvii. 11).

[1] According to Arrian (vii. 17) Xerxes "destroyed" the temple after his return from Greece. In this case Herodotos could not have seen the temple himself, but must have derived his information about it from some earlier author, whom he quotes without acknowledgment. This is supported by his reference (ch. 182) to Egyptian Thebes, which, as will be seen, he also never visited.

[2] See ch. 106, note 1.

[3] We learn from ch. 188 that Nitôkris, the later queen, was the mother of Nabonidos; consequently the Semiramis of Herodotos will have flourished about 150 years before, if we assume thirty years for a generation, as elsewhere. This brings us to B.C. 700, when Babylonia was overrun by Assyrians and Elamites, and a prey to internal discords. No great public works could have been executed at this time, and a few years later (B.C. 695) Babylon was razed to the ground by Sennacherib. Semiramis, moreover, was the name, not of a human queen, but of the goddess Istar, whose legend was rationalised by the Persian historians and their Greek followers. 'Sammuramat, the queen of Rimmonnirari (B.C. 810-792), was an Assyrian princess, and lived a century earlier than the Semiramis of Herodotos. Besides, her name may not be identical with that of Semiramis, and the reading of it is not quite certain. Perhaps Scaliger was right in proposing to read "fifty" instead of "five," which would bring us to B.C. 2050, the period at which the Semiramis of Greek romance was popularly supposed to have flourished (Synkellos B.C. 2177, Eusebios B.C. 1984, both on the authority of Ktêsias). On the other hand, Polyhistor endeavours to combine the dynasties of Berosos with the Greek legend of Semiramis by introducing her as a queen of the Assyrians before the rise of the Assyrian dynasty in Babylonia B.C. 1272, and Hellanikos makes her a contemporary of the Trojan War B.C. 1229. She belongs, however, not to Assyrian history, but to Assyrian mythology. Vitringa's reading "fifteen" is supported by Mahaffy's corrections in i. 72 and ii. 34; but 450 years would bring us to B.C.

χώματα ἀνὰ τὸ πεδίον ἐόντα ἀξιοθέητα· πρότερον δὲ ἐώθει ὁ
185 ποταμὸς ἀνὰ τὸ πεδίον πᾶν πελαγίζειν. ἡ δὲ δὴ δεύτερον γενομένη ταύτης βασίλεια, τῇ οὔνομα ἦν Νίτωκρις,[4] αὕτη δὲ συνετωτέρη γενομένη τῆς πρότερον ἀρξάσης τοῦτο μὲν μνημόσυνα ἐλίπετο τὰ ἐγὼ ἀπηγήσομαι, τοῦτο δὲ τὴν Μήδων ὁρέουσα ἀρχὴν μεγάλην τε καὶ οὐκ ἀτρεμίζουσαν, ἀλλ' ἄλλα τε ἀραιρημένα ἄστεα αὐτοῖσι, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ τὴν Νίνον, προεφυλάξατο ὅσα ἐδύνατο μάλιστα. πρῶτα μὲν τὸν Εὐφρήτην ποταμὸν ῥέοντα πρότερον ἰθύν, ὃς σφι διὰ τῆς πόλιος μέσης ῥεῖ, τοῦτον ἄνωθεν διώρυχας ὀρύξασα οὕτω δή τι ἐποίησε σκολιὸν ὥστε δὴ τρὶς ἐς τῶν τινα κωμέων τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσσυρίῃ ἀπικνεῖται ῥέων· τῇ δὲ κώμῃ οὔνομά ἐστι, ἐς τὴν ἀπικνεῖται ὁ Εὐφρήτης, Ἀρδέρικκα.[5] καὶ νῦν οἱ ἂν κομίζωνται ἀπὸ τῆσδε τῆς θαλάσσης[6] ἐς Βαβυλῶνα, καταπλέοντες ἐς τὸν Εὐφρήτην ποταμὸν τρίς τε ἐς τὴν αὐτὴν ταύτην κώμην παραγίνονται καὶ ἐν τρισὶ ἡμέρῃσι. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τοιοῦτον ἐποίησε, χῶμα δὲ παρέχωσε παρ' ἑκάτερον τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὸ χεῖλος ἄξιον θώυματος μέγαθος καὶ ὕψος ὅσον τι ἐστί. κατύπερθε δὲ πολλῷ Βαβυλῶνος ὤρυσσε ἕλυτρον λίμνῃ, ὀλίγον τι παρατείνουσα ἀπὸ
† τοῦ ποταμοῦ, βάθος μὲν ἐς τὸ ὕδωρ αἰεὶ ὀρύσσουσα, εὖρος δὲ τὸ περίμετρον αὐτοῦ ποιέουσα εἴκοσί τε καὶ τετρακοσίων σταδίων· τὸν δὲ ὀρυσσόμενον χοῦν ἐκ τούτου τοῦ ὀρύγματος ἀναισίμου παρὰ τὰ χείλεα τοῦ ποταμοῦ παραχέουσα. ἐπείτε δέ οἱ ὡρώρυκτο, λίθους ἀγαγομένη κρηπῖδα κύκλῳ περὶ αὐτὴν ἤλασε.

1000, a date to which Semiramis is assigned by no classical author.

[4] Nitôkris is an Egyptian name (Neitakrit). Nabonidos did not belong to the royal family, and his mother might easily have been an Egyptian. She must be the queen-mother who figures so prominently in the tablet of Kyros, which records the reign and fall of Nabonidos. From this we learn that while the king himself was wasting his time in idleness at Babylon, his mother was encouraging the army by her presence in the camp near Sippara, where she died on the 5th of Nisan B.C. 547. It is therefore very probable that the works of defence which Nabonidos claimed to have made against the attack of the Persians were really due to the energy of the queen-mother, as Herodotos states.

[5] Arderikka is not yet identified, and probably is imaginary. Sir H. Rawlinson says: "No such cuttings as those here described by Herodotus can ever have existed." In vi. 119 Herodotos places Arderikka near Susa.

[6] If we venture to throw aside the authority of *all* the MSS., with Schweighäuser, and omit *ἐς* before *τὸν Εὐφρήτην*, the meaning of the passage would be simple enough: "Those who would now go from our (Mediterranean) sea to Babylonia, sail down the Euphrates." Retaining *ἐς*, however, we must translate: "Those who would now go from this sea into Babylonia, sailing down it into the Euphrates." In this case the sea would be the Persian Gulf, and the writer would not be Herodotos, but some unknown one whom he is quoting.

ἐποίει δὲ ἀμφότερα τάοτα, τόν τε ποταμὸν σκολιὸν καὶ τὸ ὄρυγμα πᾶν ἕλος, ὡς ὅ τε ποταμὸς βραδύτερος εἴη περὶ καμπὰς πολλὰς ἀγνύμενος, καὶ οἱ πλόοι ἔωσι σκολιοὶ ἐς τὴν Βαβυλῶνα, ἔκ τε τῶν πλόων[7] ἐκδέκηται περίοδος τῆς λίμνης μακρή. κατὰ τοῦτο δὲ ἐργάζετο τῆς χώρης τῇ αἵ τε ἐσβολαὶ ἦσαν καὶ τὰ σύντομα τῆς ἐκ Μήδων ὁδοῦ,[8] ἵνα μὴ ἐπιμισγόμενοι οἱ Μῆδοι ἐκμανθάνοιεν αὐτῆς τὰ πρήγματα. τάοτα μὲν δὴ ἐκ βάθεος περιεβάλετο,[9] 186
τοιήνδε δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν παρενθήκην ἐποιήσατο. τῆς πόλιος ἐούσης δύο φαρσέων, τοῦ δὲ ποταμοῦ μέσον ἔχοντος, ἐπὶ τῶν πρότερον βασιλέων ὅκως τις ἐθέλοι ἐκ τοῦ ἑτέρου φάρσεος ἐς τοὔτερον διαβῆναι, χρῆν πλοίῳ διαβαίνειν, καὶ ἦν, ὡς ἐγὼ δοκέω, ὀχληρὸν τοῦτο. αὕτη δὲ καὶ τοῦτο προεῖδε· ἐπείτε γὰρ ὥρυσσε τὸ ἔλυτρον τῇ λίμνῃ, μνημόσυνον τόδε ἄλλο ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἔργου ἐλίπετο. ἐτάμνετο λίθους περιμήκεας,[1] ὡς δέ οἱ ἦσαν οἱ λίθοι ἕτοιμοι καὶ τὸ χωρίον ὀρώρυκτο, ἐκτρέψασα τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὸ ῥεῖθρον πᾶν ἐς τὸ ὤρυσσε χωρίον, ἐν ᾧ ἐπίμπλατο τοῦτο, ἐν τούτῳ ἀπεξηρασμένου τοῦ ἀρχαίου ῥείθρου τοῦτο μὲν τὰ χείλεα τοῦ ποταμοῦ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὰς καταβάσιας τὰς ἐκ τῶν πυλίδων ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν φερούσας ἀνοικοδόμησε πλίνθοισι ὀπτῇσι κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον τῷ τείχει, τοῦτο δὲ κατὰ μέσην κου μάλιστα τὴν πόλιν τοῖσι λίθοισι τοὺς ὠρύξατο οἰκοδόμει γέφυραν, δέουσα τοὺς λίθους σιδήρῳ τε καὶ μολύβδῳ. ἐπιτείνεσκε δὲ ἐπ' αὐτήν, ὅκως μὲν ἡμέρη γένοιτο, ξύλα τετράγωνα, ἐπ' ὧν τὴν διάβασιν ἐποιέοντο οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι· τὰς δὲ νύκτας τὰ ξύλα τάοτα ἀπαιρέεσκον τοῦδε εἵνεκα, ἵνα μὴ διαφοιτέοντες τὰς νύκτας κλέπτοιεν παρ' ἀλλήλων. ὡς δὲ τό τε ὀρυχθὲν λίμνη πλήρης ἐγεγόνει ὑπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ τὰ περὶ τήν γέφυραν ἐκεκόσμητο, τὸν Εὐφρήτην ποταμὸν ἐς τὰ ἀρχαῖα ῥεῖθρα ἐκ τῆς λίμνης

[7] "At the end of the voyage."

[8] "In that part of the country where the passes were and the shortest roads into Media." That would be on the north-east. The camp was pitched near Sippara (now Abu-Habba), and the efforts made by Kyros to penetrate into Babylonia from the north-east proved unavailing. See Appendix II. Xenophon (*Anab.* i. vii. 15) passed a wall sixty-nine miles in length, which had been built to protect Babylonia from the Medes, and the remains of which have been discovered by Lieut. Bewsher between the Nahr Malcha and Bagdad (*Jrl. R. G. S.* xxxvii.)

[9] "Such were the defences she made by digging out the soil."

[1] It is clear that Herodotos had never visited Babylonia, otherwise he would not have spoken of "immense stones" being hewn in a country which is absolutely devoid of them. The few stones brought from Babylonia are either gems or boundary stones, the smallest pebble being of high value. It was no doubt the rarity and consequent preciousness of stone which caused the Baby-

ἐξήγαγε, καὶ οὕτω τὸ ὀρυχθὲν ἕλος γινόμενον ἐς δέον ἐδόκει γεγονέναι καὶ τοῖσι πολιήτῃσι γέφυρα ἦν κατεσκευασμένη.

187 Ἡ δ' αὐτὴ αὕτη βασίλεια καὶ ἀπάτην τοιήνδε τινὰ ἐμηχανήσατο. ὑπὲρ τῶν μάλιστα λεωφόρων πυλέων τοῦ ἄστεος τάφον ἑωυτῇ κατεσκευάσατο μετέωρον ἐπιπολῆς αὐτέων τῶν πυλέων, ἐνεκόλαψε δὲ ἐς τὸν τάφον γράμματα λέγοντα τάδε. "τῶν τις ἐμέο ὕστερον γινομένων Βαβυλῶνος βασιλέων ἦν σπανίσῃ χρημάτων, ἀνοίξας τὸν τάφον λαβέτω ὁκόσα βούλεται χρήματα· μὴ μέντοι γε μὴ σπανίσας γε ἄλλως ἀνοίξῃ· οὐ γὰρ ἄμεινον." οὗτος ὁ τάφος ἦν ἀκίνητος μέχρι οὗ ἐς Δαρεῖον περιῆλθε ἡ βασιληίη· Δαρείῳ δὲ καὶ δεινὸν ἐδόκει εἶναι τῇσι πύλῃσι ταύτῃσι μηδὲν χρᾶσθαι, καὶ χρημάτων κειμένων καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν χρημάτων ἐπικαλεομένων, μὴ οὐ λαβεῖν αὐτά. τῇσι δὲ πύλῃσι ταύτῃσι οὐδὲν ἐχρᾶτο τοῦδε εἵνεκα, ὅτι ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς οἱ ἐγίνετο ὁ νεκρὸς διεξελαύνοντι. ἀνοίξας δὲ τὸν τάφον εὗρε χρήματα μὲν οὔ, τὸν δὲ νεκρὸν καὶ γράμματα λέγοντα τάδε. "εἰ μὴ ἄπληστός τε ἔας χρημάτων καὶ αἰσχροκερδής, οὐκ ἂν νεκρῶν θήκας ἀνέῳγες."[2]

188 Αὕτη μέν νυν ἡ βασίλεια τοιαύτη τις λέγεται γενέσθαι· ὁ δὲ δὴ Κῦρος ἐπὶ ταύτης τῆς γυναικὸς τὸν παῖδα ἐστρατεύετο, ἔχοντά τε τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ ἑωυτοῦ τοὔνομα Λαβυνήτου καὶ τὴν Ἀσσυρίων ἀρχήν.[3] στρατεύεται δὲ δὴ βασιλεὺς ὁ μέγας καὶ σιτίοισι εὖ ἐσκευασμένος ἐξ οἴκου καὶ προβάτοισι, καὶ δὴ καὶ ὕδωρ ἀπὸ τοῦ Χοάσπεω ποταμοῦ[4] ἄμα ἄγεται τοῦ παρὰ Σοῦσα ῥέοντος, τοῦ μούνου πίνει βασιλεὺς καὶ ἄλλου οὐδενὸς ποταμοῦ. τούτου δὲ τοῦ Χοάσπεω τοῦ ὕδατος ἀπεψυγμένου πολλαὶ κάρτα ἅμαξαι τετράκυκλοι ἡμιόνειαι κομίζουσαι ἐν ἀγγηίοισι ἀργυρέοισι ἕπον-

189 ται, ὅκῃ ἂν ἐλαύνῃ ἑκάστοτε. ἐπείτε δὲ ὁ Κῦρος πορευόμενος ἐπὶ τὴν Βαβυλῶνα ἐγίνετο ἐπὶ Γύνδῃ[5] ποταμῷ, τοῦ αἱ μὲν πηγαὶ

lonians to become famous as gem-engravers.

[2] This is evidently one of those "moral stories" the Greeks were so fond of inventing. It is needless to say that the inscriptions are wholly Greek in style and conception.

[3] Herodotos means Nabonidos and the empire of the Babylonians. So far from being the son of another Nabonidos, however, Nabonidos did not belong to the royal family, but was elected to the throne after the murder of Laborosoarkhod, the son of Neriglissar. Herodotos is thinking of the king he has miscalled Labynêtos in ch. 74. His ignorance in regard to so comparatively well-known a portion of Babylonian history proves that we need not regret the loss of his Assyrian history. The father of Nabonidos was really Nebo-balatsu-ikbi, the Rab-Mag.

[4] Apparently the modern Kerkhah. Strabo (xv. p. 1043) tells the story of the Eulæus (Ulai), supposed to be represented by a dried-up channel on the eastern side of Susa, from the bridge of Pai Pul on the Kerkhah to the Shapur, a branch of the Karun.

[5] The Gyndes is usually identified

ἐν Ματιηνοῖσι ὄρεσι,[6] ῥεῖ δὲ διὰ Δαρδανέων,[7] ἐκδιδοῖ δὲ ἐς ἕτερον ποταμὸν Τίγρην, ὁ δὲ παρὰ Ὦπιν[8] πόλιν ῥέων ἐς τὴν Ἐρυθρὴν θάλασσαν ἐκδιδοῖ, τοῦτον δὴ τὸν Γύνδην ποταμὸν ὡς διαβαίνειν ἐπειρᾶτο ὁ Κῦρος ἐόντα νηυσιπέρητον, ἐνθαῦτά οἱ τῶν τις ἱερῶν ἵππων τῶν λευκῶν ὑπὸ ὕβριος ἐσβὰς ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν διαβαίνειν ἐπειρᾶτο, ὁ δέ μιν συμψήσας ὑποβρύχιον οἰχώκει φέρων. κάρτα τε δὴ ἐχαλέπαινε τῷ ποταμῷ ὁ Κῦρος τοῦτο ὑβρίσαντι, καὶ οἱ ἐπηπείλησε οὕτω δή μιν ἀσθενέα ποιήσειν ὥστε τοῦ λοιποῦ καὶ γυναῖκάς μιν εὐπετέως τὸ γόνυ οὐ βρεχούσας διαβήσεσθαι. μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἀπειλὴν μετεὶς τὴν ἐπὶ Βαβυλῶνα στράτευσιν διαίρει τὴν στρατιὴν δίχα, διελὼν δὲ κατέτεινε σχοινοτενέας ὑποδέξας διώρυχας ὀγδώκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν[9] παρ' ἑκάτερον τὸ χεῖλος τοῦ Γύνδεω τετραμμένας πάντα τρόπον, διατάξας δὲ τὸν στρατὸν ὀρύσσειν ἐκέλευε. οἷα δὲ ὁμίλου πολλοῦ ἐργαζομένου ἤνετο μὲν τὸ ἔργον, ὅμως μέντοι τὴν θερείην πᾶσαν αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ διέτριψαν ἐργαζόμενοι.

Ὡς δὲ τὸν Γύνδην ποταμὸν ἐτίσατο Κῦρος ἐς τριηκοσίας καὶ 190
ἑξήκοντα διώρυχάς μιν διαλαβών,[1] καὶ τὸ δεύτερον ἔαρ ὑπέλαμπε, οὕτω δὴ ἤλαυνε ἐπὶ τὴν Βαβυλῶνα. οἱ δὲ Βαβυλώνιοι ἐκστρατευσάμενοι ἔμενον αὐτόν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐγένετο ἐλαύνων ἀγχοῦ τῆς

with the Diyálah, but the legend probably rather has in view the Gingir, which is divided into a number of small streams at Mendalli.

[6] The Araxes also is said to rise in the Matienian mountains, ch. 202. Samas-Rimmon (B.C. 821) defeated Khanatsiruca, king of the Matai, in the mountains to the north-east of Assyria, and sacked his capital Sagbita, and Lake Urumiyeh was known as Lake Matiana to classical geography. The place of the Matai seems to be taken by the Medes (Madai) in later inscriptions. See iii. 94, note 9.

[7] Otherwise unknown.

[8] Herodotos must mean that the Gyndes joins the Tigris near Opis (Upe in the inscriptions), after which the Tigris flows southward. But Xenophon (*Anab.* ii. iv. 13-25) shows that Opis lay near the junction of the Physkos, not the Gyndes, with the Tigris, many miles to the north of the Diyálah.

[9] "By stretching ropes he marked out 180 straight trenches."

[1] Sir H. Rawlinson rightly divined that the whole story was "a fable," as is now proved by the tablet inscription of Kyros, from which we learn that the Persians marched upon Babylonia from the south, not from the north. He believes it embodies "some popular tradition with regard to the great hydraulic works on the Diyálah below the Hamaran hills, where the river has been dammed across to raise the level of the water, and a perfect network of canals has been opened out from it on either side." It is not surprising, therefore, that the geography of Herodotos should be as confused as his narrative, or that the channels should be just 360, the number of days in the old Babylonian year, perhaps suggested by the fact that the horse was sacred to the sun. We may well doubt whether such a stream as *his* Gyndes really existed at all.

πόλιος, συνέβαλόν τε οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι καὶ ἐσσωθέντες τῇ μάχῃ κατειλήθησαν ἐς τὸ ἄστυ. οἷα δὲ ἐξεπιστάμενοι ἔτι πρότερον τὸν Κῦρον οὐκ ἀτρεμίζοντα, ἀλλ' ὀρέοντες αὐτὸν παντὶ ἔθνει ὁμοίως ἐπιχειρέοντα, προεσάξαντο σιτία ἐτέων κάρτα πολλῶν. ἐνθαῦτα οὗτοι μὲν λόγον εἶχον τῆς πολιορκίης οὐδένα, Κῦρος δὲ ἀπορίῃσι ἐνείχετο, ἅτε χρόνου τε ἐγγινομένου συχνοῦ ἀνωτέρω
191 τε οὐδὲν τῶν πρηγμάτων προκοπτομένων.[2] εἴτε δὴ ὦν ἄλλος οἱ ἀπορέοντι ὑπεθήκατο, εἴτε καὶ αὐτὸς ἔμαθε τὸ ποιητέον οἱ ἦν, ἐποίεε δὴ τοιόνδε. τάξας τὴν στρατιὴν ἅπασαν ἐξ ἐμβολῆς τοῦ ποταμοῦ, τῇ ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσβάλλει, καὶ ὄπισθε αὖτις τῆς πόλιος τάξας ἑτέρους, τῇ ἐξίει ἐκ τῆς πόλιος ὁ ποταμός, προεῖπε τῷ στρατῷ, ὅταν διαβατὸν τὸ ῥεῖθρον ἴδωνται γενόμενον, ἐσιέναι ταύτῃ ἐς τὴν πόλιν. οὕτω τε δὴ τάξας καὶ κατὰ τάοτα παραινέσας ἀπήλαυνε αὐτὸς σὺν τῷ ἀχρηίῳ τοῦ στρατοῦ. ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν λίμνην, τά περ ἡ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων βασίλεια ἐποίησε κατά τε τὸν ποταμὸν καὶ κατὰ τὴν λίμνην, ἐποίεε καὶ ὁ Κῦρος ἕτερα τοιαῦτα· τὸν γὰρ ποταμὸν διώρυχι ἐσαγαγὼν ἐς τὴν λίμνην ἐοῦσαν ἕλος τὸ ἀρχαῖον ῥεῖθρον διαβατὸν εἶναι ἐποίησε, ὑπονοστήσαντος τοῦ ποταμοῦ.[3] γενομένου δὲ τούτου τοιούτου, οἱ Πέρσαι οἵ περ ἐτετάχατο ἐπ' αὐτῷ τούτῳ κατὰ τὸ ῥεῖθρον τοῦ Εὐφρήτεω ποταμοῦ ὑπονενοστηκότος ἀνδρὶ ὡς ἐς μέσον μηρὸν μάλιστά κῃ, κατὰ τοῦτο ἐσήισαν ἐς τὴν Βαβυλῶνα. εἰ μέν νυν προεπύθοντο ἢ ἔμαθον οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι τὸ ἐκ τοῦ Κύρου ποιεόμενον, οἱ δ' ἂν περιδόντες τοὺς Πέρσας ἐσελθεῖν ἐς τὴν πόλιν διέφθειραν ἂν κάκιστα· κατακλήισαντες γὰρ ἂν πάσας τὰς ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν πυλίδας ἐχούσας καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπὶ τὰς αἱμασιὰς ἀναβάντες τὰς παρὰ τὰ χείλεα τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐληλαμένας, ἕλαβον ἄν σφεας ὡς ἐν κύρτῃ. νῦν δὲ ἐξ ἀπροσδοκήτου σφι παρέστησαν οἱ Πέρσαι. ὑπὸ δὲ μεγάθεος τῆς πόλιος, ὡς λέγεται ὑπὸ τῶν ταύτῃ οἰκημένων, τῶν περὶ τὰ ἔσχατα τῆς πόλιος ἑαλωκότων τοὺς τὸ μέσον οἰκέοντας τῶν Βαβυλωνίων οὐ μανθάνειν ἑαλωκότας, ἀλλὰ (τυχεῖν γάρ σφι ἐοῦσαν ὁρτὴν) χορεύειν τε τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον καὶ ἐν εὐπαθείῃσι εἶναι, ἐς ὃ δὴ καὶ τὸ κάρτα ἐπύθοντο.

[2] All this is unhistorical, as we learn from the tablet inscription (see Appendix II.) There was no siege of Babylon, and Kyros did not enter the city until three months after it had opened its gates to Gobryas. The account given here by Herodotos must be a confused echo of the siege of Babylon by Darius Hystaspis.

[3] The unhistorical character of the whole narrative relieves us from the need of entering into the geographical difficulties of this passage.

Καὶ Βαβυλὼν μὲν οὕτω τότε πρῶτον ἀραίρητο·[4] τὴν δὲ 192
δύναμιν τῶν Βαβυλωνίων πολλοῖσι μὲν καὶ ἄλλοισι δηλώσω ὅση τις ἐστί, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ τῷδε. βασιλεῖ τῷ μεγάλῳ ἐς τροφὴν αὐτοῦ τε καὶ τῆς στρατιῆς διαραίρηται, πάρεξ τοῦ φόρου, γῆ πᾶσα ὅσης ἄρχει· δυώδεκα ὧν μηνῶν ἐόντων ἐς τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν τοὺς τέσσερας μῆνας τρέφει μιν ἡ Βαβυλωνίη χώρη, τοὺς δὲ ὀκτὼ τῶν μηνῶν ἡ λοιπὴ πᾶσα Ἀσίη. οὕτω τριτημορίη ἡ Ἀσσυρίη χώρη τῇ δυνάμει τῆς ἄλλης Ἀσίης. καὶ ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς χώρης ταύτης, τὴν οἱ Πέρσαι σατραπηίην[5] καλέουσι, ἐστὶ ἀπασέων τῶν ἀρχέων πολλόν τι κρατίστη, ὅκου Τριτανταίχμῃ τῷ Ἀρταβάζου ἐκ βασιλέος ἔχοντι τὸν νομὸν τοῦτον ἀργυρίου μὲν προσήιε ἑκάστης ἡμέρης ἀρτάβη μεστή· ἡ δὲ ἀρτάβη[6] μέτρον ἐὸν Περσικὸν χωρεῖ μεδίμνου Ἀττικοῦ πλέον χοίνιξι τρισὶ Ἀττικῇσι. ἵπποι δέ οἱ αὐτοῦ ἦσαν ἰδίῃ, πάρεξ τῶν πολεμιστηρίων, οἱ μὲν ἀναβαίνοντες τὰς θηλέας ὀκτακόσιοι, αἱ δὲ βαινόμεναι ἑξακισχίλιαι καὶ μύριαι· ἀνέβαινε γὰρ ἕκαστος τῶν ἐρσένων τούτων εἴκοσι ἵππους. κυνῶν δὲ Ἰνδικῶν[7] τοσοῦτο δή τι πλῆθος ἐτρέφετο ὥστε τέσσερες τῶν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ κῶμαι μεγάλαι, τῶν ἄλλων ἐοῦσαι ἀτελεῖς, τοῖσι κυσὶ προσετετάχατο σιτία παρέχειν. τοιαῦτα μὲν τῷ ἄρχοντι τῆς Βαβυλῶνος 193
ὑπῆρχε ἐόντα· ἡ δὲ γῆ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων ὕεται μὲν ὀλίγῳ,[8] καὶ τὸ ἐκτρέφον τὴν ῥίζαν τοῦ σίτου ἐστὶ τοῦτο· ἀρδόμενον μέντοι ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀδρύνεταί τε τὸ λήιον καὶ παραγίνεται ὁ σῖτος, οὐ κατά περ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀναβαίνοντος ἐς τὰς ἀρούρας, ἀλλὰ χερσί τε καὶ κηλωνηίοισι[9] ἀρδόμενος. ἡ γὰρ Βαβυλωνίη χώρη πᾶσα, κατά περ ἡ Αἰγυπτίη, κατατέτμηται ἐς

[4] Herodotos is ignorant of the numerous captures of the city by the Assyrians, beginning with that of Tiglath-Adar and ending with that of Sennacherib. Probably he wished to contrast this capture of Babylon with that by Darius Hystaspis (see iii. 159), though the legend he borrowed may have intended nothing more than a reference to the two captures in the reign of Darius. See iii. 159.

[5] "Satrap" is the old Persian *khshatrapâ* for *khshatrapâvan*, "defender of the empire."

[6] Hence the modern Egyptian *ardeb* (nearly 5 bushels). The artabê would have contained 1½ bushels.

[7] See Mr. W. Houghton's Papers on the *Mammalia of the Assyrian Inscriptions*, in the *Trans. Soc. Bibl. Archæol.* v. (1877).

[8] A good deal of rain falls in Assyria. In Babylonia it is rare during the summer, though there is plenty in the winter and spring.

[9] The Egyptian *shaduf*. An early Accadian collection of agricultural proverbs says: "The irrigation-machine he puts together; the bucket he hangs, and the water he will draw up." Irrigation naturally played a large part in the economy of Babylonia.

διώρυχας· καὶ ἡ μεγίστη τῶν διωρύχων ἐστὶ νηυσιπέρητος, πρὸς ἥλιον τετραμμένη τὸν χειμερινόν, ἐσέχει δὲ ἐς ἄλλον ποταμὸν ἐκ τοῦ Εὐφρήτεω, ἐς τὸν Τίγρην, παρ' ὃν Νίνος πόλις οἴκητο.[1] ἐστι δὲ χωρέων αὕτη πασέων μακρῷ ἀρίστη τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν Δήμητρος καρπὸν ἐκφέρειν· τὰ γὰρ δὴ ἄλλα δένδρεα οὐδὲ πειρᾶται ἀρχὴν[2] φέρειν, οὔτε συκέην οὔτε ἄμπελον οὔτε ἐλαίην. τὸν δὲ τῆς Δήμητρος καρπὸν ὧδε ἀγαθὴ ἐκφέρειν ἐστι ὥστε ἐπὶ διηκόσια μὲν τὸ παράπαν ἀποδιδοῖ, ἐπειδὰν δὲ ἄριστα αὐτὴ ἑωυτῆς ἐνείκῃ, ἐπὶ τριηκόσια ἐκφέρει. τὰ δὲ φύλλα αὐτόθι τῶν τε πυρῶν καὶ τῶν κριθέων τὸ πλάτος γίνεται τεσσέρων εὐπετέως δακτύλων. ἐκ δὲ κέγχρου καὶ σησάμου ὅσον τι δένδρον μέγαθος γίνεται, ἐξεπιστάμενος μνήμην οὐ ποιήσομαι, εὖ εἰδὼς ὅτι τοῖσι μὴ ἀπιγμένοισι ἐς τὴν Βαβυλωνίην χώρην καὶ τὰ εἰρημένα καρπῶν ἐχόμενα ἐς ἀπιστίην πολλὴν ἀπῖκται. χρέωνται δὲ οὐδὲν ἐλαίῳ, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν σησάμων ποιέοντες . . . εἰσὶ δέ σφι φοίνικες πεφυκότες ἀνὰ πᾶν τὸ πεδίον, οἱ πλέονες αὐτῶν καρποφόροι, ἐκ τῶν καὶ σιτία καὶ οἶνον καὶ μέλι ποιέονται· τοὺς συκέων τρόπον θεραπεύουσι τά τε ἄλλα καὶ φοινίκων τοὺς ἔρσενας Ἕλληνες καλέουσι, τούτων τὸν καρπὸν περιδέουσι τῇσι βαλανηφόροισι τῶν φοινίκων, ἵνα πεπαίνῃ τέ σφι ὁ ψὴν τὴν βάλανον ἐσδύνων καὶ μὴ ἀπορρέῃ ὁ καρπὸς τοῦ φοίνικος· ψῆνας γὰρ δὴ φέρουσι
194 ἐν τῷ καρπῷ οἱ ἔρσενες κατά περ δὴ οἱ ὄλυνθοι.[3] τὸ δὲ ἁπάντων θῶυμα μέγιστόν μοι ἐστὶ τῶν ταύτῃ μετά γε αὐτὴν τὴν πόλιν, ἔρχομαι φράσων. τὰ πλοῖα αὐτοῖσι ἐστὶ τὰ κατὰ τὸν ποταμὸν πορευόμενα ἐς τὴν Βαβυλῶνα, ἐόντα κυκλοτερέα, πάντα σκύτινα. ἐπεὰν γὰρ ἐν τοῖσι Ἀρμενίοισι τοῖσι κατύπερθε Ἀσσυρίων οἰκημένοισι νομέας ἰτέης ταμόμενοι ποιήσωνται, περιτείνουσι τούτοισι διφθέρας στεγαστρίδας ἔξωθεν ἐδάφεος τρόπον,[4] οὔτε πρύμνην ἀποκρίνοντες οὔτε πρῴρην συνάγοντες, ἀλλ' ἀσπίδος τρόπον κυκλοτερέα ποιήσαντες καὶ καλάμης πλήσαντες πᾶν τὸ πλοῖον τοῦτο ἀπιεῖσι κατὰ τὸν ποταμὸν φέρεσθαι,

[1] "The Tigris, on the banks of which Nineveh stood." Of course this has nothing to do with the great canal of Babylonia, which was probably the Nahr Malcha or "Royal River," called Armalchar by Pliny, and first constructed by Khammuragas.

[2] "At all."

[3] This, as Theophrastus pointed out (*Hist. Plant.* ii. 9) is an error. The fruit of the date-tree only needs the pollen of the male palm.

[4] "They stretch a covering of skins on these outside, like a floor." Circular boats, or *kufas*, of the same kind are still used on the Tigris and Euphrates. The rafts which are floated down the river, supported on inflated skins, are broken up when they reach their destination. The βίκοι carried by them seem

φορτίων πλήσαντες· μάλιστα δὲ βίκους φοινικηίους κατάγουσι οἴνου πλέους. ἰθύνεται δὲ ὑπό τε δύο πλήκτρων καὶ δύο ἀνδρῶν ὀρθῶν ἑστεώτων, καὶ ὁ μὲν ἔσω ἕλκει τὸ πλῆκτρον ὁ δὲ ἔξω ὠθεῖ. ποιεῖται δὲ καὶ κάρτα μεγάλα τάοτα τὰ πλοῖα καὶ ἐλάσσω· τὰ δὲ μέγιστα αὐτῶν καὶ πεντακισχιλίων ταλάντων γόμον ἔχει. ἐν ἑκάστῳ δὲ πλοίῳ ὄνος ζωὸς ἔνεστι, ἐν δὲ τοῖσι μέζοσι πλέονες. ἐπεὰν ὦν ἀπίκωνται πλέοντες ἐς τὴν Βαβυλῶνα καὶ διαθέωνται τὸν φόρτον, νομέας μὲν τοῦ πλοίου καὶ τὴν καλάμην πᾶσαν ἀπ' ὧν ἐκήρυξαν,[5] τὰς δὲ διφθέρας ἐπισάξαντες ἐπὶ τοὺς ὄνους ἀπελαύνουσι ἐς τοὺς Ἀρμενίους. ἀνὰ τὸν ποταμὸν γὰρ δὴ οὐκ οἷά τε ἐστὶ πλεῖν οὐδενὶ τρόπῳ ὑπὸ τάχεος τοῦ ποταμοῦ· διὰ γὰρ τάοτα καὶ οὐκ ἐκ ξύλων ποιέονται τὰ πλοῖα ἀλλ' ἐκ διφθερέων. ἐπεὰν δὲ τοὺς ὄνους ἐλαύνοντες ἀπίκωνται ὀπίσω ἐς τοὺς Ἀρμενίους, ἄλλα τρόπῳ τῷ αὐτῷ ποιέονται πλοῖα. τὰ μὲν δὴ 195
πλοῖα αὐτοῖσι ἐστὶ τοιαῦτα· ἐσθῆτι δὲ τοιῇδε χρέωνται, κιθῶνι ποδηνεκέι λινέῳ, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦτον ἄλλον εἰρίνεον κιθῶνα ἐπενδύνει καὶ χλανίδιον λευκὸν περιβαλλόμενος, ὑποδήματα ἔχων ἐπιχώρια, παραπλήσια τῇσι Βοιωτίῃσι ἐμβάσι.[6] κομέοντας δὲ τὰς κεφαλὰς μίτρῃσι ἀναδέονται, μεμυρισμένοι πᾶν τὸ σῶμα. σφρηγῖδα δὲ ἕκαστος ἔχει[7] καὶ σκῆπτρον χειροποίητον· ἐπ' ἑκάστῳ δὲ σκήπτρῳ ἔπεστι πεποιημένον ἢ μῆλον ἢ ῥόδον ἢ κρίνον ἢ αἰετὸς ἢ ἄλλο τι· ἄνευ γὰρ ἐπισήμου οὔ σφι νόμος ἐστὶ ἔχειν σκῆπτρον.
αὕτη μὲν δή σφι ἄρτησις περὶ τὸ σῶμα ἐστί· νόμοι δὲ αὐτοῖσι 196
ὧδε κατεστᾶσι, ὁ μὲν σοφώτατος ὅδε κατὰ γνώμην τὴν ἡμετέρην, τῷ καὶ Ἰλλυριῶν Ἐνετοὺς[8] πυνθάνομαι χρᾶσθαι. κατὰ κώμας ἑκάστας ἅπαξ τοῦ ἔτεος ἑκάστου ἐποιεῖτο τάδε. ὡς ἂν αἱ παρθένοι γινοίατο γάμων ὡραῖαι, ταύτας ὅκως συναγάγοιεν

of Semitic origin ; cp. the Heb. *bakbûk*, "a bottle."

[5] For ἀπεκήρυξαν, "they sell by auction." An instance of the so-called Homeric tmesis. Comp. ii. 39, 40, 47, 70, 85, 86, 87, 88, 96, 122, 172 ; iii. 82 ; iv. 60, 196 ; vii. 10 ε. Cf. also ch. 66 ; ii. 141, 181.

[6] The priests, as we learn from the cylinders, wore flounced robes. The right arm and shoulder were left bare, and in early times a cap with two horns on either side was common. Sandals or shoes, however, were the exception rather than the rule, in contrast to Assyria, where only the poorer classes went barefoot.

[7] Herodotos refers to the cylinders of which most museums contain specimens. A cord, passed through the hole which pierces them from end to end, fastened them to the wrists of their owners. The designs engraved upon them usually represent deities or scenes from the ancient Chaldean epic ; more rarely human beings or animals only. About one half have inscriptions which usually give merely the names of the owner and his father and patron deity.

[8] The Eneti or Heneti represent the Venetians (Liv. i. 1). The Illyrians are supposed to have belonged to the same race as the modern Albanians.

πάσας, ἐς ἓν χωρίον ἐσάγεσκον ἀλέας, πέριξ δὲ αὐτὰς ἵστατο ὅμιλος ἀνδρῶν, ἀνιστὰς δὲ κατὰ μίαν ἑκάστην κῆρυξ πωλέεσκε, πρῶτα μὲν τὴν εὐειδεστάτην ἐκ πασέων· μετὰ δέ, ὅκως αὕτη εὑροῦσα πολλὸν χρυσίον πρηθείη, ἄλλην ἂν ἀνεκήρυσσε ἡ μετ' ἐκείνην ἔσκε εὐειδεστάτη· ἐπωλέοντο δὲ ἐπὶ συνοικήσι. ὅσοι μὲν δὴ ἔσκον εὐδαίμονες τῶν Βαβυλωνίων ἐπίγαμοι, ὑπερβάλλοντες ἀλλήλους ἐξωνέοντο τὰς καλλιστευούσας· ὅσοι δὲ τοῦ δήμου ἔσκον ἐπίγαμοι, οὗτοι δὲ εἴδεος μὲν οὐδὲν ἐδέοντο χρηστοῦ, οἱ δ' ἂν χρήματά τε καὶ αἰσχίονας παρθένους ἐλάμβανον. ὡς γὰρ δὴ διεξέλθοι ὁ κῆρυξ πωλέων τὰς εὐειδεστάτας τῶν παρθένων, ἀνίστη ἂν τὴν ἀμορφεστάτην ἢ εἴ τις αὐτέων ἔμπηρος εἴη, καὶ ταύτην ἀνεκήρυσσε, ὅστις θέλοι ἐλάχιστον χρυσίον λαβὼν συνοικεῖν αὐτῇ, ἐς ὃ τῷ τὸ ἐλάχιστον ὑπισταμένῳ προσέκειτο. τὸ δὲ ἂν χρυσίον ἐγίνετο ἀπὸ τῶν εὐειδέων παρθένων, καὶ οὕτω αἱ εὔμορφοι τὰς ἀμόρφους καὶ ἐμπήρους ἐξεδίδοσαν. ἐκδοῦναι δὲ τὴν ἑωυτοῦ θυγατέρα ὅτεῳ βούλοιτο ἕκαστος οὐκ ἐξῆν, οὐδὲ ἄνευ ἐγγυητέω ἀπάγεσθαι τὴν παρθένον πριάμενον, ἀλλ' ἐγγυητὰς χρῆν καταστήσαντα ἢ μὲν συνοικήσειν αὐτῇ, οὕτω ἀπάγεσθαι. εἰ δὴ μὴ συμφεροίατο, ἀποφέρειν τὸ χρυσίον ἔκειτο νόμος. ἐξῆν δὲ καὶ ἐξ ἄλλης ἐλθόντα κώμης τὸν βουλόμενον ὠνεῖσθαι. ὁ μέν νυν κάλλιστος νόμος οὗτός σφι ἦν, οὐ μέντοι νῦν γε διετέλεσε ἐών,[9] ἄλλο δέ τι ἐξευρήκασι νεωστὶ γενέσθαι [, ἵνα μὴ ἀδικοῖεν αὐτὰς μηδ' εἰς ἑτέραν πόλιν ἄγωνται]· ἐπείτε γὰρ ἁλόντες ἐκακώθησαν καὶ οἰκοφθορήθησαν, πᾶς τις τοῦ δήμου
197 βίου σπανίζων καταπορνεύει τὰ θήλεα τέκνα. δεύτερος δὲ σοφίῃ ὅδε ἄλλος σφι νόμος κατέστηκε. τοὺς κάμνοντας ἐς τὴν ἀγορὴν ἐκφορέουσι· οὐ γὰρ δὴ χρέωνται ἰητροῖσι. προσιόντες ὧν πρὸς τὸν κάμνοντα συμβουλεύουσι περὶ τῆς νούσου, εἴ τις καὶ αὐτὸς τοιοῦτο ἔπαθε ὁκοῖον ἂν ἔχῃ ὁ κάμνων, ἢ ἄλλον εἶδε παθόντα· τάοτα προσιόντες συμβουλεύουσι καὶ παραινέουσι, ἄσσα αὐτὸς ποιήσας ἐξέφυγε ὁμοίην νοῦσον ἢ ἄλλον εἶδε ἐκφυγόντα. σιγῇ δὲ παρεξελθεῖν τὸν κάμνοντα οὔ σφι ἔξεστι, πρὶν
198 ἂν ἐπείρηται ἥντινα νοῦσον ἔχει. ταφαὶ δέ σφι ἐν μέλιτι, θρῆνοι δὲ παραπλήσιοι τοῖσι ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ. ὁσάκις δ' ἂν μιχθῇ γυναικὶ τῇ ἑωυτοῦ ἀνὴρ Βαβυλώνιος, περὶ θυμίημα καταγιζόμενον ἧζει,

[9] Nik. Damasc., four centuries after Herodotos, states that the custom still existed in his day (see, too, Strabo, xvi. p. 1058). But its actual prevalence may be doubted. At any rate no reference to it is found in the numerous commercial tablets that have come from Babylonia. Herodotos does not seem to esteem womankind more highly than did Euripides.

ἐτέρωθι δὲ ἡ γυνὴ τὠυτὸ τοῦτο ποιεῖ, ὄρθρου δὲ γενομένου λοῦνται καὶ ἀμφότεροι· ἄγγεος γὰρ οὐδενὸς ἅψονται πρὶν ἂν λούσωνται. ταὐτὰ δὲ τάοτα καὶ Ἀράβιοι ποιέουσι.[1] ὁ δὲ δὴ αἴσχιστος τῶν 199
νόμων ἐστὶ τοῖσι Βαβυλωνίοισι ὅδε. δεῖ πᾶσαν γυναῖκα ἐπιχωρίην ἱζομένην ἐς ἱερὸν Ἀφροδίτης ἅπαξ ἐν τῇ ζόῃ μιχθῆναι ἀνδρὶ ξείνῳ.[2] πολλαὶ δὲ καὶ οὐκ ἀξιεόμεναι ἀναμίσγεσθαι τῇσι ἄλλῃσι οἷα πλούτῳ ὑπερφρονέουσαι, ἐπὶ ζευγέων ἐν καμάρῃσι ἐλάσασαι πρὸς τὸ ἱερὸν ἑστᾶσι· θεραπηίη δέ σφι ὄπισθε ἕπεται πολλὴ αἱ δὲ πλέονες ποιέουσι ὧδε. ἐν τεμένει Ἀφροδίτης κατέαται στέφανον περὶ τῇσι κεφαλῇσι ἔχουσαι θώμιγγος πολλαὶ γυναῖκες· αἱ μὲν γὰρ προσέρχονται, αἱ δὲ ἀπέρχονται· σχοινοτενεῖς δὲ διέξοδοι πάντα τρόπον ὁδῶν ἔχουσι διὰ τῶν γυναικῶν, δι' ὧν οἱ ξεῖνοι διεξιόντες ἐκλέγονται. ἔνθα ἐπεὰν ἵζηται γυνή, οὐ πρότερον ἀπαλλάσσεται ἐς τὰ οἰκία ἤ τίς οἱ ξείνων ἀργύριον ἐμβαλὼν ἐς τὰ γούνατα μιχθῇ ἔξω τοῦ ἱεροῦ· ἐμβαλόντα δὲ δεῖ εἰπεῖν τοσόνδε, "ἐπικαλέω τοι τὴν θεὸν Μύλιττα." Μύλιττα δὲ καλέουσι τὴν Ἀφροδίτην Ἀσσύριοι.[3] τὸ δὲ ἀργύριον μέγαθός ἐστι ὁσονῶν· οὐ γὰρ μὴ ἀπώσηται· οὐ γάρ οἱ θέμις ἐστί· γίνεται γὰρ ἱερὸν τοῦτο τὸ ἀργύριον. τῷ δὲ πρώτῳ ἐμβαλόντι ἕπεται οὐδὲ ἀποδοκιμᾷ οὐδένα. ἐπεὰν δὲ μιχθῇ, ἀποσιωσαμένη τῇ θεῷ ἀπαλλάσσεται ἐς τὰ οἰκία, καὶ τὠπὸ τούτου οὐκ οὕτω μέγα τί οἱ δώσεις ὥς μιν λάμψεαι. ὅσαι μέν νυν εἰδεός τε ἐπαμμέναι εἰσὶ καὶ μεγάθεος, ταχὺ ἀπαλλάσσονται, ὅσαι δὲ ἄμορφοι αὐτέων εἰσί, χρόνον πολλὸν προσμένουσι οὐ δυνάμεναι τὸν νόμον ἐκπλῆσαι· καὶ γὰρ τριέτεα καὶ τετραέτεα μετεξέτεραι χρόνον μένουσι. ἐνιαχῇ δὲ καὶ τῆς Κύπρου[4] ἐστὶ παραπλήσιος τούτῳ νόμος.

Νόμοι μὲν δὴ τοῖσι Βαβυλωνίοισι οὗτοι κατεστᾶσι· εἰσὶ δὲ 200
αὐτῶν πατριαὶ τρεῖς αἳ οὐδὲν ἄλλο σιτέονται εἰ μὴ ἰχθῦς μοῦνον, τοὺς ἐπείτε ἂν θηρεύσαντες αὐήνωσι πρὸς ἥλιον, ποιέουσι τάδε· ἐσβάλλουσι ἐς ὅλμον καὶ λεήναντες ὑπέροισι σῶσι διὰ σινδόνος, καὶ ὃς μὲν ἂν βούληται αὐτῶν ἅτε μᾶζαν μαξάμενος ἔχει, ὁ δὲ ἄρτου τρόπον ὀπτήσας.

[1] And also, it may be added, the Jews.

[2] This custom is mentioned by Strabo (xvi. p. 1058). It was practised in the name of religion, the woman thus placing herself under the protection of Istar, the goddess of love (cp. Numb. xxv. 1-15). It was the natural result of the existence of religious prostitutes (called *Kadishi* in the Assyrian inscriptions) among the Assyro-Babylonians, the Phœnicians, and the Hebrews (see Deut. xxv. 18), who lived around the temples of Astoreth or Istar and the sun-god.

[3] See ch. 131, note 4.

[4] *i.e.* in the Phœnician colonies. Comp. Justin. 18, 5.

201 Ὡς δὲ τῷ Κύρῳ καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ἔθνος κατέργαστο, ἐπεθύμησε Μασσαγέτας[5] ὑπ' ἑωυτῷ ποιήσασθαι. τὸ δὲ ἔθνος τοῦτο καὶ μέγα λέγεται εἶναι καὶ ἄλκιμον, οἰκημένον δὲ πρὸς ἠῶ τε καὶ ἡλίου ἀνατολάς, πέρην τοῦ Ἀράξεω ποταμοῦ, ἀντίον δὲ Ἰσσηδόνων ἀνδρῶν. εἰσὶ δὲ οἵτινες καὶ Σκυθικὸν λέγουσι τοῦτο τὸ
202 ἔθνος εἶναι. ὁ δὲ Ἀράξης λέγεται καὶ μέζων καὶ ἐλάσσων εἶναι τοῦ Ἴστρου· νήσους δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ Λέσβῳ μεγάθεα παραπλησίας συχνάς φασι εἶναι, ἐν δὲ αὐτῇσι ἀνθρώπους οἳ σιτέονται μὲν ῥίζας τὸ θέρος ὀρύσσοντες παντοίας, καρποὺς δὲ ἀπὸ δενδρέων ἐξευρημένους σφι ἐς φορβὴν κατατίθεσθαι ὡραίους, καὶ τούτους σιτεῖσθαι τὴν χειμερινήν. ἄλλα δέ σφι ἐξευρῆσθαι δένδρεα καρποὺς τοιούσδε τινὰς φέροντα. τοὺς ἐπείτε ἂν ἐς τὠυτὸ συνέλθωσι κατὰ εἴλας καὶ πῦρ ἀνακαύσωνται κύκλῳ περιιζομένους ἐπιβάλλειν ἐπὶ τὸ πῦρ, ὀσφραινομένους δὲ καταγιζομένου τοῦ καρποῦ τοῦ ἐπιβαλλομένου μεθύσκεσθαι τῇ ὀδμῇ κατά περ Ἕλληνας τῷ οἴνῳ, πλέονος δὲ ἐπιβαλλομένου τοῦ καρποῦ μᾶλλον μεθύσκεσθαι,[6] ἐς ὃ ἐς ὄρχησίν τε ἀνίστασθαι καὶ ἐς ἀοιδὴν ἀπικνεῖσθαι. τούτων μὲν αὕτη λέγεται δίαιτα εἶναι. ὁ δὲ Ἀράξης[7] ποταμὸς ῥεῖ μὲν ἐκ Ματιηνῶν, ὅθεν περ ὁ Γύνδης τὸν ἐς τὰς διώρυχας τὰς ἑξήκοντά τε καὶ τριηκοσίας διέλαβε ὁ Κῦρος, στόμασι δὲ ἐξερεύγεται τεσσεράκοντα, τῶν τὰ πάντα

[5] The Massagetæ were regarded as Skyths, like the Thyssagetæ (iv. 22) and the Getæ. Herodotos states that they lived on the western bank of the Araxes, opposite the Issêdones. The Arimaspeia of Aristeas of Prokonnesos (iv. 13) seems to have first spread among the Greeks a knowledge of the Issêdones and of their eastern neighbours the Baldheaded Men, the Arimaspi or One-eyed Men, and the gold-guarding Griffins (see iii. 116, and iv. 27). The Greek colonists of the Euxine, however, must have previously become acquainted with these legends through the caravan-trade from Eastern Asia. A Chinese book on mythical zoology and anthropology, which claims to have been written B.C. 1100, and is at least as old as the time of Confucius, has pictures of the One-eyed men (or Kyklopes), described as living beyond the deserts to the west, and of their neighbours the Pigmies. The latter (already known to the *Il.* iii. 6) are said to walk arm in arm lest they should be carried away by the birds. The legend of the griffins originated in the discovery of mammoths and fossil rhinoceroses, whose horns are still supposed to be bird's claws by the Siberians, on the gold-bearing banks of the Siberian rivers (see H. Howorth on the "Mammoth," *Geol. Mag.*, Sept. 1880). For the various forms assumed by the legend of the Kyklops see Sayce, *Introduction to the Science of Language*, ii. pp. 263 *sq.*

[6] This sounds like a confused account of the use of tobacco, which, however, could not have made its way from America to Asia at this time.

[7] Herodotos has mixed two rivers together, the Aras or Araxes, which rises near Erzerûm, and flows eastward into the Caspian, and a large river on the eastern side of the Caspian (according to ch. 202), which was probably the Jaxartes.

πλὴν ἑνὸς ἐς ἕλεά τε καὶ τενάγεα ἐκδιδοῖ, ἐν τοῖσι ἀνθρώπους κατοικῆσθαι λέγουσι ἰχθῦς ὠμοὺς σιτεομένους, ἐσθῆτι δὲ νομίζοντας χρᾶσθαι φωκέων δέρμασι. τὸ δὲ ἓν τῶν στομάτων τοῦ Ἀράξεω ῥεῖ διὰ καθαροῦ ἐς τὴν Κασπίην θάλασσαν. ἡ δὲ 203
Κασπίη θάλασσα ἐστὶ ἐπ' ἐωυτῆς, οὐ συμμίσγουσα τῇ ἑτέρῃ θαλάσσῃ. τὴν μὲν γὰρ Ἕλληνες ναυτίλλονται πᾶσαν καὶ ἡ ἔξω στηλέων θάλασσα ἡ Ἀτλαντὶς καλεομένη καὶ ἡ Ἐρυθρὴ μία ἐοῦσα τυγχάνει·[8] ἡ δὲ Κασπίη ἐστὶ ἑτέρη ἐπ' ἐωυτῆς, ἐοῦσα μῆκος μὲν πλόου εἰρεσίῃ χρεωμένῳ πεντεκαίδεκα ἡμερέων, εὖρος δέ, τῇ εὐρυτάτη ἐστὶ αὐτὴ ἐωυτῆς, ὀκτὼ ἡμερέων. καὶ τὰ μὲν πρὸς τὴν ἑσπέρην φέροντα τῆς θαλάσσης ταύτης ὁ Καύκασος παρατείνει, ἐὸν ὀρέων καὶ πλήθει μέγιστον καὶ μεγάθει ὑψηλότατον. ἔθνεα δὲ ἀνθρώπων πολλὰ καὶ παντοῖα ἐν ἑωυτῷ ἔχει ὁ Καύκασος,[9] τὰ πολλὰ πάντα ἀπ' ὕλης ἀγρίης ζώοντα· ἐν τοῖσι καὶ δένδρεα φύλλα τοιῆσδε ἰδέης παρεχόμενα εἶναι λέγεται, τὰ τρίβοντάς τε καὶ παραμίσγοντας ὕδωρ ζῷα ἑωυτοῖσι ἐς τὴν ἐσθῆτα ἐγγράφειν· τὰ δὲ ζῷα οὐκ ἐκπλύνεσθαι, ἀλλὰ συγκαταγηράσκειν τῷ ἄλλῳ εἰρίῳ κατά περ ἐνυφανθέντα ἀρχήν. μίξιν δὲ τούτων τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἶναι ἐμφανέα κατά περ τοῖσι προβάτοισι.[1]

[8] The circumnavigation of Africa by the ships of the Egyptian king Necho (iv. 42) had shown that the Atlantic and the Indian Ocean were one and the same sea.

[9] The Kaukasos has been always famous as the last refuge of numerous different races and languages which have become extinct elsewhere. Mithridates knew twenty-four languages spoken by his subjects, and Pliny (*N. H.* vi. 5) states that in Colchis there were more than 300 tribes speaking different languages, and requiring 130 interpreters for intercourse with the Romans; while Strabo (x. p. 498) asserts that seventy distinct tribes gathered together into Dioskurias. The Greek caravans along the Volga employed seven interpreters (Herod. iv. 24). The known languages of the Kaukasos resolve themselves into five groups, which have no connection either with one another or with any other tongues:—(1) Lesghic, (2) Ude, (3) Circassian, (4) Thushian, and (5) Kartwelian or Alarodian. Under Lesghic are comprised Avar, Andi, Dido, Kasikumuk, and Akush; under Circassian, Abkhas or Absné, Kurinian, Cherkess, Bzyb, and Adigé; under Thushian, Thush, Chetchenz, Arshte, and Ingush or Lamur; and under Kartwelian, Georgian, Lazian, Mingrelian, Suanian, and the extinct language of the cuneiform inscriptions of Van.

[1] This is not very probable. Almost the only well-authenticated case of the kind is that of the Arctic highlanders, a degraded branch of the Eskimaux, first visited by Ross and Parry. For the Andamanners, Bushmen, Nairs, and Techurs of Oude, Californians, and natives of Queen Charlotte Island, see Lubbock's *Origin of Civilisation*, Third Edit., pp. 82, 83. Strabo asserts the same of the Garamantes. See also Herod. iv. 180, and i. 216.

204 Τὰ μὲν δὴ πρὸς ἑσπέρην τῆς θαλάσσης ταύτης τῆς Κασπίης καλεομένης ὁ Καύκασος ἀπέργει, τὰ δὲ πρὸς ἠῶ τε καὶ ἥλιον ἀνατέλλοντα πεδίον ἐκδέκεται πλῆθος ἄπειρον ἐς ἄποψιν. τοῦ ὦν δὴ πεδίου τούτου τοῦ μεγάλου οὐκ ἐλαχίστην μοῖραν μετέχουσι οἱ Μασσαγέται, ἐπ' οὓς ὁ Κῦρος ἔσχε προθυμίην στρατεύσασθαι. πολλά τε γὰρ μιν καὶ μεγάλα τὰ ἐπαείροντα καὶ ἐποτρύνοντα ἦν. πρῶτον μὲν ἡ γένεσις, τὸ δοκεῖν πλέον τι εἶναι ἀνθρώπου, δεύτερα δὲ ἡ εὐτυχίη ἡ κατὰ τοὺς πολέμους γινομένη· ὅκῃ γὰρ ἰθύσειε στρατεύεσθαι Κῦρος, ἀμήχανον ἦν
205 ἐκεῖνο τὸ ἔθνος διαφυγεῖν. ἦν δὲ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀποθανόντος γυνὴ τῶν Μασσαγετέων βασίλεια· Τόμυρίς οἱ ἦν οὔνομα. ταύτην πέμπων ὁ Κῦρος ἐμνᾶτο τῷ λόγῳ θέλων γυναῖκα ἣν ἔχειν.[2] ἡ δὲ Τόμυρις συνιεῖσα οὐκ αὐτήν μιν μνώμενον ἀλλὰ τὴν Μασσαγετέων βασιληίην, ἀπείπατο τὴν πρόσοδον. Κῦρος δὲ μετὰ τοῦτο, ὡς οἱ δόλῳ οὐ προεχώρει, ἐλάσας ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀράξεα ἐποιεῖτο ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανέος ἐπὶ τοὺς Μασσαγέτας στρατηίην, γεφύρας τε ζευγνύων ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ διάβασιν τῷ στρατῷ, καὶ πύργους ἐπὶ πλοίων τῶν διαπορθμευόντων τὸν ποταμὸν οἰκοδομεόμενος.
206 ἔχοντι δέ οἱ τοῦτον τὸν πόνον πέμψασα ἡ Τόμυρις κήρυκα ἔλεγε τάδε. "ὦ βασιλεῦ Μήδων, παῦσαι σπεύδων τὰ σπεύδεις· οὐ γὰρ ἂν εἰδείης εἴ τοι ἐς καιρὸν ἔσται τάοτα τελεόμενα· παυσάμενος δὲ βασίλευε τῶν σεωυτοῦ, καὶ ἡμέας ἀνέχεο ὁρέων ἄρχοντας τῶν περ ἄρχομεν. οὔκων ἐθελήσεις ὑποθήκῃσι τῇσιδε χρᾶσθαι, ἀλλὰ πάντως μᾶλλον ἢ δι' ἡσυχίης εἶναι· σὺ δὲ εἰ μεγάλως προθυμέαι Μασσαγετέων πειρηθῆναι, φέρε, μόχθον μὲν τὸν ἔχεις ζευγνὺς τὸν ποταμὸν ἄπες, σὺ δὲ ἡμέων ἀναχωρησάντων ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τριῶν ἡμερέων ὁδὸν διάβαινε ἐς τὴν ἡμετέρην. εἰ δ' ἡμέας βούλεαι ἐσδέξασθαι μᾶλλον ἐς τὴν ὑμετέρην, σὺ τὠυτὸ τοῦτο ποίει." τάοτα δὲ ἀκούσας ὁ Κῦρος συνεκάλεσε Περσέων τοὺς πρώτους, συναγείρας δὲ τούτους ἐς μέσον σφι προετίθει τὸ πρῆγμα, συμβουλευόμενος ὁκότερα ποιῇ. τῶν δὲ κατὰ τὠυτὸ αἱ γνῶμαι συνεξέπιπτον κελευόντων ἐσδέκεσθαι
207 Τόμυρίν τε καὶ τὸν στρατὸν αὐτῆς ἐς τὴν χώρην. παρεὼν δὲ καὶ μεμφόμενος τὴν γνώμην ταύτην Κροῖσος ὁ Λυδὸς ἀπεδείκνυτο ἐναντίην τῇ προκειμένῃ γνώμῃ, λέγων τάδε. "ὦ βασιλεῦ, εἶπον μὲν καὶ πρότερόν τοι ὅτι ἐπεί με Ζεὺς ἔδωκέ τοι, τὸ ἂν ὁρέω σφάλμα ἐὸν οἴκῳ τῷ σῷ, κατὰ δύναμιν ἀποτρέψειν· τὰ δέ μοι παθήματα τὰ ἐόντα ἀχάριτα μαθήματα γέγονε. εἰ μὲν ἀθάνατος

[2] "On the pretext that he wished to make her his wife." Reflexive ἣν, as in Homer.

δοκεῖς εἶναι καὶ στρατιῆς τοιαύτης ἄρχειν, οὐδὲν ἂν εἴη πρῆγμα γνώμας ἐμὲ σοὶ ἀποφαίνεσθαι· εἰ δ' ἔγνωκας ὅτι ἄνθρωπος καὶ σὺ εἶς καὶ ἑτέρων τοιῶνδε ἄρχεις, ἐκεῖνο πρῶτον μάθε, ὡς κύκλος τῶν ἀνθρωπηίων ἐστὶ πρηγμάτων, περιφερόμενος δὲ οὐκ ἐᾷ αἰεὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς εὐτυχεῖν. ἤδη ὦν ἔχω γνώμην περὶ τοῦ προκειμένου πρήγματος τὰ ἔμπαλιν ἢ οὗτοι. εἰ γὰρ ἐθελήσομεν ἐσδέξασθαι τοὺς πολεμίους ἐς τὴν χώρην, ὅδε τοι ἐν αὐτῷ κίνδυνος ἔνι. ἐσσωθεὶς μὲν προσαπολλύεις πᾶσαν τὴν ἀρχήν· δῆλα γὰρ δὴ ὅτι νικῶντες Μασσαγέται οὐ τὸ ὀπίσω φεύξονται ἀλλ' ἐπ' ἀρχὰς τὰς σὰς ἐλῶσι· νικῶν δὲ οὐ νικᾷς τοσοῦτον ὅσον εἰ διαβὰς ἐς τὴν ἐκείνων, νικῶν Μασσαγέτας, ἔποιο φεύγουσι· τώυτὸ γὰρ ἀντιθήσω ἐκείνῳ, ὅτι νικήσας τοὺς ἀντιουμένους ἐλᾷς ἰθὺ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς Τομύριος. χωρίς τε τοῦ ἀπηγημένου αἰσχρὸν καὶ οὐκ ἀνασχετὸν Κῦρόν γε τὸν Καμβύσεω γυναικὶ εἴξαντα ὑποχωρῆσαι τῆς χώρης. νῦν ὦν μοι δοκεῖ διαβάντας προελθεῖν ὅσον ἂν ἐκεῖνοι διεξίωσι, ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ τάδε ποιέοντας πειρᾶσθαι ἐκείνων περιγενέσθαι. ὡς γὰρ ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, Μασσαγέται εἰσὶ ἀγαθῶν τε Περσικῶν ἄπειροι καὶ καλῶν μεγάλων ἀπαθεῖς· τούτοισι ὦν τοῖσι ἀνδράσι τῶν προβάτων ἀφειδέως πολλὰ κατακόψαντας καὶ σκευάσαντας προθεῖναι ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τῷ ἡμετέρῳ δαῖτα, πρὸς δὲ καὶ κρητῆρας ἀφειδέως οἴνου ἀκρήτου καὶ σιτία παντοῖα· ποιήσαντας δὲ τάοτα, ὑπολιπομένους τῆς στρατιῆς τὸ φλαυρότατον, τοὺς λοιποὺς αὖτις ἐξαναχωρεῖν ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμόν. ἦν γὰρ ἐγὼ γνώμης μὴ ἁμάρτω, κεῖνοι ἰδόμενοι ἀγαθὰ πολλὰ τρέψονταί τε πρὸς αὐτὰ καὶ ἡμῖν τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν λείπεται ἀπόδεξις ἔργων μεγάλων."

Γνῶμαι μὲν αὗται συνέστασαν· Κῦρος δὲ μετεὶς τὴν προ- 208
τέρην γνώμην, τὴν Κροίσου δὲ ἑλόμενος, προηγόρευε Τομύρι ἐξαναχωρεῖν ὡς αὐτοῦ διαβησομένου ἐπ' ἐκείνην. ἡ μὲν δὴ ἐξανεχώρει κατὰ ὑπέσχετο πρῶτα· Κῦρος δὲ Κροῖσον ἐς τὰς χεῖρας ἐσθεὶς τῷ ἑωυτοῦ παιδὶ Καμβύσῃ, τῷ περ τὴν βασιληίην ἐδίδου, καὶ πολλὰ ἐντειλάμενός οἱ τιμᾶν τε αὐτὸν καὶ εὖ ποιεῖν, ἢν ἡ διάβασις ἡ ἐπὶ Μασσαγέτας μὴ ὀρθωθῇ, τάοτα ἐντειλάμενος καὶ ἀποστείλας τούτους ἐς Πέρσας, αὐτὸς διέβαινε τὸν ποταμὸν καὶ ὁ στρατὸς αὐτοῦ. ἐπείτε δὲ ἐπεραιώθη τὸν 209
Ἀράξεα, νυκτὸς ἐπελθούσης εἶδε ὄψιν εὖδων ἐν τῶν Μασσαγετέων τῇ χώρῃ τοιήνδε. ἐδόκει ὁ Κῦρος ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ ὁρᾶν τῶν Ὑστάσπεος παίδων τὸν πρεσβύτατον ἔχοντα ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων πτέρυγας καὶ τουτέων τῇ μὲν τὴν Ἀσίην τῇ δὲ τὴν Εὐρώπην ἐπισκιάζειν. Ὑστάσπει δὲ τῷ Ἀρσάμεος ἐόντι ἀνδρὶ Ἀχαιμε-

νίδη ἦν τῶν παίδων Δαρεῖος πρεσβύτατος,[3] ἐὼν τότε ἡλικίην ἐς εἴκοσί κου μάλιστα ἔτεα, καὶ οὗτος κατελέλειπτο ἐν Πέρσῃσι· οὐ γὰρ εἶχέ κω ἡλικίην στρατεύεσθαι. ἐπεὶ ὦν δὴ ἐξηγέρθη ὁ Κῦρος, ἐδίδου λόγον ἑωυτῷ περὶ τῆς ὄψιος. ὡς δέ οἱ ἐδόκει μεγάλη εἶναι ἡ ὄψις, καλέσας Ὑστάσπεα καὶ ἀπολαβὼν μοῦνον εἶπε "Ὑστασπες, παῖς σὸς ἐπιβουλεύων ἐμοί τε καὶ τῇ ἐμῇ ἀρχῇ ἐάλωκε. ὡς δὲ τάοτα ἀτρεκέως οἶδα, ἐγὼ σημανέω. ἐμέο θεοὶ κήδονται καί μοι πάντα προδεικνύουσι τὰ ἐπιφερόμενα. ἤδη ὦν ἐν τῇ παροιχομένῃ νυκτὶ εὕδων εἶδον τῶν σῶν παίδων τὸν πρεσβύτατον ἔχοντα ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων πτέρυγας, καὶ τουτέων τῇ μὲν τὴν Ἀσίην τῇ δὲ τὴν Εὐρώπην ἐπισκιάζειν. οὔκων ἐστὶ μηχανὴ ἀπὸ τῆς ὄψιος ταύτης οὐδεμία τὸ μὴ ἐκεῖνον ἐπιβουλεύειν ἐμοί. σὺ τοίνυν τὴν ταχίστην πορεύεο ὀπίσω ἐς Πέρσας καὶ ποίει ὅκως, ἐπεὰν ἐγὼ τάδε καταστρεψάμενος ἔλθω ἐκεῖ, ὥς μοι καταστήσεις τὸν παῖδα ἐς
210 ἔλεγχον." Κῦρος μὲν δοκέων οἱ Δαρεῖον ἐπιβουλεύειν ἔλεγε τάδε· τῷ δὲ ὁ δαίμων προέφαινε ὡς αὐτὸς μὲν τελευτήσειν αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ μέλλοι, ἡ δὲ βασιληίη αὐτοῦ περιχωρέοι ἐς Δαρεῖον. ἀμείβεται δὴ ὦν ὁ Ὑστάσπης τοῖσιδε. "ὦ βασιλεῦ, μὴ εἴη ἀνὴρ Πέρσης γεγονὼς ὅστις τοι ἐπιβουλεύσει, εἰ δ' ἔστι, ἀπόλοιτο ὡς τάχιστα· ὃς ἀντὶ μὲν δούλων ἐποίησας ἐλευθέρους Πέρσας εἶναι, ἀντὶ δὲ [τοῦ] ἄρχεσθαι ὑπ' ἄλλων ἄρχειν ἁπάντων. εἰ δέ τίς τοι ὄψις ἀπαγγέλλει παῖδα τὸν ἐμὸν νεώτερα βουλεύειν περὶ σέο, ἐγώ τοι παραδίδωμι χρᾶσθαι αὐτῷ τοῦτο ὅ τι σὺ βούλεαι."
211 Ὑστάσπης μὲν τούτοισι ἀμειψάμενος καὶ διαβὰς τὸν Ἀράξεα ἤιε ἐς Πέρσας φυλάξων Κύρῳ τὸν παῖδα Δαρεῖον, Κῦρος δὲ προελθὼν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀράξεω ἡμέρης ὁδὸν ἐποίει τὰς Κροίσου ὑπο-

[3] Darius calls himself the son of Hystaspes (Vishtáspa), son of Arsames (Arshâma), son of Ariaramnes (Ariyáramana), son of Teispes (Chishpáish), son of Akhæmenes (Hakhámanish). Akhæmenes, whose name probably means "friendly," or perhaps "having friends," seems to have been the leader of the Persian tribe at the time of the Aryan migration from Baktria westward. The introduction of the dream shows us that we are again in the domain of legend, even apart from the fact that the story of the death of Kyros recounted by Herodotos was only one out of many different ones (ch. 214). Aristobulus, the companion of Alexander, not only saw the tomb of Kyros at Pasargadæ, but his corpse also (Arrian, vi. 29), which effectually disposes of the whole story. Xenophon makes Kyros die in bed (*Cyrop.* viii. 7), but his authority is small. According to Ktêsias he died in camp of the wounds received in battle against the Derbikes, whom he had conquered with the help of the Sakian king Amorges. The tomb at Murghab, long supposed to be that of Kyros, must be referred to a later prince of the same name, probably Akhæmenes, the brother of Xerxes. See iii. 12. and Appendix V.

θήκας. μετὰ δὲ τάοτα Κύρου τε καὶ Περσέων τοῦ καθαροῦ στρατοῦ ἀπελάσαντος ὀπίσω ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀράξεα, λειφθέντος δὲ τοῦ ἀχρηίου, ἐπελθοῦσα τῶν Μασσαγετέων τριτημορὶς τοῦ στρατοῦ τούς τε λειφθέντας τῆς Κύρου στρατιῆς ἐφόνευε ἀλεξομένους καὶ τήν προκειμένην ἰδόντες δαῖτα, ὡς ἐχειρώσαντο τοὺς ἐναντίους, κλιθέντες ἐδαίνυντο, πληρωθέντες δὲ φορβῆς καὶ οἴνου εὗδον. οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ἐπελθόντες πολλοὺς μέν σφεων ἐφόνευσαν, πολλῷ δ' ἔτι πλέονας ἐζώγρησαν καὶ ἄλλους καὶ τὸν τῆς βασιλείης Τομύριος παῖδα στρατηγέοντα Μασσαγετέων, τῷ οὔνομα ἦν Σπαργαπίσης.[4] ἡ δὲ πυθομένη τά τε περὶ τὴν στρατιὴν γεγο- 212
νότα καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν παῖδα, πέμπουσα κήρυκα παρὰ Κῦρον ἔλεγε τάδε. "ἄπληστε αἵματος Κῦρε, μηδὲν ἐπαερθῇς τῷ γεγονότι τῷδε πρήγματι, εἰ ἀμπελίνῳ καρπῷ, τῷ περ αὐτοὶ ἐμπιπλάμενοι μαίνεσθε οὕτω ὥστε κατιόντος τοῦ οἴνου ἐς τὸ σῶμα ἐπαναπλεῖν ὑμῖν ἔπεα κακά, τοιούτῳ φαρμάκῳ δολώσας ἐκράτησας παιδὸς τοῦ ἐμοῦ, ἀλλ' οὐ μάχῃ κατὰ τὸ καρτερόν. νῦν ὦν μεο εὖ παραινεούσης ὑπόλαβε τὸν λόγον· ἀποδούς μοι τὸν παῖδα ἄπιθι ἐκ τῆσδε τῆς χώρης ἀζήμιος, Μασσαγετέων τριτημορίδι τοῦ στρατοῦ κατυβρίσας. εἰ δὲ τάοτα οὐ ποιήσεις, ἥλιον ἐπόμνυμί τοι τὸν Μασσαγετέων δεσπότην, ἢ μέν σε ἐγὼ καὶ ἄπληστον ἐόντα αἵματος κορέσω." Κῦρος μὲν ἐπέων οὐδένα 213
τούτων ἀνενειχθέντων ἐποιεῖτο λόγον· ὁ δὲ τῆς βασιλείης Τομύριος παῖς Σπαργαπίσης, ὥς μιν ὅ τε οἶνος ἀνῆκε καί ἔμαθε ἵνα ἦν κακοῦ, δεηθεὶς Κύρου ἐκ τῶν δεσμῶν λυθῆναι ἔτυχε, ὡς δὲ ἐλύθη τε τάχιστα καὶ τῶν χειρῶν ἐκράτησε, διεργάζεται ἑωυτόν. καὶ δὴ οὗτος μὲν τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ τελευτᾷ· Τόμυρις δέ, 214
ὥς οἱ Κῦρος οὐκ ἐσήκουσε, συλλέξασα πᾶσαν τὴν ἑωυτῆς δύναμιν συνέβαλε Κύρῳ. ταύτην τὴν μάχην, ὅσαι δὴ βαρβάρων ἀνδρῶν μάχαι ἐγένοντο, κρίνω ἰσχυροτάτην γενέσθαι, καὶ δὴ καὶ πυνθάνομαι οὕτω τοῦτο γενόμενον. πρῶτα μὲν γὰρ λέγεται αὐτοὺς διαστάντας ἐς ἀλλήλους τοξεύειν, μετὰ δέ, ὡς σφι τὰ βέλεα ἐξετετόξευτο, συμπεσόντας τῇσι αἰχμῇσί τε καὶ τοῖσι ἐγχειριδίοισι συνέχεσθαι. χρόνον τε δὴ ἐπὶ πολλὸν συνεστάναι μαχομένους καὶ οὐδετέρους ἐθέλειν φεύγειν· τέλος δὲ οἱ Μασσαγέται περιεγένοντο. ἥ τε δὴ πολλὴ τῆς Περσικῆς στρατιῆς αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ διεφθάρη καὶ δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς Κῦρος τελευτᾷ, βασιλεύσας τὰ πάντα ἐνὸς δέοντα τριήκοντα ἔτεα. ἀσκὸν δὲ πλήσασα αἵματος ἀνθρωπηίου Τόμυρις ἐδίζητο ἐν τοῖσι τεθνεῶσι τῶν Περσέων τὸν

[4] Cp. the name of the Skythian king Spargapeithês, iv. 76.

Κύρου νέκυν, ὡς δὲ εὗρε, ἐναπῆκε αὐτοῦ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐς τὸν ἀσκόν. λυμαινομένη δὲ τῷ νεκρῷ ἐπέλεγε τάδε. "σὺ μὲν ἐμὲ ζῶσάν τε καὶ νικῶσάν σε μάχῃ ἀπώλεσας, παῖδα τὸν ἐμὸν ἑλὼν δόλῳ· σὲ δ' ἐγώ, κατά περ ἠπείλησα, αἵματος κορέσω." τὰ μὲν δὴ κατὰ τὴν Κύρου τελευτὴν τοῦ βίου, πολλῶν λόγων λεγομένων, ὅδε μοι ὁ πιθανώτατος εἴρηται.

215 Μασσαγέται δὲ ἐσθῆτά τε ὁμοίην τῇ Σκυθικῇ φορέουσι καὶ δίαιταν ἔχουσι, ἱππόται δέ εἰσι καὶ ἀνιπποι[5] (ἀμφοτέρων γὰρ μετέχουσι) καὶ τοξόται τε καὶ αἰχμοφόροι, σαγάρις νομίζοντες ἔχειν. χρυσῷ δὲ καὶ χαλκῷ τὰ πάντα χρέωνται· ὅσα μὲν γὰρ ἐς αἰχμὰς καὶ ἄρδις καὶ σαγάρις, χαλκῷ τὰ πάντα χρέωνται, ὅσα δὲ περὶ κεφαλὴν καὶ ζωστῆρας καὶ μασχαλιστῆρας, χρυσῷ κοσμέονται. ὡς δ' αὖτως τῶν ἵππων τὰ μὲν [περὶ τὰ] στέρνα χαλκέους θώρηκας περιβάλλουσι, τὰ δὲ περὶ τοὺς χαλινοὺς καὶ στόμια καὶ φάλαρα χρυσῷ. σιδήρῳ δὲ οὐδ' ἀργύρῳ χρέωνται οὐδέν· οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ σφι ἐστὶ ἐν τῇ χώρῃ, ὁ δὲ χρυσὸς καὶ ὁ
216 χαλκὸς ἄπλετος.[6] νόμοισι δὲ χρέωνται τοιοῖσιδε. γυναῖκα μὲν γαμεῖ ἕκαστος, ταύτῃσι δὲ ἐπίκοινα χρέωνται·[7] τὸ γὰρ Σκύθας φασὶ Ἕλληνες ποιεῖν, οὐ Σκύθαι εἰσὶ οἱ ποιέοντες ἀλλὰ Μασσαγέται·[8] τῆς γὰρ ἐπιθυμήσῃ γυναικὸς Μασσαγέτης ἀνήρ, τὸν φαρετρεῶνα ἀποκρεμάσας πρὸ τῆς ἁμάξης μίσγεται ἀδεῶς. οὖρος δὲ ἡλικίης σφι προκεῖται ἄλλος μὲν οὐδείς· ἐπεὰν δὲ γέρων γένηται κάρτα, οἱ προσήκοντές οἱ πάντες συνελθόντες

[5] "They fight both on horseback and on foot" . . . "usually employing the *sagaris*," which was also used by the the Persians, Mossynœki, and Amazons, and according to Hesykh. was single-edged (see Herod. iv. 70). Sir H. Rawlinson suggests that it is the modern Persian *khanjar*. We may compare the short dagger worn by the warriors of the Hittite sculptures.

[6] Gold abounds in the Ural and Altai mountains, and a large proportion of the names of Tatar heroes are compounded with the word *alten*, "gold." As the tumuli of the steppes show, the Skythians of Herodotos were still in the bronze age.

[7] See ch. 203, note 1, and iii. 101.

[8] Here Herodotos distinctly states that the Massagetæ are not Skyths. By the latter he means the nomade and half-settled tribes which spread over the southern part of Russia, extending on the one side to Thrace, and on the other into the steppes of Tatary. Many of these were no doubt Turkish-Tatars; others perhaps belonged to the Mongol or other races whose relics are now preserved in the Kaukasos; but a large part seem to have been Sarmatians or Aryan Slavs. Among the latter are included the Budini, Neuri, etc., of Herodotos (bk. iv.) The Massagetæ, like the Sakæ with whom they are associated, were probably connected with the modern Kirghizes. At all events, they seem to have been Tatars like the Sakæ who founded the Turanian kingdom of Baktriana between B.C. 165 and 150. The "Greeks" mean perhaps Hekatæos.

θύουσί μιν καὶ ἄλλα πρόβατα ἅμα αὐτῷ, ἑψήσαντες δὲ τὰ κρέα κατευωχέονται.[9] *τάοτα μὲν τὰ ὀλβιώτατά σφι νενόμισται, τὸν δὲ νούσῳ τελευτήσαντα οὐ κατασιτέονται ἀλλὰ γέᾳ κρύπτουσι, συμφορὴν ποιεόμενοι ὅτι οὐκ ἵκετο ἐς τὸ τυθῆναι. σπείρουσι δὲ οὐδέν, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ κτηνέων ζώουσι καὶ ἰχθύων· οἱ δὲ ἄφθονοί*[1] *σφι ἐκ τοῦ Ἀράξεω ποταμοῦ παραγίνονται· γαλακτοπόται δ' εἰσί. θεῶν δὲ μοῦνον ἥλιον σέβονται, τῷ θύουσι ἵππους.*[2] *νόος δὲ οὗτος τῆς θυσίης· τῶν θεῶν τῷ ταχίστῳ πάντων τῶν θνητῶν τὸ τάχιστον δατέονται.*

[9] So the Fijians put their parents to death, after a feast, when they become old. See iii. 38, note 8.

[1] "Plenty of fish."

[2] Xenophon (*Anab.* iv. 5, 35) found that horses were sacrificed to the sun in Armenia. The noblest sacrifice that could be offered by the Aryans of the Rig-Veda was the horse.

BOOK II.

1 Τελευτήσαντος δὲ Κύρου, παρέλαβε τὴν βασιληίην Καμβύσης,[1] Κύρου ἐὼν παῖς καὶ Κασσανδάνης τῆς Φαρνάσπεω θυγατρός, τῆς προαποθανούσης, Κῦρος αὐτός, τε (μέγα πένθος) ἐποιήσατο καὶ τοῖσι ἄλλοισι προεῖπε πᾶσι (τῶν ἦρχε) πένθος ποιεῖσθαι. ταύτης δὴ τῆς γυναικὸς ἐὼν παῖς καὶ Κύρου Καμβύσης Ἴωνας μὲν καὶ Αἰολέας ὡς δούλους πατρωίους ἐόντας ἐνόμιζε, ἐπὶ δὲ Αἴγυπτον ἐποιεῖτο στρατηλασίην, ἄλλους τε παραλαβὼν τῶν ἦρχε, καὶ δὴ καὶ Ἑλλήνων τῶν ἐπεκράτει.

2 Οἱ δὲ Αἰγύπτιοι, πρὶν μὲν ἢ Ψαμμήτιχον σφέων βασιλεῦσαι, ἐνόμιζον ἑωυτοὺς πρώτους γενέσθαι πάντων ἀνθρώπων·[2] ἐπειδὴ

[1] Three Babylonian contract-tablets exist in the British Museum, bearing the dates—(1) "the first year of Kambysês, king of Babylon, his father Kyros being king of the world;" (2) "the eighth year of Kambysês, king of Babylon and the world;" (3) "the eleventh year of Kambysês, king of Babylon." (See Pinches in the *Trans. Soc. Bib. Archæol.* vi. 2.) This supports Africanus in making the length of the reign of Kambysês eleven years as against the eight years of Ptolemy's Canon and the seven years and five months of Herodotos. We must, therefore, suppose that Kyros made his son Kambysês king of Babylon, reserving to himself the imperial title, in B.C. 530, since we possess tablets dated from the accession year (B.C. 539) to the ninth year of Kyros as king of Babylon, and that Kambysês was officially considered to be king up to the accession of Darius, after the overthrow of the pretender Nebuchadrezzar III. in B.C. 519. It is very possible that, like Nero, he was popularly supposed to be still living. Manetho, according to Africanus, made Kambysês reign six years in Egypt, which would make his invasion of the country take place in B.C. 528 (B.C. 522 being the eighth year of Kambysês as king of Babylon, and the date of the Magian usurpation). This was probably the year of the death of Kyros. On the other hand, Egyptian scholars agree with Eusebios and Diodoros in placing the invasion in B.C. 525. But this depends on assigning B.C. 664 as the date of the accession of Psammetikhos I. According to Clem. Alex. (*Str.* i. p. 395), Kambysês reigned nineteen years; Ktêsias says eighteen.

[2] The Egyptians considered themselves to have been created by the supreme demiurge Khnum; while the races of Asia and Europe were only the formations of the goddess Sekhet, and the negroes of the younger god Horus.

δὲ Ψαμμήτιχος βασιλεύσας ἠθέλησε εἰδέναι οἵτινες γενοίατο πρῶτοι, ἀπὸ τούτου νομίζουσι Φρύγας προτέρους γενέσθαι ἑωυτῶν, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ἑωυτούς. Ψαμμήτιχος δὲ ὡς οὐκ ἐδύνατο πυνθανόμενος (πόρον οὐδένα) τούτου ἀνευρεῖν, οἳ γενοίατο πρῶτοι ἀνθρώπων, ἐπιτεχνᾶται τοιόνδε. παιδία δύο νεογνὰ ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἐπιτυχόντων δίδωσι ποιμένι τρέφειν ἐς τὰ ποίμνια τροφήν τινα τοιήνδε, ἐντειλάμενος μηδένα ἀντίον αὐτῶν, μηδεμίαν φωνὴν ἱέναι, ἐν στέγῃ δὲ ἐρήμῃ ἐπ' ἑωυτῶν κεῖσθαι αὐτά, καὶ τὴν ὥρην[3] ἐπαγινεῖν σφι αἶγας, πλήσαντα δὲ γάλακτος τἆλλα διαπρήσεσθαι. τάδε δὲ ἐποίεί τε καὶ ἐνετέλλετο Ψαμμήτιχος θέλων ἀκοῦσαι τῶν παιδίων, ἀπαλλαχθέντων τῶν ἀσήμων κνυζημάτων, ἥντινα φωνὴν ῥήξουσι πρώτην· τά περ ὦν καὶ ἐγένετο. ὡς γὰρ διέτης χρόνος ἐγεγόνει, τάδε τῷ ποιμένι πρήσσοντι, ἀνοίγοντι τὴν θύρην καὶ ἐσιόντι τὰ παιδία ἀμφότερα προσπίπτοντα βεκὸς ἐφώνεον, ὀρέγοντα τὰς χεῖρας. τὰ μὲν δὴ πρῶτα ἀκούσας ἡσυχος ἦν ὁ ποιμήν· ὡς δὲ πολλάκις φοιτέοντι καὶ ἐπιμελομένῳ πολλὸν ἦν τοῦτο τὸ ἔπος, οὕτω δὴ σημήνας τῷ δεσπότῃ ἤγαγε τὰ παιδία κελεύσαντος ἐς ὄψιν τὴν ἐκείνου. ἀκούσας δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Ψαμμήτιχος ἐπυνθάνετο οἵτινες ἀνθρώπων (βεκός τι) καλέουσι, πυνθανόμενος δὲ εὗρισκε Φρύγας καλέοντας τὸν ἄρτον.[4] οὕτω συνεχώρησαν Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ τοιούτῳ σταθμησάμενοι πρήγματι τοὺς Φρύγας πρεσβυτέρους εἶναι ἑωυτῶν. ὧδε μὲν γενέσθαι τῶν ἱερέων τοῦ Ἡφαίστου[5] τοῦ ἐν Μέμφι[6] ἤκουον· Ἕλληνες δὲ λέγουσι ἄλλα τε μάταια πολλὰ καὶ ὡς γυναικῶν τὰς γλώσσας

[3] "At a fixed time" (viii. 19). So the adverbial ἀκμήν, the accusative expressing limitation.

[4] Βεκός is said by Hipponax (fr. 82, Bergk) to have been also used by the Kyprians for "bread." The word is akin to πέσσω (= πεκ-γω), πέπων, Skt. *pach*, Zend *pac*, Lat. *coquo*, *culina*, but not to the English *bake*, Germ. *backen* (Gk. φώγω). Psammetikhos, no doubt, obtained his knowledge of Phrygian from the Karian and Ionian mercenaries sent him from Lydia. It is evident that the cry *bek* uttered by the children was merely an imitation of the bleating of the goats. The Papyrus-Ebers, the standard Egyptian work on medicine, compiled in the sixteenth century B.C., says: If "a child on the day of birth . . says *ni*, it will live; if it says *ba*, it will die." Cp. βεκκεσέληνε, Aristoph. *Clouds*, 398.

[5] That is, Ptah, identified with Hephæstos by the Greeks on account of the similarity of sound between the two names.

[6] Egyptian Men-nofer, "good place," corrupted into Ma-nuf, Copt. Menf and Memfi (Moph and Noph in the Old Testament). The most ancient name of the city was "the white wall," the special title of the citadel. Ptah and his son Imhotep (the Egyptian Asklêpios), along with his "great lover," Sekhet, were worshipped there. It was built by Menes, and was the capital of the Old Empire. From the worship of Ptah Memphis received the sacred name of Ha-ka-Ptah, "city of the worship of Ptah."

ὁ Ψαμμήτιχος ἐκταμὼν [τὴν δίαιταν οὕτω ἐποιήσατο τῶν παίδων παρὰ ταύτῃσι τῇσι γυναιξί.]

3 Κατὰ μὲν δὴ τὴν τροφὴν τῶν παίδων τοσαῦτα ἔλεγον, ἤκουσα δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ἐν Μέμφι ἐλθὼν ἐς λόγους τοῖσι ἱερεῦσι τοῦ Ἡφαίστου. καὶ δὴ καὶ [ἐς Θήβας[7] τε καὶ] ἐς Ἡλίου πόλιν[8] αὐτῶν τούτων εἵνεκεν ἐτραπόμην, ἐθέλων εἰδέναι εἰ συμβήσονται τοῖσι λόγοισι τοῖσι ἐν Μέμφι· οἱ γὰρ Ἡλιοπολῖται λέγονται Αἰγυπτίων εἶναι λογιώτατοι. τὰ μέν νυν θεῖα τῶν ἀπηγημάτων οἷα ἤκουον, οὐκ εἰμὶ πρόθυμος ἐξηγεῖσθαι, ἔξω ἢ τὰ οὐνόματα αὐτῶν μοῦνον, νομίζων πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἴσον περὶ αὐτῶν ἐπίστασθαι·[9] τὰ δ' ἂν ἐπιμνησθέω αὐτῶν, ὑπὸ τοῦ λόγου ἐξαναγ-
4 καζόμενος ἐπιμνησθήσομαι. ὅσα δὲ ἀνθρωπήια πρήγματα, ὧδε ἔλεγον ὁμολογέοντες σφίσι, πρώτους Αἰγυπτίους ἀνθρώπων ἁπάντων ἐξευρεῖν τὸν ἐνιαυτόν, δυώδεκα μέρεα δασαμένους τῶν ὡρέων ἐς αὐτόν· τάοτα δὲ ἐξευρεῖν ἐκ τῶν ἀστέρων ἔλεγον. ἄγουσι δὲ τοσῷδε σοφώτερον Ἑλλήνων, ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν, ὅσῳ Ἕλληνες μὲν διὰ τρίτου ἔτεος ἐμβόλιμον ἐπεμβάλλουσι τῶν ὡρέων εἵνεκεν, Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ τριηκοντημέρους ἄγοντες τοὺς δυώδεκα μῆνας ἐπάγουσι ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος πέντε ἡμέρας πάρεξ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ, καί σφι ὁ κύκλος τῶν ὡρέων ἐς τὠυτὸ περιιὼν παραγίνεται.[1] δυώ-

[7] The Egyptian name of Thebes was Us, the sacred quarter on the east bank of the Nile being T-Ape, "the head," whence the Greek Θῆβαι. It is called Nia in the Assyrian inscriptions, No-Ammon or "No of Amun" in the Old Testament, from the popular Egyptian name Nu, "the city," or Nu-ā, "the great city," also Nu-Amon. Amun was its patron deity. It first appears in history as the capital of the Middle Empire. I have bracketed the words ἐς Θήβας τε καὶ for the reason given in ch. 29, note 7.

[8] Heliopolis, close to Cairo, the ancient seat of Egyptian learning, now marked by the solitary obelisk of Sesurtasen I.,—the oldest known. Its Egyptian name was Ei-n-Ra, "the abode of the Sun," or Anu, whence the Old Test. On.

[9] This *may* be rendered: "Considering that all people are convinced that they ought not to be talked about." This affectation of religious scrupulosity on the part of Herodotos was probably a cover for ignorance. So chh. 45, 46, 47, 48, 61, 62, 65, 81, 132, 170, 171. As Wiedemann points out, "there is no part of the work of Herodotos [on Egypt] which betrays so much ignorance as that which deals with religion." He is not therefore likely to have known anything of the mysteries of the Egyptian faith, more especially as his only informants were half-caste dragomen. In ch. 86 he says he will not divulge the name of the deity who was embalmed, and yet every child in Egypt knew that it was Osiris, and the name appears on myriads of sepulchral monuments. "It is clear," says Wiedemann, "that Herodotos had not understood the name, and tried to conceal his ignorance under an affectation of secret knowledge."

[1] Herodotos shows that he does not understand the Egyptian method of intercalation, which must have been by the intercalation of the quarter days. He equally forgets the claims of the Babylonians to early knowledge of astronomy

δεκά τε θεῶν ἐπωνυμίας ἔλεγον πρώτους Αἰγυπτίους νομίσαι καὶ Ἕλληνας παρὰ σφέων ἀναλαβεῖν,[2] βωμούς τε καὶ ἀγάλματα καὶ νηοὺς θεοῖσι ἀπονεῖμαι σφέας πρώτους καὶ ζῷα ἐν λίθοισι ἐγγλύψαι. καὶ τούτων μέν νυν τὰ πλέω ἔργῳ ἐδήλουν οὕτω γενόμενα. βασιλεῦσαι δὲ πρῶτον Αἰγύπτου ἄνθρωπον ἔλεγον Μῖνα·[3] ἐπὶ τούτου, πλὴν τοῦ Θηβαϊκοῦ νομοῦ, πᾶσαν Αἴγυπτον εἶναι ἕλος,[4] καὶ αὐτῆς εἶναι οὐδὲν ὑπερέχον τῶν νῦν ἔνερθε λίμνης τῆς Μοίριος ἐόντων, ἐς τὴν ἀνάπλοος ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἑπτὰ ἡμερέων ἐστὶ ἀνὰ τὸν ποταμόν. καὶ εὖ μοι ἐδόκεον λέγειν περὶ τῆς χώρης· δῆλα γὰρ δὴ καὶ μὴ προακούσαντι ἰδόντι δέ, ὅστις γε σύνεσιν ἔχει, ὅτι Αἴγυπτος, ἐς τὴν Ἕλληνες ναυτίλλονται, ἐστὶ Αἰγυπτίοισι ἐπίκτητός τε γῆ καὶ δῶρον τοῦ ποταμοῦ,[5] καὶ τὰ κατύπερθε ἔτι τῆς λίμνης ταύτης μέχρι τριῶν ἡμερέων πλόου, τῆς πέρι ἐκεῖνοι οὐδὲν ἔτι τοιόνδε ἔλεγον, ἔστι δὲ ἕτερον τοιοῦτον. Αἰγύπτου γὰρ φύσις ἐστὶ τῆς χώρης τοιήδε. πρῶτα μὲν προσπλέων ἔτι καὶ ἡμέρης δρόμον ἀπέχων ἀπὸ γέας, κατεὶς καταπειρητηρίην πηλόν τε ἀνοίσεις καὶ ἐν ἕνδεκα ὀργυιῇσι

and the calendar. The Sothic cycle of the Egyptians proves that they had known from an early date that 1460 Sothic years were equal to 1461 vague ones. In reckoning the dates of a king's reign, however, they used the year of 360 days, and reckoned the months of his reign, not from his accession, but from the beginning of the year in which he ascended the throne. The Babylonians in later times distinguished between the year of a king's accession and the first year of his reign. The Zodiac was a Babylonian discovery, not, as Herodotos imagines, an Egyptian one.

[2] The *ciceroni* employed by Herodotos probably knew more about Greek than about Egyptian mythology, and, as their employers were Greeks, took care to tell them what would interest or flatter them. Hence the astounding statemeut of the text.

[3] Menes was not the first "human" king of Egypt (after the demigods and gods), but the first monarch of all Egypt. Herodotos probably wrote Μῆνα (as in three MSS.), which the copyists have assimilated to the name of Minôs.

[4] This, of course, is a fiction, based on wrong conclusions drawn from the appearance of nature. Pottery has been found at Memphis by Hekekyan Bey thirty-nine feet below the colossal statue of Ramses II., which would have been deposited there 11,646 years B.C. if the rate of increase of Nile mud had been the same before the age of Ramses that it has been since. Memphis itself is far to the north of Lake Mœris, and the desert which formed the necropolis of Memphis had been dry and bare for countless ages before the time of Menes. Bubastis, Pelusium, and other towns of the Delta, existed in the days of the Old Empire, and Busiris, near the coast, was supposed to be the burial-place of Osiris.

[5] This is taken without acknowledgment from Hekatæos (see Arrian. v. 6). No doubt the Delta was originally formed by the Nile; but as marine deposits are not found at a depth of forty feet, it must have existed for thousands of years before the foundation of the Egyptian monarchy. The land is sinking along the north coast of Egypt, so that the Delta is really becoming smaller instead of larger. See also ch. 10.

ἔσεαι. τοῦτο μὲν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο δηλοῖ πρόχυσιν τῆς γέας ἐοῦσαν.
6 αὐτις δὲ αὐτῆς ἐστι Αἰγύπτου μῆκος τὸ παρὰ θάλασσαν ἑξήκοντα
σχοῖνοι, κατὰ ἡμεῖς διαιρέομεν εἶναι Αἴγυπτον ἀπὸ τοῦ Πλιν-
θινήτεω κόλπου μέχρι Σερβωνίδος λίμνης, παρ' ἣν τὸ Κάσιον
ὄρος τείνει·[6] ταύτης ὧν ἄπο οἱ ἑξήκοντα σχοῖνοί εἰσι. ὅσοι
μὲν γὰρ γεωπεῖναί εἰσι ἀνθρώπων, ὀργυιῇσι μεμετρήκασι τὴν
χώρην, ὅσοι δὲ ἧσσον γεωπεῖναι, σταδίοισι, οἱ δὲ πολλὴν ἔχουσι,
παρασάγγῃσι, οἱ δὲ ἄφθονον λίην, σχοίνοισι. δύναται δὲ ὁ
παρασάγγης τριήκοντα στάδια, ὁ δὲ σχοῖνος ἕκαστος, μέτρον
ἐὸν Αἰγύπτιον, ἑξήκοντα στάδια. οὕτω ἂν εἴησαν Αἰγύπτου
7 στάδιοι ἑξακόσιοι καὶ τρισχίλιοι τὸ παρὰ θάλασσαν. ἐνθεῦτεν
μὲν καὶ μέχρι Ἡλίου πόλιος ἐς τὴν μεσόγαιαν ἐστὶ εὐρέα
Αἴγυπτος, ἐοῦσα πᾶσα ὑπτίη τε καὶ ἔνυδρος[7] καὶ ἰλύς. ἔστι
δὲ ὁδὸς ἐς Ἡλίου πόλιν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἄνω ἰόντι παραπλησίη
τὸ μῆκος τῇ ἐξ Ἀθηνέων ὁδῷ τῇ ἀπὸ τῶν δυώδεκα θεῶν τοῦ
βωμοῦ[8] φερούσῃ ἔς τε Πίσαν[9] καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν νηὸν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ
Ὀλυμπίου. σμικρόν τι τὸ διάφορον εὕροι τις ἂν λογιζόμενος
τῶν ὁδῶν τουτέων τὸ μὴ ἴσας μῆκος εἶναι, οὐ πλέον πεντεκαίδεκα
σταδίων· ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἐς Πίσαν ἐξ Ἀθηνέων καταδεῖ πεντεκαίδεκα
σταδίων μὴ εἶναι πεντακοσίων καὶ χιλίων, ἡ δὲ ἐς Ἡλίου πόλιν

[6] Plinthinê was on the Mareotic Lake. The Serbonian Lake still exists, as Mr. G. Chester's explorations have shown, divided from the sea by a narrow strip of sand, and extending along the coast of the Mediterranean eastwards of the Delta. It is a sea-water, not a fresh-water, lake. Mount Kasios stretches into the sea in the form of a promontory, and took its name from the Phœnician temple of Baal-Katsiu ("Baal of the promontory"), which stood upon it. Like Mount Kasios on the Syrian coast, it was also known as the mountain of Baal Tsephon, "Baal of the North" (*Bahli-Tsapuna* in the Assyrian texts). The name of the god Katsiu is found in Nabathean inscriptions (*e.g.* de Vogüé, *Syrie centrale*, 4), and Ζεὺς Κάσιος on bronze coins of Seleukia in Pieria, where the god is represented by a conical stone. The name is not connected with that of Kais, a pre-Islamitic deity of the Arabs, or Koζé, an Idumæan divinity (Joseph. *Antiq.* xv. 7, 9), as has been sometimes supposed. The Egyptian *khennah* or skhœnos varied from thirty to forty stadia (Plin. *N. H.* v. 10, xii. 14), whereas Herodotos here makes it sixty stadia. He thus makes the length of the coast 3600 stadia or more than 400 miles, while the real length is hardly more than 300 miles.

[7] "Flat, and without spring water."

[8] The roads of Attica were due to Peisistratos, who unified and centralised the country, making them all meet in the market-place of Athens.

[9] Olympia was orginally the suburban temple of Pisa, which it supplanted and destroyed with the help of Sparta. According to Pausanias, Pisa was razed to the ground in B.C. 572. Its site is no longer traceable. The road must have continued to bear the name of the "Pisan" rather than "Olympian" up to the age of Herodotus.

ἀπὸ θαλάσσης πληροῖ ἐς τὸν ἀριθμὸν τοῦτον. ἀπὸ δὲ Ἡλίου 8
πόλιος ἄνω ἰόντι στεινή ἐστι Αἴγυπτος. τῇ μὲν γὰρ τῆς
Ἀραβίης ὄρος παρατέταται, φέρον ἀπ' ἄρκτου πρὸς μεσαμβρίην
τε καὶ νότον, αἰεὶ ἄνω τεῖνον ἐς τὴν Ἐρυθρὴν καλεομένην θάλασ-
σαν· ἐν τῷ αἱ λιθοτομίαι ἔνεισι αἱ ἐς τὰς πυραμίδας κατα-
τμηθεῖσαι τὰς ἐν Μέμφι.[1] ταύτῃ μὲν λῆγον ἀνακάμπτει ἐς τὰ
εἰρηται τὸ ὄρος· τῇ δὲ αὐτὸ ἑωυτοῦ ἐστι μακρότατον, ὡς ἐγὼ
ἐπυνθανόμην, δύο μηνῶν αὐτὸ εἶναι τῆς ὁδοῦ ἀπὸ ἠοῦς πρὸς
ἑσπέρην, τὰ δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἠῶ λιβανωτοφόρα αὐτοῦ τὰ τέρματα
εἶναι. τοῦτο μέν νυν τὸ ὄρος τοιοῦτό ἐστι, τὸ δὲ πρὸς Λιβύης
τῆς Αἰγύπτου ὄρος ἄλλο πέτρινον τείνει, ἐν τῷ αἱ πυραμίδες
ἔνεισι, ψάμμῳ κατειλυμένον, κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ τοῦ
Ἀραβίου τὰ πρὸς μεσαμβρίην φέροντα. τὸ ὦν δὴ ἀπὸ Ἡλίου
πόλιος οὐκέτι πολλὸν χωρίον ὡς εἶναι Αἰγύπτου, ἀλλ' ὅσον τε
ἡμερέων τεσσέρων [καὶ δέκα] ἀναπλόου ἐστὶ στεινὴ Αἴγυπτος[2]
ἐοῦσα. τῶν δὲ ὀρέων τῶν εἰρημένων τὸ μεταξὺ πεδιὰς μὲν γῆ,
στάδιοι δὲ μάλιστα ἐδόκεόν μοι εἶναι, τῇ στεινότατόν ἐστι,
διηκοσίων οὐ πλέους ἐκ τοῦ Ἀραβίου ὄρεος ἐς τὸ Λιβυκὸν καλεό-
μενον. τὸ δ' ἐνθεῦτεν αὖτις εὐρέα Αἴγυπτός ἐστι. πέφυκε μέν 9
νυν ἡ χώρη αὕτη οὕτω. ἀπὸ δὲ Ἡλίου πόλιος ἐς Θήβας ἐστὶ
ἀνάπλοος ἐννέα ἡμερέων, στάδιοι δὲ τῆς ὁδοῦ ἑξήκοντα καὶ
ὀκτακόσιοι καὶ τετρακισχίλιοι, σχοίνων ἐνὸς καὶ ὀγδώκοντα
ἐόντων. οὗτοι συντιθέμενοι οἱ στάδιοι Αἰγύπτου, τὸ μὲν παρὰ
θάλασσαν ἤδη μοι καὶ πρότερον δεδήλωται ὅτι ἑξακοσίων τε
ἐστὶ σταδίων καὶ τρισχιλίων, ὅσον δέ τι ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἐς
μεσόγαιαν μέχρι Θηβέων ἐστί, σημανέω· στάδιοι γάρ εἰσι εἴκοσι
καὶ ἑκατὸν καὶ ἑξακισχίλιοι.[3] τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ Θηβέων ἐς Ἐλεφαν-
τίνην καλεομένην πόλιν στάδιοι χίλιοι καὶ ὀκτακόσιοί εἰσι.[4]

[1] These quarries are at Ma'sara and Turra, between Cairo and Helwân, in the Mokattum range of hills, the northern continuation of the "Arabian mountains" on the eastern bank of the Nile. Turra is the Ta-rofu, later Taroue, "region of the wide rock gateway," of the monuments, the Troja of Strabo and Diodoros, who suppose that the quarries were first worked by the captive Trojans of Menelaos. They were worked from the time of the fourth dynasty downwards.

[2] Egypt, it must be remembered, is only the strip of cultivated land on either side of the Nile. The MSS. omit καὶ δέκα (inserted by Dietsch), which are required for the real distance as well as for the calculations of Herodotos himself elsewhere (chh. 9 and 29).

[3] In reality it is not more than 566 miles. On the other hand, Herodotos has stated that there are 1500 stades from the sea to Heliopolis, and 4860 stades from Heliopolis to Thebes, making altogether 6360 stades!

[4] Really only 124 miles. Elephantinê is the small island opposite Assuan, at the northern entrance to the First Cataract.

10 Ταύτης ὦν τῆς χώρης τῆς εἰρημένης ἡ πολλή, κατά περ οἱ ἱερεῖς ἔλεγον, ἐδόκει καὶ αὐτῷ μοι εἶναι ἐπίκτητος Αἰγυπτίοισι. τῶν γὰρ ὀρέων τῶν εἰρημένων τῶν ὑπὲρ Μέμφιος πόλιος κειμένων τὸ μεταξὺ ἐφαίνετό μοι εἶναί κοτε κόλπος θαλάσσης,[5] ὥσπερ γε τὰ περὶ Ἴλιον καὶ Τευθρανίην καὶ Ἔφεσόν τε καὶ Μαιάνδρου πεδίον,[6] ὥς γε εἶναι σμικρὰ τάοτα μεγάλοισι συμβαλεῖν· τῶν γὰρ τάοτα τὰ χωρία προσχωσάντων ποταμῶν ἐνὶ τῶν στομάτων τοῦ Νείλου, ἑόντος πενταστόμου, οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν πλήθεος πέρι ἄξιος συμβληθῆναί ἐστι. εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι ποταμοί, οὐ κατὰ τόν Νεῖλον ἑόντες μεγάθεα, οἵτινες ἔργα ἀποδεξάμενοι μεγάλα εἰσί· τῶν ἐγὼ φράσαι ἔχω οὐνόματα καὶ ἄλλων καὶ οὐκ ἥκιστα Ἀχελῴου, ὃς ῥέων δι' Ἀκαρνανίης καὶ ἐξιεὶς ἐς θάλασσαν τῶν
11 Ἐχινάδων νήσων τὰς ἡμισέας ἤδη ἤπειρον πεποίηκε. ἔστι δὲ τῆς Ἀραβίης χώρης, Αἰγύπτου δὲ οὐ πρόσω, κόλπος θαλάσσης ἐσέχων ἐκ τῆς Ἐρυθρῆς καλεομένης θαλάσσης,[7] μακρὸς οὕτω δή τι καὶ στεινὸς ὡς ἔρχομαι φράσων. μῆκος μὲν πλόου, ἀρξαμένῳ ἐκ μυχοῦ διεκπλῶσαι ἐς τὴν εὐρέαν θάλασσαν, ἡμέραι ἀναισιμοῦνται τεσσεράκοντα εἰρεσίῃ χρεωμένῳ· εὖρος δέ, τῇ εὐρύτατός ἐστι ὁ κόλπος, ἥμισυ ἡμέρης πλόου. ῥηχίη δ' ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ ἄμπωτις ἀνὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέρην γίνεται. ἕτερον τοιοῦτον κόλπον καὶ τὴν Αἴγυπτον δοκέω γενέσθαι κου, τὸν μὲν ἐκ τῆς βορηίης θαλάσσης κόλπον ἐσέχοντα ἐπ' Αἰθιοπίης,[8] τὸν δὲ Ἀράβιον, τὸν ἔρχομαι λέξων, ἐς τῆς νοτίης φέροντα ἐπὶ Συρίης, σχεδὸν μὲν ἀλλήλοισι συντετραίνοντας τοὺς μυχούς, ὀλίγον δέ τι παραλλάσσοντας τῆς χώρης.[9] εἰ ὦν ἐθελήσει ἐκτρέψαι τὸ ῥεῖθρον ὁ Νεῖλος ἐς τοῦτον τὸν Ἀράβιον κόλπον, τί μιν κωλύει ῥέοντος τούτου ἐκχωσθῆναι ἐντός γε δισμυρίων ἐτέων; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ ἔλπομαί γε καὶ μυρίων ἐντὸς χωσθῆναι ἄν·[1] κοῦ γε δὴ ἐν τῷ προαναισιμωμένῳ χρόνῳ πρότερον ἢ ἐμὲ γενέσθαι οὐκ ἂν

[5] See ch. 5, note 5.

[6] Mr. F. Calvert has shown that there has been no increase of land on the Trojan coast. The increase at the mouth of the Kaikos (where Teuthrania stood) has been small. At Ephesos there are now three miles of marsh between the sea and the ruins of the ancient city, and at Miletos the Mæander has silted up for a distance of twelve or thirteen miles from what was the sea-line in the time of Herodotos.

[7] The Gulf of Suez, running into the Red Sea. The latter signified the Indian Ocean, but also included the Persian Gulf and our Red Sea. The Gulf of Suez is included in it in ch. 158.

[8] "Forming a gulf which stretched from the northern sea (the Mediterranean) to Ethiopia, while the other." Schweighäuser and Stein reject the words Ἀράβιον τὸν ἔρχομαι λέξων.

[9] "Leaving a little strip of country between them."

[1] The geological ideas of Herodotos were certainly somewhat vague.

χωσθείη κόλπος καὶ πολλῷ μέζων ἔτι τούτου ὑπὸ τοσούτου τε ποταμοῦ καὶ οὕτω ἐργατικοῦ; τὰ περὶ Αἴγυπτον ὧν καὶ τοῖσι 12
λέγουσι αὐτὰ πείθομαι καὶ αὐτὸς οὕτω κάρτα δοκέω εἶναι, ἰδών τε τὴν Αἴγυπτον προκειμένην τῆς ἐχομένης γέας[2] κογχύλιά τε φαινόμενα ἐπὶ τοῖσι ὄρεσι καὶ ἅλμην ἐπανθέουσαν, ὥστε καὶ τὰς πυραμίδας δηλεῖσθαι,[3] καὶ ψάμμον μοῦνον Αἰγύπτου ὄρος τοῦτο τὸ ὑπὲρ Μέμφιος ἔχον.[4] πρὸς δὲ [τῇ χώρῃ] οὔτε τῇ Ἀραβίῃ προσούρῳ ἐούσῃ τὴν Αἴγυπτον προσεικέλην οὔτε τῇ Λιβύῃ, οὐ μὲν οὐδὲ τῇ Συρίῃ (τῆς γὰρ Ἀραβίης τὰ παρὰ θάλασσαν Σύροι νέμονται), ἀλλὰ μελάγγεόν τε καὶ καταρρηγνυμένην ὥστε ἐοῦσαν ἰλύν τε καὶ πρόχυσιν ἐξ Αἰθιοπίης κατενηνειγμένην ὑπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ. τὴν δὲ Λιβύην ἴδμεν ἐρυθροτέρην τε γῆν καὶ ὑποψαμμοτέρην, τὴν δὲ Ἀραβίην τε καὶ Συρίην ἀργιλωδεστέρην τε καὶ ὑπόπετρον ἐοῦσαν.

Ἔλεγον δὲ καὶ τόδε μοι μέγα τεκμήριον περὶ τῆς χώρης 13
ταύτης οἱ ἱερεῖς, ὡς ἐπὶ Μοίριος βασιλέος,[5] ὅκως ἔλθοι ὁ ποταμὸς ἐπὶ ὀκτὼ πήχεας τὸ ἐλάχιστον, ἄρδεσκε Αἴγυπτον τὴν ἔνερθε Μέμφιος· καὶ Μοίρι οὔκω ἦν ἔτεα εἰνακόσια τετελευτηκότι ὅτε τῶν ἱερέων τάοτα ἐγὼ ἤκουον. νῦν δὲ εἰ μὴ ἐπ' ἑκκαίδεκα ἢ πεντεκαίδεκα πήχεας ἀναβῇ τὸ ἐλάχιστον ὁ ποταμός, οὐκ ὑπερβαίνει ἐς τὴν χώρην.[6] δοκέουσί τέ μοι Αἰγυπτίων οἱ ἔνερθε λίμνης τῆς Μοίριος οἰκέοντες τά τε ἄλλα χωρία καὶ τὸ καλεόμενον Δέλτα, ἦν οὕτω ἡ χώρη αὕτη κατὰ λόγον ἐπιδιδῷ ἐς ὕψος καὶ τὸ ὅμοιον ἀποδιδῷ ἐς αὔξησιν,[7] μὴ κατα-

[2] "Juts out beyond the neighbouring shores." The coast-line of the Delta projects a little beyond that of the desert on either side.

[3] Herodotos refers to the fossils of the tertiary nummulite limestone. In many places the desert is covered with a solid gypseous and saline crust.

[4] Herodotos could not have travelled to the south of Memphis with observant eyes. Sand-drifts are common, especially on the western side of the Nile.

[5] Mœris is one of the imaginary Egyptian kings of Herodotos. In Egyptian *meri* signified "a lake," and was therefore applied to the great artificial reservoir of the Fayûm, whose proper name was *hun-t*, "the discharge lake." It seems to have been constructed by Amen-em-hat III. of the twelfth dynasty (about B.C. 2900). He, therefore, will be the Mœris of Herodotos, as the latter is stated in ch. 101 to have made the lake; but instead of being only 900 years older than Herodotos, he was between two and three thousand.

[6] 23 cubits 2 inches (about 41 feet 2 inches) are now required. In the time of Amen-em-hat III. the river rose 27 feet 3 inches higher than it does to-day at Semneh (thirty miles south of the Second Cataract). Between his date and that of the eighteenth dynasty the First Cataract was formed, reducing Nubia to a desert, and no doubt causing the rise in the height of the inundation in Egypt mentioned in the text.

[7] "If the country goes on increasing in height as it has done, and grows equally in amount."

κλύζοντος αὐτὴν τοῦ Νείλου πείσεσθαι τὸν πάντα χρόνον τὸν ἐπίλοιπον Αἰγύπτιοι τὸ κοτὲ αὐτοὶ Ἕλληνας ἔφασαν πείσεσθαι. πυθόμενοι γὰρ ὡς ὕεται πᾶσα ἡ χώρη τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀλλ' οὐ ποταμοῖσι ἄρδεται κατά περ ἡ σφετέρη, ἔφασαν Ἕλληνας ψευσθέντας κοτὲ ἐλπίδος μεγάλης κακῶς πεινήσειν. τὸ δὲ ἔπος τοῦτο ἐθέλει λέγειν ὡς, εἰ μὴ ἐθελήσει σφι ὕειν ὁ θεὸς ἀλλὰ αὐχμῷ διαχρᾶσθαι, λιμῷ οἱ Ἕλληνες αἱρεθήσονται· οὐ γὰρ δή σφι ἐστὶ ὕδατος οὐδεμία ἄλλη ἀποστροφὴ ὅτι μὴ ἐκ τοῦ Διὸς
14 μοῦνον. καὶ τάοτα μὲν ἐς Ἕλληνας Αἰγυπτίοισι ὀρθῶς ἔχοντα εἴρηται· φέρε δὲ νῦν καὶ αὐτοῖσι Αἰγυπτίοισι ὡς ἔχει φράσω. εἰ σφι θέλοι, ὡς καὶ πρότερον εἶπον, ἡ χώρη ἡ ἔνερθε Μέμφιος (αὕτη γάρ ἐστι ἡ αὐξανομένη) κατὰ λόγον τοῦ παροιχομένου χρόνου ἐς ὕψος αὐξάνεσθαι, ἄλλο τι ἢ οἱ ταύτῃ οἰκέοντες Αἰγυπτίων πεινήσουσι, εἰ μήτε γε ὕσεταί σφι ἡ χώρη[8] μήτε ὁ ποταμὸς οἷός τ' ἔσται ἐς τὰς ἀρούρας ὑπερβαίνειν; ἢ γὰρ δὴ νῦν γε οὗτοι ἀπονητότατα καρπὸν κομίζονται ἐκ γέας τῶν τε ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων πάντων καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν Αἰγυπτίων· οἳ οὔτε ἀρότρῳ ἀναρρηγνύντες αὔλακας[9] ἔχουσι πόνους οὔτε σκάλλοντες οὔτε ἄλλο ἐργαζόμενοι οὐδὲν τῶν οἱ ἄλλοι ἄνθρωποι περὶ λήιον πονέουσι, ἀλλ' ἐπεάν σφι ὁ ποταμὸς αὐτόματος ἐπελθὼν ἄρσῃ τὰς ἀρούρας, ἄρσας δὲ ἀπολίπῃ ὀπίσω, τότε σπείρας ἕκαστος τὴν ἑωυτοῦ ἄρουραν ἐσβάλλει ἐς αὐτὴν ὗς, ἐπεὰν δὲ καταπατήσῃ τῇσι ὑσὶ τὸ σπέρμα, ἄμητον τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου μένει, ἀποδινήσας δὲ τῇσι ὑσὶ[1] τὸν σῖτον οὕτω κομίζεται.

15 Εἰ ὦν βουλόμεθα γνώμῃσι τῇσι Ἰώνων[2] χρᾶσθαι τὰ περὶ Αἴγυπτον, οἳ φασὶ τὸ Δέλτα μοῦνον εἶναι Αἴγυπτον, ἀπὸ Περσέος καλεομένης σκοπιῆς λέγοντες τὸ παρὰ θάλασσαν εἶναι αὐτῆς μέχρι ταριχηίων τῶν Πηλουσιακῶν,[3] τῇ δὴ τεσσεράκοντά εἰσι

[8] Rain was a prodigy at Thebes (Herod. iii. 10). Showers fall in Upper Egypt, however, several times during the year (particularly in April and May), and from time to time there is heavy rain. In Lower Egypt, especially near the sea-coast, rain is more abundant; and since the cutting of the Suez and fresh-water canals, heavy rains have visited Cairo most years. The scarcity of rain is due to the absorbing power of the desert.

[9] On the contrary, the monuments show that the plough was largely used by the Egyptians.

[1] Oxen were used for this purpose, and sometimes asses, but not swine. Other Greek writers copied the mistake of Herodotos (see Æl. *Hist. An.* x. 16; Pliny, 18, 168).

[2] Col. Mure has shown that Hekataeos can hardly be meant here, as he divided the world into two parts, but some other Ionian writers who divided it into three (ch. 16).

[3] The watch-tower of Perseus was west of the Canopic mouth, on the point of Abukir. The Pelusiac salt-pans (see ch. 113) were near Pelusium, now marked

σχοῖνοι, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ θαλάσσης λεγόντων ἐς μεσόγεαν τείνειν αὐτὴν μέχρι Κερκασώρου πόλιος, κατ' ἣν σχίζεται ὁ Νεῖλος ἔς τε Πηλούσιον ῥέων καὶ ἐς Κάνωβον, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα λεγόντων τῆς Αἰγύπτου τὰ μὲν Λιβύης τὰ δὲ Ἀραβίης εἶναι, ἀποδεικνύομεν ἂν τούτῳ τῷ λόγῳ χρεώμενοι Αἰγυπτίοισι οὐκ ἐοῦσαν πρότερον χώρην· ἤδη γάρ σφι τό γε Δέλτα, ὡς αὐτοὶ λέγουσι Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, ἐστὶ κατάρρυτόν τε καὶ νεωστὶ ὡς λόγῳ εἰπεῖν ἀναπεφηνός. εἰ τοίνυν σφι χώρη γε μηδεμία ὑπῆρχε, τί περιεργάζοντο δοκέοντες πρῶτοι ἀνθρώπων γεγονέναι; οὐδὲ ἔδει σφεας ἐς διάπειραν τῶν παιδίων ἰέναι, τίνα γλῶσσαν πρώτην ἀπήσουσι. ἀλλ' οὔτε Αἰγυπτίους δοκέω ἅμα τῷ Δέλτα τῷ ὑπὸ Ἰώνων καλεομένῳ γενέσθαι αἰεί τε εἶναι ἐξ οὗ ἀνθρώπων γένος ἐγένετο, προϊούσης δὲ τῆς χώρης πολλοὺς μὲν τοὺς ὑπολειπομένους αὐτῶν γίνεσθαι πολλοὺς δὲ τοὺς ὑποκαταβαίνοντας. τὸ δ' ὦν πάλαι αἱ Θῆβαι Αἴγυπτος ἐκαλεῖτο,[4] τῆς τὸ περίμετρον στάδιοί εἰσι εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν καὶ ἑξακισχίλιοι. εἰ ὦν ἡμεῖς ὀρθῶς 16
περὶ αὐτῶν γινώσκομεν, Ἴωνες οὐκ εὖ φρονέουσι περὶ Αἰγύπτου· εἰ δὲ ὀρθή ἐστι ἡ γνώμη τῶν Ἰώνων, Ἕλληνάς τε καὶ αὐτοὺς Ἴωνας ἀποδείκνυμι οὐκ ἐπισταμένους λογίζεσθαι, οἳ φασὶ τρία μόρια εἶναι γῆν πᾶσαν, Εὐρώπην τε καὶ Ἀσίην καὶ Λιβύην. τέταρτον γὰρ δή σφεας δεῖ προσλογίζεσθαι Αἰγύπτου τὸ Δέλτα, εἰ μήτε γε ἐστὶ τῆς Ἀσίης μήτε τῆς Λιβύης· οὐ γὰρ δὴ ὁ Νεῖλός γε ἐστὶ κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν λόγον ὁ τὴν Ἀσίην οὐρίζων τῇ Λιβύῃ· τοῦ Δέλτα δὲ τούτου κατὰ τὸ ὀξὺ περιρρήγνυται ὁ Νεῖλος, ὥστε ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ Ἀσίης τε καὶ Λιβύης γίνοιτ' ἄν.

Καὶ τὴν μὲν Ἰώνων γνώμην ἀπίεμεν, ἡμεῖς δὲ ὧδε καὶ περὶ 17
τούτων λέγομεν, Αἴγυπτον μὲν πᾶσαν εἶναι ταύτην τὴν ὑπ' Αἰγυπτίων οἰκεομένην κατά περ Κιλικίην τὴν ὑπὸ Κιλίκων καὶ Ἀσσυρίην τὴν ὑπὸ Ἀσσυρίων, οὔρισμα δὲ Ἀσίῃ καὶ Λιβύῃ

by the ruins of Tel el-Herr and Gezîret el-Farama. Kerkasôros is called Kerkesoura by Strabo. The name (Kerkosiris) seems to mean "split of Osiris," the Nile splitting at its site into the Kanôpic and Pelusiac forks.

[4] This is a mistake. The Nile is called Ægyptos in Homer (*Od.* iv. 477, xiv. 257), the latest conjecture about the latter word being that it is Ha-kaptah, the ancient name of Memphis (see ch. 2, note 6). The Egyptians themselves called their country Khem, the Hebrew Ham, "black," from the black mud deposited by the Nile. During the New Empire the Delta was known as Keft-ur or "Greater Phœnicia" (the Caphtor of the Old Testament), from the number of Phœnicians settled there. Aristotle says that Egypt was once called Thebes, thus still further misunderstanding the mistake of Herodotos. We must note that in what follows Herodotos distinguishes between the views of the Greek and of the Ionian geographers.

οἴδαμεν οὐδὲν ἐὸν ὀρθῷ λόγῳ εἰ μὴ τοὺς Αἰγυπτίων οὔρους. εἰ δὲ τῷ ὑπ' Ἑλλήνων νενομισμένῳ χρησόμεθα, νομιοῦμεν Αἴγυπτον πᾶσαν ἀρξαμένην ἀπὸ Καταδούπων[5] τε καὶ Ἐλεφαντίνης πόλιος δίχα διαιρεῖσθαι καὶ ἀμφοτερέων τῶν ἐπωνυμιῶν ἔχεσθαι· τὰ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῆς εἶναι τῆς Λιβύης τὰ δὲ τῆς Ἀσίης. ὁ γὰρ δὴ Νεῖλος ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ τῶν Καταδούπων ῥεῖ μέσην Αἴγυπτον σχίζων ἐς θάλασσαν. μέχρι μέν νυν Κερκασώρου πόλιος ῥεῖ εἷς ἐὼν ὁ Νεῖλος, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς πόλιος σχίζεται τριφασίας ὁδούς. καὶ ἡ μὲν πρὸς ἠῶ τράπεται, τὸ καλεῖται Πηλούσιον στόμα, ἡ δὲ ἑτέρη τῶν ὁδῶν πρὸς ἑσπέρην ἔχει· τοῦτο δὲ Κανωβικὸν[6] στόμα κέκληται. ἡ δὲ δὴ ἰθέα τῶν ὁδῶν τῷ Νείλῳ ἐστὶ ἥδε· ἄνωθεν φερόμενος ἐς τὸ ὀξὺ τοῦ Δέλτα ἀπικνεῖται, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου σχίζων μέσον τὸ Δέλτα ἐς θάλασσαν ἐξίει, οὔτε ἐλαχίστην μοῖραν τοῦ ὕδατος παρεχόμενος ταύτῃ οὔτε ἥκιστα ὀνομαστήν· τὸ καλεῖται Σεβεννυτικὸν στόμα. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἕτερα διφάσια στόματα ἀπὸ τοῦ Σεβεννυτικοῦ ἀποσχισθέντα, φέροντα ἐς θάλασσαν· τοῖσι οὐνόματα κεῖται τάδε, τῷ μὲν Σαϊτικὸν αὐτῶν τῷ δὲ Μενδήσιον. τὸ δὲ Βολβίτινον στόμα καὶ τὸ Βουκολικὸν οὐκ ἰθαγενέα στόματά ἐστι ἀλλ' ὀρυκτά.

18 Μαρτυρεῖ δέ μοι τῇ γνώμῃ, ὅτι τοσαύτη ἐστὶ Αἴγυπτος ὅσην τινὰ ἐγὼ ἀποδείκνυμι τῷ λόγῳ, καὶ τὸ Ἄμμωνος χρηστήριον γενόμενον· τὸ ἐγὼ τῆς ἐμεωυτοῦ γνώμης ὕστερον περὶ Αἴγυπτον ἐπυθόμην. οἱ γὰρ δὴ ἐκ Μαρέης τε πόλιος[7] καὶ Ἄπιος οἰκέοντες Αἰγύπτου τὰ πρόσουρα Λιβύῃ, αὐτοί τε δοκέοντες εἶναι Λίβυες καὶ οὐκ Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ ἀχθόμενοι τῇ περὶ τὰ ἱερὰ θρησκηίῃ, βουλόμενοι θηλέων βοῶν μὴ ἔργεσθαι,[8] ἔπεμψαν ἐς Ἄμμωνα φάμενοι οὐδὲν σφίσι τε καὶ Αἰγυπτίοισι κοινὸν εἶναι· οἰκεῖν τε γὰρ ἔξω τοῦ Δέλτα καὶ οὐδὲν ὁμολογεῖν αὐτοῖσι, βούλεσθαί τε πάντων σφίσι ἐξεῖναι γεύεσθαι. ὁ δὲ θεὸς σφεας

[5] *i.e.* the First Cataract.

[6] Kanôpos was the Egyptian Kah en-Nub, or "golden soil," the sacred name of which was Pakot. It was 120 stades east of Alexandria, probably near Lake Edku. But its exact site is unknown. The seven mouths of the Nile were—(1) the Pelusiac or Bubastic; (2) the Tanitic, Busiritic, or Saitic; (3) the Mendesian, passing by Mansûrah; (4) the Bukolic or Phatnetic, entering the sea at Damietta; (5) the Sebennytic; (6) the Bolbitic, entering the sea at Rosetta; and (7) the Kanopic or Herakleotic. The two last were artificial canals. Pliny reckons eleven mouths, besides four other "false mouths."

[7] Marea gave its name to Lake Mareotis, and was celebrated for its wine. Strabo (p. 799) places the village Apis on the coast, 100 stadia from Parætonion (*Marsa* Berek), and about 160 miles west of Alexandria.

[8] "Not to be prevented from eating the flesh of cows," which, as being sacred to Hathor,—not Isis, as Herodotos says

οὐκ ἔα ποιεῖν τάοτα, φὰς Αἴγυπτον εἶναι ταύτην τὴν ὁ Νεῖλος ἐπιὼν ἄρδει, καὶ Αἰγυπτίους εἶναι τούτους οἳ ἔνερθε Ἐλεφαντίνης πόλιος οἰκέοντες ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τούτου πίνουσι. οὕτω σφι τάοτα ἐχρήσθη. ἐπέρχεται δὲ ὁ Νεῖλος, ἐπεὰν πληθύῃ, οὐ μοῦνον τὸ Δέλτα ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ Λιβυκοῦ τε λεγομένου χωρίου εἶναι καὶ τοῦ Ἀραβίου ἐνιαχῇ καὶ ἐπὶ δύο ἡμερέων ἑκατέρωθι ὁδόν, καὶ πλέον ἔτι τούτου καὶ ἔλασσον.

Τοῦ ποταμοῦ δὲ φύσιος πέρι οὔτε τι τῶν ἱερέων οὔτε ἄλλου 19
οὐδενὸς παραλαβεῖν ἐδυνάσθην. πρόθυμος δὲ ἔα τάδε παρ' αὐτῶν πυθέσθαι, ὅ τι κατέρχεται μὲν ὁ Νεῖλος πληθύων ἀπὸ τροπέων τῶν θερινέων ἀρξάμενος[9] ἐπὶ ἑκατὸν ἡμέρας, πελάσας δὲ ἐς τὸν ἀριθμὸν τουτέων τῶν ἡμερέων ὀπίσω ἀπέρχεται ἀπολείπων τὸ ῥεῖθρον, ὥστε βραχὺς τὸν χειμῶνα ἅπαντα διατελεῖ ἐὼν μέχρι οὗ αὖτις τροπέων τῶν θερινέων. τούτων ὦν πέρι οὐδενὸς οὐδὲν οἷός τε ἐγενόμην παραλαβεῖν [παρὰ] τῶν Αἰγυπτίων, ἱστορέων αὐτοὺς ἥντινα δύναμιν ἔχει ὁ Νεῖλος τὰ ἔμπαλιν πεφυκέναι τῶν ἄλλων ποταμῶν· τάοτά τε δὴ τὰ λεγόμενα βουλόμενος εἰδέναι ἱστόρεον καὶ ὅ τι αὔρας ἀποπνεούσας μοῦνος πάντων ποταμῶν οὐ παρέχεται.[1] ἀλλὰ Ἑλλήνων μέν τινες 20
ἐπίσημοι βουλόμενοι γενέσθαι σοφίην ἔλεξαν περὶ τοῦ ὕδατος τούτου τριφασίας ὁδούς· τῶν τὰς μὲν δύο τῶν ὁδῶν οὐδ' ἀξιῶ μνησθῆναι εἰ μὴ ὅσον σημῆναι βουλόμενος μοῦνον· τῶν[2] ἡ ἑτέρη μὲν λέγει τοὺς ἐτησίας ἀνέμους εἶναι αἰτίους πληθύειν τὸν ποταμόν, κωλύοντας ἐς θάλασσαν ἐκρεῖν τὸν Νεῖλον. πολλάκις δὲ ἐτησίαι μὲν οὔκων ἔπνευσαν, ὁ δὲ Νεῖλος τὠυτὸ ἐργάζεται. πρὸς δέ, εἰ ἐτησίαι αἴτιοι ἦσαν, χρῆν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ποταμούς, ὅσοι τοῖσι ἐτησίῃσι ἀντίοι ῥέουσι, ὁμοίως πάσχειν καὶ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ τῷ Νείλῳ, καὶ μᾶλλον ἔτι τοσούτῳ ὅσῳ ἐλάσσονες ἐόντες ἀσθενέστερα τὰ ῥεύματα παρέχονται. εἰσὶ δὲ πολλοὶ μὲν ἐν τῇ Συρίῃ[3] ποταμοὶ πολλοὶ δὲ ἐν τῇ Λιβύῃ, οἳ οὐδὲν τοιοῦτο πάσχουσι οἷόν τι καὶ ὁ Νεῖλος. ἡ δ' ἑτέρη ἀνεπιστη- 21
μονεστέρη μέν ἐστι τῆς λελεγμένης, λόγῳ δὲ εἰπεῖν θωυμασιω-

(ch. 41),—were forbidden to be used as food, though oxen might be eaten.

[9] At the First Cataract the Nile begins to rise towards the end of May, at Memphis towards the end of June, and is at its highest about the end of September.

[1] Every one who has sailed on the Nile and felt the invigorating breezes of the desert will know that this statement is not true.

[2] This is supposed to be the opinion of Thales (see Athen. ii. 87). The north-west winds blow not only during the inundation, but also during a good part of the winter.

[3] Herodotos has forgotten that the rivers of Syria face west, not north.

τέρη·[4] ἢ λέγει ἀπὸ τοῦ Ὠκεανοῦ ῥέοντα αὐτὸν τάοτα μηχα-
22 νᾶσθαι, τὸν δὲ Ὠκεανὸν γῆν πέρι πᾶσαν ῥεῖν. ἡ δὲ τρίτη τῶν ὁδῶν πολλὸν ἐπιεικεστάτη ἐοῦσα μάλιστα ἔψευσται·[5] λέγει γὰρ δὴ οὐδ' αὕτη οὐδέν, φαμένη τὸν Νεῖλον ῥεῖν ἀπὸ τηκομένης χιόνος· ὃς ῥεῖ μὲν ἐκ Λιβύης διὰ μέσων Αἰθιόπων, ἐκδιδοῖ δὲ ἐς Αἴγυπτον. κῶς ὦν δῆτα ῥέοι ἂν ἀπὸ χιόνος, ἀπὸ τῶν θερμοτάτων ῥέων ἐς τὰ ψυχρότερα τὰ πολλά ἐστι; ἀνδρί γε λογίζεσθαι τοιούτων πέρι οἵῳ τε ἐόντι, ὡς οὐδὲ οἰκὸς ἀπὸ χιόνος μιν ῥεῖν, πρῶτον μὲν καὶ μέγιστον μαρτύριον οἱ ἄνεμοι παρέχονται πνέοντες ἀπὸ τῶν χωρέων τουτέων θερμοί·[6] δεύτερον δὲ ὅτι ἄνομβρος ἡ χώρη καὶ ἀκρύσταλλος διατελεῖ ἐοῦσα,[7] ἐπὶ δὲ χιόνι πεσούσῃ πᾶσα ἀνάγκη ἐστὶ ὗσαι ἐν πέντε ἡμέρῃσι,[8] ὥστε, εἰ ἐχιόνιζε ὕετο ἂν τάοτα τὰ χωρία. τρίτα δὲ οἱ ἄνθρωποι ὑπὸ τοῦ καύματος μέλανες ἐόντες· ἰκτῖνοι δὲ καὶ χελιδόνες δι' ἔτεος ἐόντες οὐκ ἀπολείπουσι, γέρανοι δὲ φεύγουσαι τὸν χειμῶνα τὸν ἐν τῇ Σκυθικῇ χώρῃ γινόμενον φοιτέουσι ἐς χειμασίην ἐς τοὺς τόπους τούτους.[9] εἰ τοίνυν ἐχιόνιζε καὶ ὁσονῶν ταύτην τὴν χώρην δι' ἧς τε ῥεῖ καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἄρχεται ῥέων ὁ Νεῖλος, ἦν ἄν τι
23 τούτων οὐδέν ὡς ἡ ἀνάγκη ἐλέγχει. ὁ δὲ περὶ τοῦ Ὠκεανοῦ λέξας ἐς ἀφανὲς τὸν μῦθον ἀνενείκας οὐκ ἔχει ἔλεγχον· οὐ γάρ τινα ἔγωγε οἶδα ποταμὸν Ὠκεανὸν ἐόντα, Ὅμηρον δὲ ἤ τινα τῶν πρότερον γενομένων ποιητέων δοκέω τὸ οὔνομα εὑρόντα ἐς ποίησιν ἐσενείκασθαι.

24 Εἰ δὲ δεῖ μεμψάμενον γνώμας τὰς προκειμένας αὐτὸν περὶ τῶν ἀφανέων γνώμην ἀποδέξασθαι, φράσω δι' ὅ τι μοι δοκεῖ πληθύεσθαι ὁ Νεῖλος τοῦ θέρεος. τὴν χειμερινὴν ὥρην ἀπελαυ-

[4] The opinion of Hekatæos is probably referred to (*Frg.* 278, ed. Müll.).

[5] This was the opinion of Anaxagoras (Diod. i. 38; cp. Æskh. *Fr.* 293), and, little as Herodotos approved of it, was nevertheless correct. The inundation is caused by the melting snows and tropical rains of Abyssinia, which suddenly swell the Atbara and Blue Nile before they join the White Nile on its way from the great inland lakes of Africa. Kallisthenes, the pupil of Aristotle, Agatharkides, and Strabo, all refer the inundation to the rainy season in Ethiopia.

[6] The wind from the desert is frequently very cold.

[7] Herodotos knows nothing of the tropical rains and icy mountains of Abyssinia. But frost often occurs at night even in the desert, and in the winter of 1880 ice was found as far up the Nile as Girgeh.

[8] How Herodotos came to such a wonderful meteorological conclusion it is hard to say.

[9] These arguments of Herodotos show that he was not a profound logician. Kites and swallows, moreover, do not remain in Africa the whole year, and the idea that the negro or Nubian has been blackened by the heat of the sun belongs to a very infantile period of scientific inquiry.

νόμενος ὁ ἥλιος ἐκ τῆς ἀρχαίης διεξόδου ὑπὸ τῶν χειμώνων[1] ἔρχεται τῆς Λιβύης τὰ ἄνω. ὡς μέν νυν ἐν ἐλαχίστῳ δηλῶσαι, πᾶν εἴρηται· τῆς γὰρ ἂν ἀγχοτάτω τε ᾖ χώρης οὗτος ὁ θεὸς καὶ κατὰ ἤντινα, ταύτην οἰκὸς[2] διψῆν τε ὑδάτων μάλιστα καὶ τὰ ἐγχώρια ῥεύματα μαραίνεσθαι τῶν ποταμῶν. ὡς δὲ ἐν πλέονι 25
λόγῳ δηλῶσαι, ὧδε ἔχει. διεξιὼν τῆς Λιβύης τὰ ἄνω ὁ ἥλιος τάδε ποιεῖ. ἄτε διὰ παντὸς τοῦ χρόνου αἰθρίου τε ἐόντος τοῦ ἠέρος τοῦ κατὰ τάοτα τὰ χωρία καὶ ἀλεεινῆς τῆς χώρης ἐούσης καὶ ἀνέμων ψυχρῶν, διεξιὼν ποιεῖ οἷόν περ καὶ τὸ θέρος ἐώθει ποιεῖν ἰὼν τὸ μέσον τοῦ οὐρανοῦ· ἕλκει γὰρ ἐπ' ἑωυτὸν τὸ ὕδωρ, ἑλκύσας δὲ ἀπωθεῖ ἐς τὰ ἄνω χωρία,[3] ὑπολαμβάνοντες δὲ οἱ ἄνεμοι καὶ διασκιδνάντες τήκουσι· καὶ εἰσὶ οἰκότως οἱ ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς χώρης πνέοντες, ὅ τε νότος καὶ ὁ λίψ, ἀνέμων πολλὸν τῶν πάντων ὑετώτατοι. δοκεῖ δέ μοι οὐδὲ πᾶν τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ ἐπέτειον ἑκάστοτε ἀποπέμπεσθαι τοῦ Νείλου ὁ ἥλιος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπολείπεσθαι περὶ ἑωυτόν. πρηϋνομένου δὲ τοῦ χειμῶνος ἀπέρχεται ὁ ἥλιος ἐς μέσον τὸν οὐρανὸν ὀπίσω, καὶ τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν ἤδη ὁμοίως ἀπὸ πάντων ἕλκει τῶν ποταμῶν. τέως δὲ οἱ μὲν ὀμβρίου ὕδατος συμμισγομένου πολλοῦ αὐτοῖσι, ἄτε ὑομένης τε τῆς χώρης καὶ κεχαραδρωμένης, ῥέουσι μεγάλοι· τοῦ δὲ θέρεος τῶν τε ὄμβρων ἐπιλειπόντων αὐτοὺς καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου ἑλκόμενοι ἀσθενεῖς εἰσί. ὁ δὲ Νεῖλος ἐὼν ἄνομβρος, ἑλκόμενος δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου, μοῦνος ποταμῶν τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον οἰκότως αὐτὸς ἑωυτοῦ ῥεῖ πολλῷ ὑποδεέστερος ἢ τοῦ θέρεος· τότε μὲν γὰρ μετὰ πάντων τῶν ὑδάτων ἴσον ἕλκεται, τὸν δὲ χειμῶνα μοῦνος πιέζεται. οὕτω τὸν ἥλιον νενόμικα τούτων αἴτιον εἶναι. αἴτιος δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς οὗτος κατὰ 26
γνώμην τὴν ἐμὴν καὶ τὸν ἠέρα ξηρὸν τὸν ταύτῃ εἶναι, διακαίων τὴν διέξοδον ἑωυτοῦ· οὕτω τῆς Λιβύης τὰ ἄνω θέρος αἰεὶ κατέχει. εἰ δὲ ἡ στάσις ἤλλακτο τῶν ὡρέων, καὶ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ τῇ μὲν νῦν ὁ βορέης τε καὶ ὁ χειμὼν ἑστᾶσι, ταύτῃ μὲν τοῦ νότου ἦν ἡ στάσις καὶ τῆς μεσαμβρίης, τῇ δὲ ὁ νότος νῦν ἕστηκε, ταύτῃ δὲ ὁ βορέης, εἰ τάοτα οὕτω εἶχε, ὁ ἥλιος ἂν ἀπελαυνόμενος ἐκ μέσου τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ὑπὸ τοῦ χειμῶνος καὶ τοῦ βορέω ἤιε ἂν τὰ ἄνω τῆς Εὐρώπης κατά περ νῦν τῆς Λιβύης ἔρχεται, διεξιόντα δ'

[1] "The sun being driven out of his former course by the storms." The absurd explanation of the inundation proposed by Herodotos shows how much behind his older contemporaries, the Ionic philosophers, he was both in his knowledge of nature and in his capacity for generalisation.

[2] New Ionic contracted form of ἐοικός.

[3] "Repels it into the upper parts of the air."

ἄν μιν διὰ πάσης Εὐρώπης ἕλπομαι ποιεῖν ἂν τὸν Ἴστρον τά
27 περ νῦν ἐργάζεται τὸν Νεῖλον. τῆς αὔρης δὲ πέρι, ὅτι οὐκ ἀποπνεῖ,[4] τήνδε ἔχω γνώμην, ὡς κάρτα ἀπὸ θερμέων χωρέων οὐκ οἰκός ἐστι οὐδὲν ἀποπνεῖν, αὔρη δὲ ἀπὸ ψυχροῦ τινος φιλεῖ πνεῖν.

28 Τάοτα μέν νυν ἔστω ὡς ἔστι τε καὶ ὡς ἀρχὴν ἐγένετο· τοῦ δὲ Νείλου τὰς πηγὰς οὔτε Αἰγυπτίων οὔτε Λιβύων οὔτε Ἑλλήνων τῶν ἐμοὶ ἀπικομένων ἐς λόγους οὐδεὶς ὑπέσχετο εἰδέναι, εἰ μὴ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἐν Σάι πόλει ὁ γραμματιστὴς τῶν ἱερῶν χρημάτων τῆς Ἀθηναίης.[5] οὗτος δ' ἔμουγε παίζειν ἐδόκει φάμενος εἰδέναι ἀτρεκέως· ἔλεγε δὲ ὧδε, εἶναι δύο ὄρεα ἐς ὀξὺ τὰς κορυφὰς ἀπηγμένα, μεταξὺ Συήνης τε πόλιος κείμενα τῆς Θηβαΐδος καὶ Ἐλεφαντίνης, οὐνόματα δὲ εἶναι τοῖσι ὄρεσι τῷ μὲν Κρῶφι τῷ δὲ Μῶφι· τὰς ὧν δὴ πηγὰς τοῦ Νείλου ἐούσας ἀβύσσους ἐκ τοῦ μέσου τῶν ὀρέων τούτων ῥεῖν, καὶ τὸ μὲν ἥμισυ τοῦ ὕδατος ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου ῥεῖν καὶ πρὸς βορέην ἄνεμον, τὸ δ' ἕτερον ἥμισυ ἐπ' Αἰθιοπίης τε καὶ νότου. ὡς δὲ ἄβυσσοί εἰσι αἱ πηγαί, ἐς διάπειραν ἔφη τούτου Ψαμμήτιχον Αἰγύπτου βασιλέα ἀπικέσθαι· πολλέων γὰρ αὐτὸν χιλιάδων ὀργυιῶν πλεξάμενον κάλον κατεῖναι ταύτῃ καὶ οὐκ ἐξικέσθαι ἐς βυσσόν.[6] οὕτω μὲν δὴ ὁ γραμματιστής, εἰ ἄρα τάοτα γινόμενα ἔλεγε, ἀπέφαινε, ὡς ἐμὲ κατανοεῖν, δίνας τινὰς ταύτῃ ἐούσας ἰσχυρὰς καὶ παλιρροίην,

[4] See ch. 19, note 1.

[5] *i.e.* Neith. The office held by the sacred scribe was a very high one, and he seems the only priest of rank with whom Herodotos came into contact, the other "priests" mentioned by him being merely the custodians of the temples, who knew a little Greek, and showed them to travellers like the custodians and guides of our own churches. As the sacred scribe was probably unacquainted with Greek, conversation must have been carried on through the dragoman, and Wiedemann conjectures that the story put into the priest's mouth was due to a misunderstanding of the interpreter's meaning. The stelê of Redesieh states that the water of a spring in the desert bubbled up like that from the bottom of the Kerti of Elephantinê, where reference is made to "two fountains" or *kerti*. Every Egyptian knew that the sources of the Nile were not near Syênê (Assuan) by hundreds of miles, and that Elephantinê (Egyptian Abu, "the elephant-island") was not a city, but an island, between which and Syênê there is only the water of the Nile. But Herodotos seems to have divined that the sacred scribe was only answering the inquisitive stranger according to his folly. Krôphi and Môphi may be a reminiscence of the two peaks which overhang the Third Cataract, and can be seen from the rock of Abusir at the Second Cataract. The jingle of names is one in which Orientals, more especially Arabs, delight, *e.g.* Abil and Kabil for Cain and Abel.

[6] This, of course, was pure invention. The sacred scribe must have said something about the First Cataract, which Herodotos misunderstood.

οἷα δὲ ἐμβάλλοντος τοῦ ὕδατος τοῖσι ὄρεσι, μὴ δύνασθαι κατιεμένην καταπειρητηρίην ἐς βυσσὸν ἰέναι. ἄλλου δὲ οὐδενὸς 29
οὐδὲν ἐδυνάμην πυθέσθαι. ἀλλὰ τοσόνδε μὲν ἄλλο ἐπὶ μακρότατον ἐπυθόμην, μέχρι μὲν Ἐλεφαντίνης πόλιος αὐτόπτης ἐλθών, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου ἀκοῇ ἤδη ἱστορέων. ἀπὸ Ἐλεφαντίνης πόλιος[7] ἄνω ἰόντι ἀναντές ἐστι χωρίον· ταύτῃ ὦν δεῖ τὸ πλοῖον διαδήσαντας ἀμφοτέρωθεν κατά περ βοῦν πορεύεσθαι· ἢν δὲ ἀπορραγῇ, τὸ πλοῖον οἴχεται φερόμενον ὑπὸ ἰσχύος τοῦ ῥόου.[8] τὸ δὲ χωρίον τοῦτο ἐστὶ ἐπ' ἡμέρας τέσσερας πλόος, σκολιὸς δὲ ταύτῃ κατά περ ὁ Μαίανδρος ἐστὶ ὁ Νεῖλος·[9] σχοῖνοι δὲ δυώδεκά εἰσι οὗτοι τοὺς δεῖ τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ διεκπλῶσαι. καὶ ἔπειτα ἀπίξεαι ἐς πέδιον λεῖον, ἐν τῷ νῆσον περιρρεῖ ὁ Νεῖλος· Ταχομψὼ οὔνομα αὐτῇ ἐστι.[1] οἰκέουσι δὲ τὰ ἀπὸ Ἐλεφαντίνης ἄνω Αἰθίοπες[2] ἤδη καὶ τῆς νήσου τὸ ἥμισυ, τὸ δὲ ἥμισυ Αἰγύπτιοι. ἔχεται δὲ τῆς νήσου λίμνη μεγάλη, τὴν πέριξ νομάδες

[7] The words *αὐτόπτης—πόλιος* are omitted by one MS., and for the sake of Herodotos it may be hoped that they were not in his original text, as they cannot be true. Had he really visited Elephantinê he would have known that it was an island, not a town, nor would he have cared to mention the story of the sacred priest of Sais. A traveller, moreover, who has dwelt at such length on the wonders of Sais and the Labyrinth would not have been silent about the monuments of Thebes if he had actually seen them. At Elephantinê, too, he would have gained more accurate knowledge of the southward course of the Nile than that displayed in his following remarks. See ch. 3, note 7.

[8] So far this is quite correct, the boats being dragged through the rapids of the First Cataract by the aid of ropes. But it does not take four days to pass them. The "shooting" of the rapids can easily be performed in five hours.

[9] The boat has to wind considerably in order to avoid the rocks of the cataract. When the cataract is passed, however, the Nile can no longer be described as "winding." Twelve *skœnæ* would be 720 stades (ch. 6), *i.e.* about 88 miles, which would carry the traveller far below the First Cataract, and as far south as Kalabsheh. Inscriptions at Philæ mention a district of twelve *ar* or *arudr* on both sides of the Nile from Assuan to Takamsu (Takhompsô), where tithes were paid to Isis of Philæ.

[1] There is no smooth plain through which the Nile flows around an island after passing the First Cataract. The river is shut in by cliffs most of the way to the Second Cataract. Ptolemy places Metacompso (now *Kobban*) opposite Pselkis (*Dakkeh*); but the river here flows between cliffs, there is no island, and Metacompso was a fortress of brick, built in the time of the eighteenth dynasty, which still exists. By Takhompso Herodotos must have intended Philæ, five miles from Elephantinê, and called Pilak by the Egyptians. Mr. Bunbury, however, would identify Takhompso with Derar, an islet near Dakkeh, considering that Herodotos has confounded the First Cataract with the district called Dodekaskœnos by Ptolemy between Syênê and Pselkis. The same district is named in a Greek graffito at Philæ of the age of Tiberius.

[2] Nubians, not negroes.

Αἰθίοπες νέμονται·[3] τὴν διεκπλώσας ἐς τοῦ Νείλου τὸ ῥεῖθρον ἥξεις, τὸ ἐς τὴν λίμνην ταύτην ἐκδιδοῖ. καὶ ἔπειτα ἀποβὰς παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν ὁδοιπορίην ποιήσεαι ἡμερέων τεσσεράκοντα·[4] σκόπελοί τε γὰρ ἐν τῷ Νείλῳ ὀξεῖς ἀνέχουσι καὶ χοιράδες πολλαί εἰσι, δι' ὧν οὐκ οἵά τε ἐστὶ πλεῖν. διεξελθὼν δὲ ἐν τῇσι τεσσεράκοντα ἡμέρῃσι[5] τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον, αὖτις ἐς ἕτερον πλοῖον ἐσβὰς δυώδεκα ἡμέρας πλεύσεαι, καὶ ἔπειτα ἥξεις ἐς πόλιν μεγάλην τῇ οὔνομά ἐστι Μερόη· λέγεται δὲ αὕτη ἡ πόλις εἶναι μητρόπολις τῶν ἄλλων Αἰθιόπων.[6] οἱ δ' ἐν ταύτῃ Δία θεῶν καὶ Διόνυσον μούνους σέβονται,[7] τούτους τε μεγάλως τιμῶσι, καὶ σφι μαντήιον Διὸς κατέστηκε· στρατεύονται δὲ ἐπεάν σφεας ὁ θεὸς οὗτος κελεύῃ διὰ θεσπισμάτων, καὶ τῇ ἂν κελεύῃ, ἐκεῖσε.[8] ἀπὸ δὲ ταύτης τῆς πόλιος πλέων ἐν ἴσῳ χρόνῳ

[3] There is no lake, great or small, between Elephantinê and the Second Cataract.

[4] Korosko is the usual starting-point of the caravans for Khartûm; hence it is a journey of three weeks across the desert, after which the river is rejoined.

[5] The round number forty must be noticed; its use in the Old Testament to express an indefinite number is well known. The Nile is not navigable from Wadi Helfa (on the northern side of the Second Cataract) to Semneh, forty-five miles distant, and after that there are occasional rapids till the Third Cataract is passed.

[6] "The rest of the Ethiopians" in opposition to the nomads. The island of Meroë was formed by the three rivers Astapos (Bahr el-Azrek), Astaboras (Atbara), and the main stream of the Nile. The city was near the modern Denkaleh, and several of its pyramids still remain. Its Egyptian name was Berua (or Mer, "the white city"), and it seems to have succeeded to the position of Napata, the capital of Northern Ethiopia (To-Kens) up to the age of the Ptolemies. Beyond Meroë came the land of Alo (the Aloah of the mediæval Arab geographers). According to Josephos, Meroë was the Saba or Seba of the Old Testament (cp. Is. xviii.) In the time of Assur-bani-pal Egypt seems to be described as consisting of the countries of Magan and Melukh, and Melukh accordingly has been identified with Meroë; but originally Magan was the Accadian designation of the Sinaitic Peninsula, the land of "copper" and "turquoise," so that Melukh must be sought in the same region. There is no likeness between Melukh and Berua. Ethiopia is Kush in both the Egyptian and the Assyrian inscriptions.

[7] Amun and Osiris. But they were by no means the only gods worshipped in Cush or Ethiopia. Besides the native gods, the Egyptian pantheon had been transferred thither after the conquest of the country by the Egyptians.

[8] The oracle of Meroë was famous. It was worked by priests and moving statues. The priests of Meroë succeeded in reducing the kings to mere puppets, whose lives even were at their mercy, until Ergamenes, who has left his name in the Nubian temple of Dakkeh, rebelled in the time of Ptolemy Philadelphos, entered "The Golden Chapel," and put them to death. The Meroë intended here was not the Meroë of Strabo and the later geographers, but Nap or Napata, built by the Egyptian kings on the sacred Gebel-Barkal. The temple of Amun stood at the foot of the mountain, and an inscription tells us how the "sect, odious to God, called Tum-pesiu-Pertot-

ἄλλῳ ἤξεις ἐς τοὺς αὐτομόλους ἐν ὅσῳ περ ἐξ Ἐλεφαντίνης ἦλθες ἐς τὴν μητρόπολιν τῶν Αἰθιόπων. τοῖσι δὲ αὐτομόλοισι τούτοισι οὔνομά ἐστι Ἀσμάχ.[9] δύναται δὲ τοῦτο τὸ ἔπος κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλήνων γλῶσσαν οἱ ἐξ ἀριστερῆς χειρὸς παριστάμενοι βασιλέι. ἀπέστησαν δὲ αὗται τέσσερες καὶ εἴκοσι μυριάδες Αἰγυπτίων τῶν μαχίμων ἐς τοὺς Αἰθίοπας τούτους δι' αἰτίην τοιήνδε. ἐπὶ Ψαμμητίχου βασιλέος φυλακαὶ κατέστησαν ἔν τε Ἐλεφαντίνῃ πόλει πρὸς Αἰθιόπων καὶ ἐν Δάφνῃσι τῇσι Πηλουσίῃσι[1] ἄλλη πρὸς Ἀραβίων τε καὶ Ἀσσυρίων, καὶ ἐν

Khaiu" ("cook not, let violence slay," probably in reference to the Abyssinian habit of eating raw flesh), were forbidden to enter it. The description of the election of Aspalut to the crown states that the "royal brothers" passed before the statue of Amun, who finally selected Aspalut, seizing him and declaring him to be king. The Theban priests had already invented statues which could move the head, according to the legend of Ramses XII. and the princess of Bakhten. King Horsiatef consults the oracle before going to war against "the lands of Khedi." See Maspero in the *Ann. de l'Ass. pour l'Enc. des Et. grecques*, 1877, pp. 124 *sq.*

[9] As, according to Herodotos, it took fifty-six days to get from Elephantinê to Meroë, another fifty-six days would be required to reach the country of the Deserters. This would bring us into Abyssinia. Asmakh has been connected by De Horrack with the Egyptian *semhi*, "left"; but the best MSS. read Ἀσχάμ, which reminds us of the old Abyssinian city Axum. Moreover, Egyptian *h* is not represented by Greek χ, and the story of Diodoros that the Asmakh deserted because the Greek mercenarics were placed on the right of the king is plainly fictitious, the left being among the Egyptians the post of honour. Wiedemann doubts the legend altogether, and believes it to have been an attempt to explain the existence of Egyptian colonists in Ethiopia, who settled in the country in the time of the Ethiopian dynasty. The number 240,000 is not only a round one, but far too high; and it is absurd to suppose that so large a body of armed men could have peacefully marched through the whole of Egypt, evading the strong fortress of Memphis, and running away into the far south, whither they were pursued by the king with a handful of foreign mercenaries. The longest of the Greek inscriptions, however, written on the leg of one of the colossi of Abu-Simbel, goes to show that Psammetikhos and his Greek soldiers actually made an expedition into Nubia. Wiedemann, indeed, refers the inscription to the Ethiopian expedition of Psammetikhos II. (B.C. 594), mentioned by Herodotos (ii. 161) and Aristeas. But the cartouches of Psammetikhos II. are not found further south than Philæ, and Herodotos expressly ascribes the expedition to the south with the Greek mercenaries to Psammetikhos I. In any case the Ionic inscriptions of Abu-Simbel are among the earliest Greek inscriptions known, and, scratched as they were by mere soldiers, show that reading and writing were commonly taught at the time in the schools of Ionia. The "deserters" are also called Sembrites or Sebritæ, meaning "strangers" (Strab. xvii. p. 541), living in Tenesis, inland from the port of Saba, as well as Makhlæonians (Hesykh.) In the time of Strabo they were governed by a queen.

[1] Daphne, the Tahpanhes of the Old Testament, was sixteen Roman miles from Pelusium. Brugsch identifies it with the Egyptian Tabenet, now Tel Defenneh. πρὸς here is "on the side of," *i.e.*

Μαρέῃ πρός Λιβύης ἄλλη. ἔτι δὲ ἐπ' ἐμέο καὶ Περσέων κατὰ ταὐτὰ αἱ φυλακαὶ ἔχουσι ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ Ψαμμητίχου ἦσαν· καὶ γὰρ ἐν Ἐλεφαντίνῃ Πέρσαι φρουρέουσι καὶ ἐν Δάφνῃσι. τοὺς ὦν δὴ Αἰγυπτίους τρία ἔτεα φρουρήσαντας ἀπέλυε οὐδεὶς τῆς φρουρῆς· οἱ δὲ βουλευσάμενοι καὶ κοινῷ λόγῳ χρησάμενοι πάντες ἀπὸ τοῦ Ψαμμητίχου ἀποστάντες ἦισαν ἐς Αἰθιοπίην. Ψαμμήτιχος δὲ πυθόμενος ἐδίωκε· ὡς δὲ κατέλαβε, ἐδεῖτο πολλὰ λέγων καὶ σφεας θεοὺς πατρωίους ἀπολιπεῖν οὐκ ἔα καὶ τέκνα καὶ γυναῖκας. τῶν δέ τινα λέγεται δέξαντα τὸ αἰδοῖον εἰπεῖν, ἔνθα ἂν τοῦτο ᾖ, ἔσεσθαι αὐτοῖσι ἐνθαῦτα καὶ τέκνα καὶ γυναῖκας. οὗτοι ἐπείτε ἐς Αἰθιοπίην ἀπίκοντο, διδοῦσι σφέας αὐτοὺς τῷ Αἰθιόπων βασιλέι· ὁ δὲ σφεας τῷδε ἀντιδωρεῖται. ἦσαν οἱ διάφοροί τινες γεγονότες τῶν Αἰθιόπων·[2] τούτους ἐκέλευε ἐξελόντας τὴν ἐκείνων γῆν οἰκεῖν. τούτων δὲ ἐσοικισθέντων ἐς τοὺς Αἰθίοπας ἡμερώτεροι γεγόνασι Αἰθίοπες, ἤθεα μαθόντες Αἰγύπτια.[3]

31 Μέχρι μέν νυν τεσσέρων μηνῶν πλόου καὶ ὁδοῦ γινώσκεται ὁ Νεῖλος πάρεξ τοῦ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ῥεύματος· τοσοῦτοι γὰρ συμβαλλομένῳ μῆνες εὑρίσκονται ἀναισιμούμενοι ἐξ Ἐλεφαντίνης πορευομένῳ ἐς τοὺς αὐτομόλους τούτους. ῥεῖ δὲ ἀπὸ ἑσπέρης τε καὶ ἡλίου δυσμέων. τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦδε οὐδεὶς ἔχει σαφέως
32 φράσαι· ἔρημος γάρ ἐστι ἡ χώρη αὕτη ὑπὸ καύματος. ἀλλὰ τάδε μὲν ἤκουσα ἀνδρῶν Κυρηναίων φαμένων ἐλθεῖν τε ἐπὶ τὸ Ἄμμωνος χρηστήριον[4] καὶ ἀπικέσθαι ἐς λόγους Ἐτεάρχῳ τῷ Ἀμμωνίων βασιλέι, καὶ κως ἐκ λόγων ἄλλων ἀπικέσθαι ἐς λέσχην περὶ τοῦ Νείλου, ὡς οὐδεὶς αὐτοῦ οἶδε τὰς πηγάς, καὶ τὸν Ἐτέαρχον φάναι ἐλθεῖν κοτε παρ' αὐτὸν Νασαμῶνας ἄνδρας. τὸ δὲ ἔθνος τοῦτο ἐστὶ μὲν Λιβυκόν, νέμεται δὲ τὴν Σύρτιν τε

"against"; cp. i. 110.; Thukyd. i. 62, iii. 21.

[2] "Some of the Ethiopians had been at feud with him."

[3] We may infer from this that Herodotos had not heard of the theory which imagined Egyptian civilisation to have come from the "blameless Ethiopians." The idea that the Ethiopians were models of virtue, like the savage of Rousseau, though found in *Il.* i. 423, is really a late one, the product of Greek philosophy.

[4] The temple of Ammon was in the oasis of Siwah, fourteen days' journey from Cairo, and about 78 feet above the sea-level. Traces of the temple still exist. The god seems a hybrid character, being a mixture of the Baal-Khammâm, "the fiery" sun-god of the Carthaginians, the ram-headed Amun of Egypt, whom the Greeks identified with their Zeus, and an original Libyan deity. The name of Etearkhos shows how strong Greek influence was in the oasis, where Greek garrisons had been planted by the kings of the twenty-sixth dynasty. Max Büdinger, however, very improbably would identify the name with Taharka. Oasis is the Egyptian *uaḥ* "dwelling," Arabic *el Waḥ*.

καὶ τὴν πρὸς ἠῶ χώρην τῆς Σύρτιος οὐκ ἐπὶ πολλόν. ἀπικομένους δὲ τοὺς Νασαμῶνας καὶ εἰρωτεομένους εἴ τι ἔχουσι πλέον λέγειν περὶ τῶν ἐρήμων τῆς Λιβύης, φάναι παρὰ σφίσι γενέσθαι ἀνδρῶν δυναστέων παῖδας ὑβριστάς, τοὺς ἄλλα τε μηχανᾶσθαι ἀνδρωθέντας περισσὰ καὶ δὴ καὶ ἀποκληρῶσαι πέντε ἑωυτῶν ὀψομένους τὰ ἔρημα τῆς Λιβύης, καὶ εἴ τι πλέον ἴδοιεν τῶν τὰ μακρότατα ἰδομένων. τῆς γὰρ Λιβύης τὰ μὲν κατὰ τὴν βορηίην θάλασσαν ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου ἀρξάμενοι μέχρι Σολόεντος ἄκρης,[5] ἣ τελευτᾷ τῆς Λιβύης, παρήκουσι παρὰ πᾶσαν Λίβυες καὶ Λιβύων ἔθνεα πολλά, πλὴν ὅσον Ἕλληνες καὶ Φοίνικες ἔχουσι· τὰ δὲ ὑπὲρ θαλάσσης τε καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ θάλασσαν κατηκόντων ἀνθρώπων, τὰ κατύπερθε θηριώδης ἐστὶ ἡ Λιβύη· τὰ δὲ κατύπερθε τῆς θηριώδεος ψάμμος τε ἐστὶ καὶ ἄνυδρος δεινῶς καὶ ἔρημος πάντων. εἶπαι ὦν τοὺς νενηνίας ἀποπεμπομένους ὑπὸ τῶν ἡλίκων, ὕδατί τε καὶ σιτίοισι εὖ ἐξηρτυμένους, ἰέναι τὰ πρῶτα μὲν διὰ τῆς οἰκεομένης, ταύτην δὲ διεξελθόντας ἐς τὴν θηριώδεα ἀπικέσθαι, ἐκ δὲ ταύτης τὴν ἔρημον διεξιέναι, τὴν ὁδὸν ποιεομένους πρὸς ζέφυρον ἄνεμον, διεξελθόντας δὲ χῶρον πολλὸν ψαμμώδεα καὶ ἐν πολλῇσι ἡμέρῃσι ἰδεῖν δή κοτε δένδρεα ἐν πεδίῳ πεφυκότα, καί σφεας προσελθόντας ἅπτεσθαι τοῦ ἐπέοντος ἐπὶ τῶν δενδρέων καρποῦ, ἁπτομένοισι δέ σφι ἐπελθεῖν ἄνδρας σμικρούς, μετρίων ἐλάσσονας ἀνδρῶν,[6] λαβόντας δὲ ἄγειν σφέας· φωνῆς δὲ οὔτε τι τῆς ἐκείνων τοὺς Νασαμῶνας γινώσκειν οὔτε τοὺς ἄγοντας τῶν Νασαμώνων· ἄγειν τε δὴ αὐτοὺς δι' ἑλέων μεγίστων· καὶ διεξελθόντας τάοτα ἀπικέσθαι ἐς πόλιν ἐν τῇ πάντας εἶναι τοῖσι ἄγουσι τὸ μέγαθος ἴσους, χρῶμα δὲ μέλανας. παρὰ δὲ τὴν πόλιν ῥεῖν ποταμὸν μέγαν, ῥεῖν δὲ ἀπὸ ἑσπέρης αὐτὸν πρὸς ἠλιον ἀνατέλλοντα,[7] φαίνεσθαι δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ κροκοδείλους. ὁ μὲν 33
δὴ τοῦ Ἀμμωνίου Ἐτεάρχου λόγος ἐς τοῦτό μοι δεδηλώσθω, πλὴν ὅτι ἀπονοστῆσαί τε ἔφασκε τοὺς Νασαμῶνας, ὡς οἱ Κυρηναῖοι ἔλεγον, καὶ ἐς τοὺς οὗτοι ἀπίκοντο ἀνθρώπους, γόητας

[5] See iv. 43. Either Cape Cantin near Mogador, or Cape Spartel near Tangier.

[6] The Akkas or Pygmies south of the cannibal Nyam-Nyam, north-west of Lake Victoria Nyanza, described by Miani. Krapf speaks of the brown Dokos, four feet in height, to the south-west of Abyssinia in Sennaar, and Du Chaillu of the Obongo (called Mabongo) Pygmies in Central Africa. The Bushmen are supposed to have once extended as far north as the confines of Nubia, and, with the dwarf races already named, may be the descendants of an aboriginal race.

[7] Possibly the Niger or Joliba: in which case the city may be Timbuctoo. But the Waube, flowing into Lake Chad, may be meant.

εἶναι ἅπαντας. τὸν δὲ δὴ ποταμὸν τοῦτον τὸν παραρρέοντα καὶ Ἐτέαρχος συνεβάλλετο εἶναι Νεῖλον καὶ δὴ καὶ ὁ λόγος οὕτω αἱρεῖ. ῥεῖ γὰρ ἐκ Λιβύης ὁ Νεῖλος καὶ μέσην τάμνων Λιβύην· καὶ ὡς ἐγὼ συμβάλλομαι τοῖσι ἐμφανέσι τὰ μὴ γινωσκόμενα τεκμαιρόμενος, τῷ Ἴστρῳ ἐκ τῶν ἴσων μέτρων ὁρμᾶται.[8] Ἴστρος τε γὰρ ποταμὸς ἀρξάμενος ἐκ Κελτῶν καὶ Πυρήνης πόλιος ῥεῖ μέσην σχίζων τὴν Εὐρώπην· οἱ δὲ Κελτοί εἰσι ἔξω Ἡρακλέων στηλέων, ὁμουρέουσι δὲ Κυνησίοισι, οἳ ἔσχατοι πρὸς δυσμέων οἰκέουσι τῶν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ κατοικημένων.[9] τελευτᾷ δὲ ὁ Ἴστρος ἐς θάλασσαν ῥέων τὴν τοῦ Εὐξείνου πόντου διὰ πάσης Εὐρώπης,
34 τῇ Ἰστρίην οἱ Μιλησίων οἰκέουσι ἄποικοι.[1] ὁ μὲν δὴ Ἴστρος, ῥεῖ γὰρ δι' οἰκεομένης, πρὸς πολλῶν γινώσκεται, περὶ δὲ τῶν τοῦ Νείλου πηγέων οὐδεὶς ἔχει λέγειν· ἀοίκητός τε γὰρ καὶ ἔρημός ἐστι ἡ Λιβύη δι' ἧς ῥεῖ. περὶ δὲ τοῦ ῥεύματος αὐτοῦ, ἐπ' ὅσον μακρότατον ἱστορέοντα ἦν ἐξικέσθαι, εἴρηται· ἐκδιδοῖ δὲ ἐς Αἴγυπτον. ἡ δὲ Αἴγυπτος τῆς ὀρεινῆς Κιλικίης μάλιστά κῃ ἀντίη κεῖται· ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ἐς Σινώπην τὴν ἐν τῷ Εὐξείνῳ πόντῳ πέντε ἡμερέων ἰθέα ὁδὸς εὐζώνῳ ἀνδρί·[2] ἡ δὲ Σινώπη τῷ Ἴστρῳ ἐκδιδόντι ἐς θάλασσαν ἀντίον κεῖται.[3] οὕτω τὸν Νεῖλον δοκέω διὰ πάσης τῆς Λιβύης διεξιόντα ἐξισοῦσθαι τῷ Ἴστρῳ.
35 Νείλου μέν νυν πέρι τοσαῦτα εἰρήσθω· ἔρχομαι δὲ περὶ Αἰγύπτου μηκυνέων τὸν λόγον, ὅτι πλεῖστα θωυμάσια ἔχει [ἢ ἡ

[8] "Runs parallel to the Ister." Herodotos regarded Europe and Africa as equal, and consequently balancing one another. It was necessary to this equibalance that they should each be divided by a large river, which followed much the same course, and was of the same length. It is very doubtful whether the Kelts had penetrated as far as the Pyrenees in the time of Herodotos. To call the latter a city, and to suppose that the Danube rose so far to the west, does not show that the Danube was "better known" to Herodotos than the Nile. As Mr. Bunbury points out, Herodotos imagined the Nile to flow due east from its sources to Elephantinê.

[9] The pillars of Hêraklês are the two peaks of Kalpê and Abila, which face one another on either side of the Straits of Gibraltar. The Phœnicians termed them the columns of Melkarth, the sun-god, and Melkarth was the Hêraklês of the Greeks. The Kynêsians are also called Κύνητες. Hêrodôros of Hêraklêia, a contemporary of Sokrates, mentioned them (*Fr.* 20), and stated that their northern neighbours were the Γλῆτες. Avienus places them on the Anas or Guadiana. They represent the præ-Aryan population of Europe, and possibly were related to the ancestors of the Basques.

[1] Istria or Istrianopolis, founded about the time of the Skythian invasion of Asia, lay near the modern Kostendje, and consequently sixty miles to the south of the most southern mouth of the Danube.

[2] See i. 72, note 5.

[3] This is a flagrant instance of Herodotos's ignorance of geography.

ἄλλη πᾶσα χώρη] καὶ ἔργα λόγου μέζω παρέχεται πρὸς πᾶσαν χώρην·[4] τούτων εἵνεκα πλέω περὶ αὐτῆς εἰρήσεται.

Αἰγύπτιοι ἅμα τῷ οὐρανῷ τῷ κατὰ σφέας ἐόντι ἑτεροίῳ καὶ τῷ ποταμῷ φύσιν ἀλλοίην παρεχομένῳ ἢ οἱ ἄλλοι ποταμοί, τὰ πολλὰ πάντα ἔμπαλιν τοῖσι ἄλλοισι ἀνθρώποισι ἐστήσαντο ἤθεά τε καὶ νόμους· ἐν τοῖσι αἱ μὲν γυναῖκες ἀγοράζουσι καὶ καπηλεύουσι, οἱ δὲ ἄνδρες κατ' οἴκους ἐόντες ὑφαίνουσι·[5] ὑφαίνουσι δὲ οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι ἄνω τὴν κρόκην ὠθέοντες, Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ κάτω.[6] τὰ ἄχθεα οἱ μὲν ἄνδρες ἐπὶ τῶν κεφαλέων φορέουσι,[7] αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων.[8] οὐρέουσι αἱ μὲν γυναῖκες ὀρθαί, οἱ δὲ ἄνδρες κατήμενοι. εὐμαρείῃ χρέωνται ἐν τοῖσι οἴκοισι, ἐσθίουσι δὲ ἔξω ἐν τῇσι ὁδοῖσι,[9] ἐπιλέγοντες ὡς τὰ μὲν αἰσχρὰ ἀναγκαῖα δὲ ἐν ἀποκρύφῳ ἐστὶ ποιεῖν χρεόν, τὰ δὲ μὴ αἰσχρὰ ἀναφανδόν. ἱερῆται γυνὴ μὲν οὐδεμία οὔτε ἔρσενος θεοῦ οὔτε θηλέης,[1] ἄνδρες δὲ πάντων τε καὶ πασέων. τρέφειν τοὺς τοκέας τοῖσι μὲν παισὶ οὐδεμία ἀνάγκη μὴ βουλομένοισι, τῇσι δὲ θυγατράσι πᾶσα ἀνάγκη καὶ μὴ βουλομένῃσι.[2] οἱ ἱερεῖς τῶν θεῶν 36
τῇ μὲν ἄλλῃ κομέουσι, ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ δὲ ξυρῶνται.[3] τοῖσι ἄλλοισι ἀνθρώποισι νόμος ἅμα κήδει κεκάρθαι τὰς κεφαλὰς τοὺς μάλιστα ἱκνεῖται,[4] Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ ὑπὸ τοὺς θανάτους ἀνιεῖσι τὰς τρίχας αὔξεσθαι τάς τε ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ καὶ τῷ γενείῳ, τέως ἐξυρημένοι. τοῖσι μὲν ἄλλοισι ἀνθρώποισι χωρὶς θηρίων ἡ δίαιτα ἀποκέκριται, Αἰγυπτίοισι δὲ ὁμοῦ θηριοισι ἡ δίαιτά ἐστι.[5] ἀπὸ πυρῶν καὶ κριθέων ὄλλοι ζώουσι, Αἰγυπτίων δὲ τῷ ποιεομένῳ ἀπὸ τούτων τὴν ζόην ὄνειδος μέγιστόν ἐστι, ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ ὀλυρέων ποιέονται σιτία, τὰς ζειὰς μετεξέτεροι καλέουσι.[6] φυρῶσι τὸ μὲν σταῖς

[4] "As compared with every other country." Cp. ch. 136, iii. 34.

[5] Both men and women alike marketed and plied the loom. See Soph. *Œd. Tyr.* 337 *sq.*

[6] They drove the woof sometimes upwards, sometimes downwards.

[7] This was never the case, except with bakers.

[8] They are very rarely represented carrying burdens on the shoulders.

[9] Only the poorer classes ate out of doors.

[1] This is entirely contrary to the fact, as Herodotos himself shows in ch. 54.

[2] All that we learn from the papyri relating to Egyptian law goes to contradict this statement.

[3] All classes alike shaved the head for purposes of cleanliness, and wore large wigs to protect themselves from the sun.

[4] "The relations." Cp. 2 Sam. xix. 24.

[5] This is contrary to fact, unless told of the very poorest class.

[6] Wheat and barley were not only eaten, but were offered in the temples, and the king at his coronation offered ears of wheat to the gods as representing the staple food of the country. Ὄλυρα was not the same as ζειά or spelt (Theophr. H. P. viii. 1, 3; Dioskor. ii. 113), but was probably the *doora* eaten

τοῖσι ποσί, τὸν δὲ πηλὸν τῇσι χερσί,[7] καὶ τὴν κόπρον ἀναιρέονται.[8] τὰ αἰδοῖα ὦλλοι μὲν ἐῶσι ὡς ἐγένοντο, πλὴν ὅσοι ἀπὸ τούτων ἔμαθον, Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ περιτάμνονται.[9] εἵματα τῶν μὲν ἀνδρῶν ἕκαστος ἔχει δύο, τῶν δὲ γυναικῶν ἓν ἑκάστη.[1] τῶν ἱστίων τοὺς κρίκους καὶ τοὺς κάλους οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι ἔξωθεν προσδέουσι, Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ ἔσωθεν. γράμματα γράφουσι καὶ λογίζονται ψήφοισι Ἕλληνες μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀριστερῶν ἐπὶ τὰ δεξιὰ φέροντες τὴν χεῖρα, Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν δεξιῶν ἐπὶ τὰ ἀριστερά·[2] καὶ ποιέοντες τάοτα αὐτοὶ μέν φασι ἐπὶ δεξιὰ ποιεῖν, Ἕλληνας δὲ ἐπ' ἀριστερά. διφασίοισι δὲ γράμμασι[3] χρέωνται, καὶ τὰ μὲν αὐτῶν ἱερὰ τὰ δὲ δημοτικὰ καλεῖται.

37 Θεοσεβεῖς δὲ περισσῶς ἐόντες μάλιστα πάντων ἀνθρώπων νόμοισι τοιοῖσιδε χρέωνται. ἐκ χαλκέων ποτηρίων πίνουσι, διασμέοντες ἀνὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέρην, οὐκ ὁ μὲν ὁ δ' οὔ, ἀλλὰ πάντες.[4] εἵματα δὲ λίνεα φορέουσι αἰεὶ νεόπλυτα, ἐπιτηδεύοντες τοῦτο μάλιστα. τά τε αἰδοῖα περιτάμνονται καθαρειότητος εἵνεκεν, προτιμῶντες καθαροὶ εἶναι ἢ εὐπρεπέστεροι. οἱ δὲ ἱερεῖς ξυρῶνται πᾶν τὸ σῶμα διὰ τρίτης ἡμέρης, ἵνα μήτε φθεὶρ μήτε ἄλλο μυσαρὸν μηδὲν ἐγγίνηται σφι θεραπεύουσι τοὺς θεούς. ἐσθῆτα δὲ φορέουσι οἱ ἱερεῖς λινέην μούνην καὶ ὑποδήματα βύβλινα·[5]

by the modern Egyptians when they cannot afford to buy wheat.

[7] Mud was mixed with the feet, not with the hands, as the monumental representations of brick-making show.

[8] Does Herodotos mean that other people took up manure with their feet?

[9] See ch. 104. Herodotos had no grounds for asserting that the Syrians (*i.e.* the Hebrews and Phœnicians), the Ethiopians, the Kolkhians, the Makronians, and the Syrians (*i.e.* the Hittites) of Kappadokia (to whom Josephos, *Antiq.* i. xii., see also *Cont. Ap.* i. 22, adds the Arabs), learned the rite of circumcision from the Egyptians. This, indeed, was impossible in the case of the Kolkhians; and the rite is found practised by various tribes in different parts of the world who have had no intercourse with one another. It has been traced to an earlier form of self-mutilation, and has survived partly from sanitary reasons, partly as a mark of religious distinction. The first instinct of man was to give the deity his best and dearest. See ch. 104.

[1] The men wore a long robe over the loin-cloth, but threw it off when at work. The upper classes often wore an additional garment.

[2] The hieratic and demotic are written from right to left, the hieroglyphics either from right to left, or from left to right, or vertically. The statement of Herodotos about Greek writing shows that he was unacquainted with any specimens of writing which either ran in the old direction from right to left, or in the later *boustrophedon* fashion. We may infer therefore that all the MSS. accessible to him were written from left to right.

[3] Really three, but demotic had probably entirely superseded the earlier hieratic cursive in the time of Herodotos. See Appendix I.

[4] Gold, glass, and porcelain were also used.

[5] See ch. 81. Cotton upper-garments

ἄλλην δέ σφι ἐσθῆτα οὐκ ἔξεστι λαβεῖν οὐδὲ ὑποδήματα ἄλλα. λοῦνται δὲ δὶς τῆς ἡμέρης ἑκάστης ψυχρῷ καὶ δὶς ἑκάστης νυκτός. ἄλλας τε θρησκηίας ἐπιτελέουσι μυρίας ὡς εἰπεῖν λόγῳ. πάσχουσι δὲ καὶ ἀγαθὰ οὐκ ὀλίγα· οὔτε τι γὰρ τῶν οἰκηίων[6] τρίβουσι οὔτε δαπανῶνται, ἀλλὰ καὶ σιτία σφι ἐστὶ ἱερὰ πεσσόμενα, καὶ κρεῶν βοέων καὶ χηνέων πλῆθός τι ἑκάστῳ γίνεται πολλὸν ἡμέρης ἑκάστης, δίδοται δέ σφι καὶ οἶνος ἀμπέλινος· ἰχθύων δὲ οὔ σφι ἔξεστι πάσασθαι.[7] κυάμους δὲ οὔτε τι μάλα σπείρουσι Αἰγύπτιοι ἐν τῇ χώρῃ, τούς τε γενομένους οὔτε τρώγουσι οὔτε ἕψοντες πατέονται· οἱ δὲ δὴ ἱερεῖς οὐδὲ ὀρέοντες ἀνέχονται, νομίζοντες οὐ καθαρὸν εἶναί μιν ὄσπριον. ἱερᾶται δὲ οὐκ εἷς ἑκάστου τῶν θεῶν ἀλλὰ πολλοί, τῶν εἷς ἐστι ἀρχιερεύς· ἐπεὰν δέ τις ἀποθάνῃ, τούτου ὁ παῖς ἀντικατίσταται.[8]

Τοὺς δὲ βοῦς τοὺς ἔρσενας τοῦ Ἐπάφου[9] εἶναι νομίζουσι, 38
καὶ τούτου εἵνεκα δοκιμάζουσι αὐτοὺς ὧδε. τρίχα ἢν καὶ μίαν ἴδηται ἐπεοῦσαν μέλαιναν, οὐ καθαρὸν εἶναι νομίζει. δίζηται δὲ τάοτα ἐπὶ τοῦτῳ τεταγμένος τῶν τις ἱερέων καὶ ὀρθοῦ ἑστεῶτος τοῦ κτήνεος καὶ ὑπτίου, καὶ τὴν γλῶσσαν ἐξειρύσας, εἰ καθαρὴ τῶν προκειμένων σημηίων, τὰ ἐγὼ ἐν ἄλλῳ λόγῳ ἐρέω·[1] κατορᾷ δὲ καὶ τὰς τρίχας τῆς οὐρῆς εἰ κατὰ φύσιν ἔχει πεφυκυίας. ἢν δὲ τούτων πάντων ᾖ καθαρός, σημαίνεται βύβλῳ περὶ τὰ κέρεα εἱλίσσων καὶ ἔπειτα γῆν σημαντρίδα ἐπιπλάσας ἐπιβάλλει τὸν δακτύλιον, καὶ οὕτω ἀπάγουσι. ἀσήμαντον δὲ θύσαντι θάνατος

were also worn over the linen underclothing. We find the high priest wearing a leopard's skin over his dress. The linen was frequently so fine as to be semi-transparent. The sandals of those who were not priests were made of palm leaves and leather as well as of papyrus, and those worn by the upper classes and women generally had the points turned up. No foot-covering was worn until the time of the fifth dynasty, and in later times even the richer classes often went barefoot like the majority of the modern inhabitants of Egypt.

[6] "Their own property."

[7] This prohibition, which was not extended to the rest of the community, was probably a survival from a time when there was a superstitious dislike to eat fish, such as still exists in many parts of the eastern world as well as among the Highlanders, fish being supposed to cause fever, or some similar malady. Fish alone were not offered to the gods.

[8] The son might not only become the priest of some other god, and so enter another college, but also practise some other profession, such as that of the soldier. The high priest was called *Sem*, and there were five priestly grades.

[9] *i.e.* Apis, Egyptian Hapi, who was identified with Epaphos on account of the similarity of name. The monuments show that bulls with black, red, and white hairs were killed both for the temples and for the private houses. Apis stood at the head of the four sacred beasts (Apis of Memphis, Mena or Mnevis of Heliopolis, Bak of Hermonthis, and Tamur).

[1] Compare iii. 28.

ἡ ζημίη ἐπικεῖται. δοκιμάζεται μέν νυν τὸ κτῆνος τρόπῳ τοιῷδε,
39 θυσίη δέ σφι ἥδε κατέστηκε. ἀγαγόντες τὸ σεσημασμένον κτῆνος
πρὸς τὸν βωμὸν ὅκου ἂν θύωσι, πῦρ ἀνακαίουσι, ἔπειτα δὲ ἐπ'
αὐτοῦ οἶνον κατὰ τοῦ ἱερηίου ἐπισπείσαντες[2] καὶ ἐπικαλέσαντες
τὸν θεὸν σφάζουσι, σφάξαντες δὲ ἀποτάμνουσι τὴν κεφαλήν.
σῶμα μὲν δὴ τοῦ κτήνεος δείρουσι, κεφαλῇ δὲ κείνῃ πολλὰ κατα-
ρησάμενοι φέρουσι, τοῖσι μὲν ἂν ᾖ ἀγορὴ καὶ Ἕλληνές σφι ἔωσι
ἐπιδήμιοι ἔμποροι, οἱ δὲ φέροντες ἐς τὴν ἀγορὴν ἀπ' ὧν ἔδοντο,[3]
τοῖσι δὴ ἂν μὴ παρέωσι Ἕλληνες, οἱ δ' ἐκβάλλουσι ἐς τὸν
ποταμόν· καταρῶνται δὲ τάδε λέγοντες τῇσι κεφαλῇσι, εἴ τι
μέλλοι ἢ σφίσι τοῖσι θύουσι ἢ Αἰγύπτῳ τῇ συναπάσῃ κακὸν
γενέσθαι, ἐς κεφαλὴν ταύτην τραπέσθαι. κατὰ μέν νυν τὰς
κεφαλὰς τῶν θυομένων κτηνέων καὶ τὴν ἐπίσπεισιν τοῦ οἴνου
πάντες Αἰγύπτιοι νόμοισι τοῖσι αὐτοῖσι χρέωνται ὁμοίως ἐς
πάντα τὰ ἱερά, καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ νόμου οὐδὲ ἄλλου οὐδενὸς
40 ἐμψύχου κεφαλῆς γεύσεται Αἰγυπτίων οὐδείς. ἡ δὲ δὴ ἐξαίρεσις
τῶν ἱερῶν καὶ ἡ καῦσις ἄλλη περὶ ἄλλο ἱερόν σφι κατέστηκε·
τὴν δ' ὦν μεγίστην τε δαίμονα ἡγηνται εἶναι καὶ μεγίστην οἱ
ὀρτὴν ἀνάγουσι, ταύτην[4] ἔρχομαι ἐρέων . . . ἐπεὰν ἀποδείρωσι
τὸν βοῦν, κατευξάμενοι κοιλίην μὲν κείνην πᾶσαν ἐξ ὧν εἶλον,
σπλάγχνα δὲ αὐτοῦ λείπουσι ἐν τῷ σώματι καὶ τὴν πιμελήν,
σκέλεα δὲ ἀποτάμνουσι καὶ τὴν ὀσφὺν ἄκρην καὶ τοὺς ὤμους τε
καὶ τὸν τράχηλον. τάοτα δὲ ποιήσαντες τὸ ἄλλο σῶμα τοῦ
βοὸς πιμπλᾶσι ἄρτων καθαρῶν καὶ μέλιτος καὶ ἀσταφίδος καὶ
σύκων καὶ λιβανωτοῦ καὶ σμύρνης καὶ τῶν ἄλλων θυωμάτων,
πλήσαντες δὲ τούτων καταγίζουσι, ἔλαιον ἄφθονον καταχέοντες·
προνηστεύσαντες δὲ θύουσι, καιομένων δὲ τῶν ἱερῶν τύπτονται
πάντες, ἐπεὰν δὲ ἀποτύψωνται, δαῖτα προτίθενται τὰ ἐλίποντο
41 τῶν ἱερῶν. τοὺς μέν νυν καθαροὺς βοῦς τοὺς ἔρσενας καὶ τοὺς
μόσχους οἱ πάντες Αἰγύπτιοι θύουσι, τὰς δὲ θηλέας οὔ σφι
ἔξεστι θύειν, ἀλλὰ ἱεραί εἰσι τῆς Ἴσιος·[5] τὸ γὰρ τῆς Ἴσιος
ἄγαλμα ἐὸν γυναικήιον βούκερών ἐστι, κατά περ Ἕλληνες τὴν
Ἰοῦν[6] γράφουσι, καὶ τὰς βοῦς τὰς θηλέας Αἰγύπτιοι πάντες

[2] "Having poured a libation of wine upon it (*i.e.* the altar), over the victim."

[3] "Sell it thereupon," an example of the so-called Homeric tmesis. The monuments show that the head was as frequently placed on the altars as any other joint.

[4] Herodotos means Isis; see chh. 59, 61; but in ch. 41 he confounds her with Hathor, to whom, and not to Isis, the cow was sacred. As the reclining cow, Isis was called Heset.

[5] Really Hathor, see last note.

[6] Iô was the moon-goddess at Argos, according to Eustathios, her connection

ὁμοίως σέβονται προβάτων πάντων μάλιστα μακρῷ· τῶν εἵνεκα οὔτε ἀνὴρ Αἰγύπτιος οὔτε γυνὴ ἄνδρα Ἕλληνα φιλήσειε ἂν τῷ στόματι, οὐδὲ μαχαίρῃ ἀνδρὸς Ἕλληνος χρήσεται οὐδὲ ὀβελοῖσι οὐδὲ λέβητι, οὐδὲ κρέως καθαροῦ βοὸς διατετμημένου Ἑλληνικῇ μαχαίρῃ γεύσεται.[7] θάπτουσι δὲ τοὺς ἀποθνήσκοντας βοῦς τρόπον τόνδε. τὰς μὲν θηλέας ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν ἀπιεῖσι, τοὺς δὲ ἔρσενας κατορύσσουσι ἕκαστοι ἐν τοῖσι προαστείοισι, τὸ κέρας τὸ ἕτερον ἢ καὶ ἀμφότερα ὑπερέχοντα σημηίου εἵνεκεν· ἐπεὰν δὲ σαπῇ καὶ προσίῃ ὁ τεταγμένος χρόνος, ἀπικνεῖται ἐς ἑκάστην πόλιν βᾶρις[8] ἐκ τῆς Προσωπίτιδος καλεομένης νήσου. ἡ δ' ἔστι μὲν ἐν τῷ Δέλτα, περίμετρον δὲ αὐτῆς εἰσὶ σχοῖνοι ἐννέα. ἐν ταύτῃ ὦν τῇ Προσωπίτιδι νήσῳ ἔνεισι μὲν καὶ ἄλλαι πόλιες συχναί, ἐκ τῆς δὲ αἱ βάριες παραγίνονται ἀναιρησόμεναι τὰ ὀστέα τῶν βοῶν, οὔνομα τῇ πόλει Ἀτάρβηχις,[9] ἐν δ' αὐτῇ Ἀφροδίτης ἱερὸν ἅγιον ἵδρυται. ἐκ ταύτης τῆς πόλιος πλανῶνται πολλοὶ ἄλλοι ἐς ἄλλας πόλιας, ἀνορύξαντες δὲ τὰ ὀστέα ἀπάγουσι καὶ θάπτουσι ἐς ἕνα χῶρον πάντες. κατὰ ταὐτὰ δὲ τοῖσι βουσὶ καὶ τἆλλα κτήνεα θάπτουσι ἀποθνήσκοντα· καὶ γὰρ περὶ τάοτα οὕτω σφι νενομοθέτηται· κτείνουσι γὰρ δὴ οὐδὲ τάοτα.

Ὅσοι μὲν δὴ Διὸς Θηβαιέος ἵδρυνται ἱερὸν ἢ νομοῦ τοῦ 42
Θηβαίου εἰσί, οὗτοι μέν νυν πάντες ὀίων ἀπεχόμενοι αἶγας θύουσι. θεοὺς γὰρ δὴ οὐ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἅπαντες ὁμοίως Αἰγύπτιοι σέβονται, πλὴν Ἶσιός τε καὶ Ὀσίριος, τὸν δὴ Διόνυσον εἶναι

with Argos being really due to the identity of sound between the name of the city of Argos and that of Argos, the "bright" sky, with its thousand eye-like stars; which Hêrê (swârâ, "the heaven,") had deputed to watch Iô. Iô originally meant "the wanderer," from *ya* "to go" (whence *εἶμι*, *ire*, etc.); hence the story of her wanderings. The moon goddess was given the horns of a cow from her crescent shape. Southward of Cairo, the new moon rests on its back, instead of one of its horns, making the likeness to the horns of a cow very complete. Hence it was that the cow was sacred to the moon. It is probable, however, that the Greek legend which connects the cow with Iô was derived from the Phœnician conception of the moon-goddess "Astartê, with the crescent-horns." See ch. 153, note 9.

[7] The Egyptians considered the Greeks (like other foreigners) unclean, not only because they killed the cow, but also because they ate swine's flesh, and did not practise circumcision. In this they agreed with their modern Mohammedan descendants.

[8] Egyptian *bari*, "a Nile boat," already found on monuments of the eighteenth dynasty.

[9] Prosôpitis lay between the Kanopic and Sebennytic branches of the Nile; Atarbêkhis being Aphroditopolis, or "the city of Hathor." It is impossible to suppose that all the bulls of Egypt were buried there, or that the Nile was polluted by the corpses of heifers. Herodotos has here found another mare's nest.

λέγουσι· τούτους δὲ ὁμοίως ἅπαντες σέβονται.[1] ὅσοι δὲ τοῦ Μένδητος ἔκτηνται ἱερὸν ἢ νομοῦ τοῦ Μενδησίου εἰσί,[2] οὗτοι δὲ αἰγῶν ἀπεχόμενοι ὄις θύουσι. Θηβαῖοι μέν νυν καὶ ὅσοι διὰ τούτους οἰῶν ἀπέχονται, διὰ τάδε λέγουσι τὸν νόμον τόνδε σφίσι τεθῆναι. Ἡρακλέα θελῆσαι πάντως ἰδέσθαι τὸν Δία καὶ τὸν οὐκ ἐθέλειν ὀφθῆναι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ· τέλος δέ, ἐπείτε λιπαρεῖν τὸν Ἡρακλέα, τὸν Δία μηχανήσασθαι κριὸν ἐκδείραντα προέχεσθαί τε τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποταμόντα τοῦ κριοῦ, καὶ ἐνδύντα τὸ νάκος οὕτω οἱ ἐωυτὸν ἐπιδέξαι.[3] ἀπὸ τούτου κριοπρόσωπον τοῦ Διὸς τῶγαλμα ποιέουσι Αἰγύπτιοι, ἀπὸ δὲ Αἰγυπτίων Ἀμμώνιοι . . , ἐόντες Αἰγυπτίων τε καὶ Αἰθιόπων ἄποικοι καὶ φωνὴν μεταξὺ ἀμφοτέρων νομίζοντες.[4] δοκεῖν δέ μοι, καὶ τὸ οὔνομα Ἀμμώνιοι ἀπὸ τοῦδε σφίσι τὴν ἐπωνυμίην ἐποιήσαντο· Ἄμουν γὰρ Αἰγύπτιοι καλέουσι τὸν Δία. τοὺς δὲ κριοὺς οὐ θύουσι Θηβαῖοι, ἀλλ' εἰσί σφι ἱεροὶ διὰ τοῦτο. μιῇ δὲ ἡμέρῃ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ, ἐν ὁρτῇ τοῦ Διός, κριὸν ἕνα κατακόψαντες καὶ ἀποδείραντες κατὰ τὠυτὸ ἐνδύουσι τῶγαλμα τοῦ Διός, καὶ ἔπειτα ἄλλο ἄγαλμα Ἡρακλέος προσάγουσι πρὸς αὐτό. τάοτα δὲ ποιήσαντες τύπτονται[5] οἱ περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ἅπαντες τὸν κριὸν καὶ ἔπειτα ἐν ἱερῇ θήκῃ θάπτουσι αὐτόν.

43 Ἡρακλέος δὲ πέρι τόνδε τὸν λόγον ἤκουσα, ὅτι εἴη τῶν δυώδεκα θεῶν·[6] τοῦ ἑτέρου δὲ πέρι Ἡρακλέος, τὸν Ἕλληνες οἴδασι,

[1] The Egyptian deities were originally local, but were united into one pantheon after the unification of the empire. The special god of a city or nome, however, continued to be honoured as its chief deity, as, *e.g.* Amun at Thebes, or Ptah at Memphis. Some local deities never became national, and the sacred animals or totems of one district were not sacred in another. Thus the crocodile was worshipped at Ombos, Athribis, and the region of Lake Mœris, but abhorred and hunted down at Dendera, Hérakleopolis, and Apollinopolis Magna. The extension of the Osiris myth throughout the whole of Egypt indicates its rise after the foundation of the united monarchy by Menes. Goats were naturally offered to the ram-headed Amun (-Knuph), who came to absorb all the other members of the pantheon after the rise of the Theban dynasties.

[2] The ruins of Mendês (Egyptian Pibineb-tât) have lately been excavated eleven miles east of Mansurah (on the Damietta branch of the Nile). The god Mendês is probably the Egyptian Ba-en-Tat, also called Ba-neb-Tat ("the soul, the lord of Abusir") who is ram-headed.

[3] Amun means "the hidden one," as Manetho rightly stated, and this, coupled with his ram's head when representing Khnum or Knuph, no doubt gave rise to the myth. Hêraklês is Khunsu or Khons (also Shu), who, with Amun and the maternal principle Mut, forms the Theban Triad, and as being "the destroyer of enemies" and the wandering moon-god, was identified with Hêraclês by the Greeks.

[4] See ch. 32, note 4.

[5] "Strike themselves (*i. e.* lament) for the ram."

[6] The twelve gods are probably an invention of the Greeks; comp. the altar

οὐδαμῇ Αἰγύπτου ἐδυνάσθην ἀκοῦσαι. καὶ μὴν ὅτι γε οὐ παρ' Ἑλλήνων ἔλαβον τὸ οὔνομα Αἰγύπτιοι τοῦ Ἡρακλέος, ἀλλὰ Ἕλληνες μᾶλλον παρ' Αἰγυπτίων καὶ Ἑλλήνων οὗτοι οἱ θέμενοι τῷ Ἀμφιτρύωνος γόνῳ τοὔνομα Ἡρακλέα, πολλά μοι καὶ ἄλλα τεκμήρια ἐστι τοῦτο οὕτω ἔχειν, ἐν δὲ καὶ τόδε, ὅτι τε τοῦ Ἡρακλέος τούτου οἱ γονεῖς ἀμφότεροι ἦσαν Ἀμφιτρύων καὶ Ἀλκμήνη γεγονότες τὸ ἀνέκαθεν ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου,[7] καὶ διότι Αἰγύπτιοι οὔτε Ποσειδέωνος οὔτε Διοσκούρων τὰ οὐνόματά φασι εἰδέναι, οὐδέ σφι θεοὶ οὗτοι ἐν τοῖσι ἄλλοισι θεοῖσι ἀποδεδέχαται. καὶ μὴν εἴ γε παρ' Ἑλλήνων ἔλαβον οὔνομά τεο δαίμονος, τούτων οὐκ ἥκιστα ἀλλὰ μάλιστα ἔμελλον μνήμην ἔξειν, εἴ περ[8] καὶ τότε ναυτιλίῃσι ἐχρέωντο καὶ ἦσαν Ἑλλήνων τινὲς ναυτίλοι, ὡς ἔλπομαί τε καὶ ἐμὴ γνώμη αἱρεῖ· ὥστε τούτων ἂν καὶ μᾶλλον τῶν θεῶν τὰ οὐνόματα ἐξεπιστέατο Αἰγύπτιοι ἢ τοῦ Ἡρακλέος. ἀλλά τις ἀρχαῖός ἐστι θεὸς Αἰγυπτίοισι Ἡρακλέης· ὡς δὲ αὐτοὶ λέγουσι, ἕτεά ἐστι ἑπτακισχίλια καὶ μύρια ἐς Ἄμασιν βασιλεύσαντα, ἐπείτε ἐκ τῶν ὀκτὼ θεῶν οἱ δυώδεκα θεοὶ ἐγένοντο τῶν Ἡρακλέα ἕνα νομίζουσι.[9] καὶ θέλων δὲ τούτων πέρι σαφές τι 44
εἰδέναι ἐξ ὧν οἷόν τε ἦν, ἔπλευσα καὶ ἐς Τύρον τῆς Φοινίκης, πυνθανόμενος αὐτόθι εἶναι ἱερὸν Ἡρακλέος ἅγιον. καὶ εἶδον πλουσίως κατεσκευασμένον ἄλλοισί τε πολλοῖσι ἀναθήμασι, καὶ

of the twelve gods in the Troad, and the twelve gods of Etruria presiding over the twelve months of the year. According to Manetho, as quoted by Syncellus, after the seven gods for 13,900 years, came a dynasty of eight heroes (Arês, Anubis, Hêraklês, Apollo, Ammon, Tithoês, Zôsos, and Zeus), for 1255 years (reduced to 189 by Syncellus). These were followed by other kings for 1817 years, then 30 Memphites for 1790 years, next 10 Thinites 350 years, after whom came "manes" and demigods for 5813. These prehistoric dynasties ended with Bytis, and were succeeded by Menes. From Hephæstos (Ptah) to Menes were 24,900 years. After Horus, the last of the first divine dynasty, the Turin Papyrus gives Thoth for 7226 years, then Thmei, and then the younger Horus, after whom seems to come a summation of the demigods followed by the name of Menes. See the end of this ch.

[7] Because the mythologists made Amphitryon the descendant of Ægyptos, and Alkmênê of Perseus, and so of Ægyptos. The Greek Hêraklês (corresponding with Sansk. *suryas*, "the sun," for *swar-yas*, like Hera) is the Tyrian Melkarth, the sun-god, and his twelve labours have their prototype in the twelve labours of the solar hero of the great Chaldean epic.

[8] "If indeed the Egyptians."

[9] The first divine dynasty contained seven, not eight gods; and the demigods were not twelve, but eight, according to Manetho. The secondary deities were not sprung from the primary. In ch. 145 Herodotos reckons 15,000 years from Dionysos (Osiris) to Menes. Since Osiris was included in the first divine dynasty, while Hêraklês belonged to the second of demigods or heroes, Herodotos has again misunderstood his informants. See ch. 145.

ἐν αὐτῷ ἦσαν στῆλαι δύο, ἡ μὲν χρυσοῦ ἀπέφθου, ἡ δὲ σμαράγδου λίθου λάμποντος τὰς νύκτας μέγαθος.[1] ἐς λόγους δὲ ἐλθὼν τοῖσι ἱερεῦσι τοῦ θεοῦ εἰρόμην ὁκόσος χρόνος εἴη ἐξ οὗ σφι τὸ ἱερὸν ἵδρυται. εὗρον δὲ οὐδὲ τούτους τοῖσι Ἕλλησι συμφερομένους· ἔφασαν γὰρ ἅμα Τύρῳ οἰκιζομένῃ καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ θεοῦ ἱδρυθῆναι, εἶναι δὲ ἔτεα ἀπ' οὗ Τύρον οἰκέουσι τριηκόσια καὶ δισχίλια.[2] εἶδον δὲ ἐν τῇ Τύρῳ καὶ ἄλλο ἱερὸν Ἡρακλέος ἐπωνυμίην ἔχοντος Θασίου εἶναι. ἀπικόμην δὲ καὶ ἐς Θάσον, ἐν τῇ εὗρον ἱερὸν Ἡρακλέος ὑπὸ Φοινίκων ἱδρυμένον, οἳ κατ' Εὐρώπης ζήτησιν ἐκπλώσαντες Θάσον ἔκτισαν·[3] καὶ τάοτα καὶ πέντε γενεῇσι ἀνδρῶν πρότερά ἐστι ἢ τὸν Ἀμφιτρύωνος Ἡρακλέα ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι γενέσθαι. τὰ μέν νυν ἱστορημένα δηλοῖ σαφέως παλαιὸν θεὸν Ἡρακλέα ἐόντα· καὶ δοκέουσι δέ μοι οὗτοι ὀρθότατα Ἑλλήνων ποιεῖν, οἳ διξὰ Ἡράκλεια ἱδρυσάμενοι ἔκτηνται, καὶ τῷ μὲν ὡς ἀθανάτῳ Ὀλυμπίῳ δὲ ἐπωνυμίην θύουσι, τῷ δὲ
45 ἑτέρῳ ὡς ἥρωι ἐναγίζουσι. λέγουσι δὲ πολλὰ καὶ ἄλλα ἀνεπισκέπτως οἱ Ἕλληνες, εὐήθης δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ ὅδε ὁ μῦθός ἐστι τὸν περὶ τοῦ Ἡρακλέος λέγουσι, ὡς αὐτὸν ἀπικόμενον ἐς Αἴγυπτον στέψαντες οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι ὑπὸ πομπῆς ἐξῆγον ὡς θύσοντες τῷ Διί· τὸν δὲ τέως μὲν ἡσυχίην ἔχειν, ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτοῦ πρὸς τῷ βωμῷ κατάρχοντο, ἐς ἀλκὴν τραπόμενον πάντας σφέας καταφονεῦσαι. ἐμοὶ μέν νυν δοκέουσι τάοτα λέγοντες τῆς Αἰγυπτίων φύσιος καὶ τῶν νόμων πάμπαν ἀπείρως ἔχειν οἱ Ἕλληνες· τοῖσι γὰρ οὐδὲ κτήνεα ὁσίη θύειν ἐστὶ χωρὶς ὑῶν καὶ ἐρσένων

[1] The temple of Melkarth stood in insular Tyre, probably a little southward of the ruined Crusaders' Cathedral. The two upright cones of stone were the Ashêrim (mistranslated "groves") of the Old Testament, the symbols of the goddess of fertility, which stood at the entrance of the Phœnician temples of the sun-god. Compare the two "pillars" Jachin and Boaz ("establishment" and "strength") at the entrance of Solomon's Temple, which was built by Phœnicians (1 Kings vii. 21). The "emerald" pillar was probably of green glass. Mövers makes the pillars the *Khammânim* or "sun-images" of the Old Testament.

[2] Tyre is the Heb. *tsôr*, "a rock." Sidon was considered the older settlement.

[3] The gold-mines of Thasos were first worked by the Phœnician colonists. The temple of the Thasian Melkarth perhaps stood on the little hill of El-Ma'shûk ("the beloved," *i.e.* Adonis the sun-god), facing Tyre at the eastern end of the isthmus which joins the island to the mainland. The title "Thasian" has probably nothing to do with the island of Thasos. Europa, the daughter of Agenor or Khna (Canaan), and sister of Phœnix and Kadmos, represents Astartê, who, under the form of a cow, was the bride of the bull, the symbol of the sun-god. The name was first applied to Bœotia, where the Phœnicians were long settled. Possibly it is the Heb. *'erebh*, "the west"; to which a *Volksetymologie* has given a Greek appearance. See i. 2, note 7.

βοῶν καὶ μόσχων, ὅσοι ἂν καθαροὶ ἔωσι, καὶ χηνῶν, κῶς ἂν οὗτοι ἀνθρώπους θύοιεν; ἔτι δὲ ἕνα ἐόντα τὸν Ἡρακλέα καὶ ἔτι ἄνθρωπον, ὡς δή φασι, κῶς φύσιν ἔχει πολλὰς μυριάδας φονεῦσαι;[4] καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτων τοσαῦτα ἡμῖν εἰποῦσι καὶ παρὰ τῶν θεῶν καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἡρώων εὐμενείη εἴη.

Τὰς δὲ δὴ αἶγας καὶ τοὺς τράγους τῶνδε εἵνεκα οὐ θύουσι 46
Αἰγυπτίων οἱ εἰρημένοι. τὸν Πᾶνα τῶν ὀκτὼ θεῶν λογίζονται εἶναι οἱ Μενδήσιοι, τοὺς δὲ ὀκτὼ θεοὺς τούτους προτέρους τῶν δυώδεκα θεῶν φασι γενέσθαι.[5] γράφουσί τε δὴ καὶ γλύφουσι οἱ ζωγράφοι καὶ οἱ ἀγαλματοποιοὶ τοῦ Πανὸς τῶγαλμα κατά περ Ἕλληνες αἰγοπρόσωπον καὶ τραγοσκελέα, οὔτι τοιοῦτον νομίζοντες εἶναί μιν ἀλλὰ ὅμοιον τοῖσι ἄλλοισι θεοῖσι· ὅτεο δὲ εἵνεκα τοιοῦτον γράφουσι αὐτόν, οὔ μοι ἥδιόν ἐστι λέγειν. σέβονται δὲ πάντας τοὺς αἶγας οἱ Μενδήσιοι, καὶ μᾶλλον τοὺς ἔρσενας τῶν θηλέων, καὶ τούτων οἱ αἰπόλοι τιμὰς μέζονας ἔχουσι· ἐκ δὲ τούτων ἕνα μάλιστα, ὅστις ἐπεὰν ἀποθάνῃ, πένθος μέγα παντὶ τῷ Μενδησίῳ νομῷ τίθεται. καλεῖται δὲ ὅ τε τράγος καὶ ὁ Πὰν Αἰγυπτιστὶ Μένδης. ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν τῷ νομῷ τούτῳ ἐπ' ἐμέο τοῦτο τὸ τέρας· γυναικὶ τράγος ἐμίσγετο ἀναφανδόν. τοῦτο ἐς ἐπίδεξιν ἀνθρώπων ἀπίκετο.

Ὗν δὲ Αἰγύπτιοι μιαρὸν ἡγηνται θηρίον εἶναι·[6] καὶ τοῦτο 47
μὲν ἤν τις ψαύσῃ αὐτῶν παριὼν ὑός, αὐτοῖσι τοῖσι ἱματίοισι ἀπ' ὧν ἔβαψε ἑωυτὸν βὰς ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμόν· τοῦτο δὲ οἱ συβῶται ἐόντες Αἰγύπτιοι ἐγγενεῖς ἐς ἱερὸν οὐδὲν τῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἐσέρχονται μοῦνοι πάντων, οὐδέ σφι ἐκδίδοσθαι οὐδεὶς θυγατέρα ἐθέλει οὐδ' ἄγεσθαι ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀλλ' ἐκδίδονταί τε οἱ συβῶται καὶ ἄγονται ἐξ ἀλλήλων. τοῖσι μέν νυν ἄλλοισι θεοῖσι θύειν ὑς οὐ

[4] According to the legend as found in Pherekydês of Leros (*Fr.* 33), strangers were sacrificed to the supreme god on the coasts of the Delta by Busiris, who is plainly the town of that name. As this part of Egypt was almost wholly inhabited by Phœnicians, it is clear that the myth is a reminiscence of the human sacrifices they offered to their sun-god, who himself had been sacrificed by his father El.

[5] See ch. 43, note 9. Khem is meant by Pan. Hence Khemmis is the Greek Panopolis. Herodotos here confuses Khem and Mendes together. No Egyptian deity is represented with the feet of an animal. The Sesennu, or "eight" gods of the monuments, who gave their name to Pi-Sesennu or Hermopolis, were —(1) Nu ("the water") and Nut, (2) Hehu and Hehut, (3) Kek ("darkness") and Kekt, (4) Neni and Nenit. These do not include Khem, and have nothing to do with the eight gods of Herodotos who are explained in ch. 43 (see note 9).

[6] Herein agreeing with Jews, Mohammedans, and Hindus, as well as with the more refined portion of modern European society.

δικαιεῦσι Αἰγύπτιοι, Σελήνῃ δὲ καὶ Διονύσῳ[7] μούνοισι τοῦ αὐτοῦ χρόνου, τῇ αὐτῇ πανσελήνῳ, τοὺς ὗς θύσαντες πατέονται τῶν κρεῶν. διότι δὲ τοὺς ὗς ἐν μὲν τῇσι ἄλλῃσι ὁρτῇσι ἀπεστυγήκασι ἐν δὲ ταύτῃ θύουσι, ἔστι μὲν λόγος περὶ αὐτοῦ ὑπ' Αἰγυπτίων λεγόμενος, ἐμοὶ μέντοι ἐπισταμένῳ οὐκ εὐπρεπέστερός ἐστι λέγεσθαι.[8] θυσίη δὲ ἥδε τῶν ὑῶν τῇ Σελήνῃ ποιεῖται· ἐπεὰν θύσῃ, τὴν οὐρὴν ἄκρην καὶ τὸν σπλῆνα καὶ τὸν ἐπίπλοον συνθεὶς ὁμοῦ κατ' ὧν ἐκάλυψε πάσῃ τοῦ κτήνεος τῇ πιμελῇ τῇ περὶ τὴν νηδὺν γινομένῃ, καὶ ἔπειτα καταγίζει πυρί· τὰ δὲ ἄλλα κρέα σιτέονται ἐν τῇ πανσελήνῳ ἐν τῇ ἂν τὰ ἱερὰ θύωσι, ἐν ἄλλῃ δὲ ἡμέρῃ οὐκ ἂν ἔτι γευσαίατο. οἱ δὲ πένητες αὐτῶν ὑπ' ἀσθενείης βίου σταιτίνας πλάσαντες ὗς καὶ ὀπτήσαντες ταύτας
48 θύουσι.[9] τῷ δὲ Διονύσῳ τῆς ὁρτῆς τῇ δορπίῃ[1] χοῖρον πρὸ τῶν θυρέων σφάξας ἕκαστος διδοῖ ἀποφέρεσθαι τὸν χοῖρον αὐτῷ τῷ ἀποδομένῳ τῶν συβωτέων. τὴν δὲ ἄλλην ἀνάγουσι ὁρτὴν τῷ Διονύσῳ οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι πλὴν χορῶν[2] κατὰ ταὐτὰ σχεδὸν πάντα Ἕλλησι· ἀντὶ δὲ φαλλῶν ἄλλα σφι ἐστὶ ἐξευρημένα ὅσον τε πηχυαῖα ἀγάλματα νευρόσπαστα, τὰ περιφορέουσι κατὰ κώμας γυναῖκες, νεῦον τὸ αἰδοῖον, οὐ πολλῷ τεῳ ἔλασσον ἐὸν τοῦ ἄλλου σώματος.[3] προηγεῖται δὲ αὐλός, αἱ δὲ ἕπονται ἀείδουσαι τὸν Διόνυσον.[4] διότι δὲ μέζον τε ἔχει τὸ αἰδοῖον καὶ κινεῖ μοῦνον
49 τοῦ σώματος, ἔστι λόγος περὶ αὐτοῦ ἱερὸς λεγόμενος. ἤδη ὦν δοκεῖ μοι Μελάμπους[5] ὁ Ἀμυθέωνος τῆς θυσίης ταύτης οὐκ

[7] Isis and Osiris. Brugsch makes Selênê the Egyptian Suben, whose chief seat of worship was El-Kab (Eileithyopolis). Droves of swine have been found represented on the walls of the tombs here.

[8] Probably another attempt of Herodotos to cover his ignorance. See ch. 3, note 9.

[9] The civilisation of China has discovered an equally cheap way of appeasing the gods with paper figures.

[1] Δορπία was the first day of the Ionic feast Apaturia. It here seems to have the general sense of "the beginning of the feast."

[2] Two MSS. read χοίρων, but χόρων is the reading of the three best, and most suits the context, the meaning being that the Egyptians have no "choral dances."

[3] "In no way much less than the rest of the body." Cp. v. 33. The feast of the ithyphallic Min (Khem) took place on the 26th of Pachon, in the time of Ramses III.

[4] Herodotos has confused the feast of Osiris with that of Khem.

[5] Melampous, nephew of Neleos, king of Pylos, and brother of Bias, the soothsayer, was himself a prophet and a physician. Serpents had licked his ears, and so given him understanding of the language of birds and knowledge of the future. He healed the daughters of Prœtos with hellebore, and restored the women of Argos to their reason. The introduction of the worship of Dionysos, ascribed to him, seems to indicate that the myth has embodied traditions of "swarth-footed" Phœnicians, and justifies the statement of Herodotos at the end of the chapter.

εἶναι ἀδαὴς ἀλλ' ἔμπειρος. Ἕλλησι γὰρ δὴ Μελάμπους ἐστὶ ὁ ἐξηγησάμενος τοῦ Διονύσου τό τε οὔνομα καὶ τὴν θυσίην καὶ τὴν πομπὴν τοῦ φαλλοῦ· ἀτρεκέως μὲν οὐ πάντα συλλαβὼν τὸν λόγον ἔφηνε, ἀλλ' οἱ ἐπιγενόμενοι τούτῳ σοφισταὶ μεζόνως ἐξέφηναν· τὸν δ' ὦν φαλλὸν τὸν τῷ Διονύσῳ πεμπόμενον Μελάμπους ἐστὶ ὁ κατηγησάμενος, καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου μαθόντες ποιέουσι τὰ ποιέουσι Ἕλληνες. ἐγὼ μέν νυν φημὶ Μελάμποδα γενόμενον ἄνδρα σοφὸν μαντικήν τε ἑωυτῷ συστῆσαι καὶ πυθόμενον ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου ἄλλα τε πολλὰ ἐσηγήσασθαι Ἕλλησι καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον, ὀλίγα αὐτῶν παραλλάξαντα. οὐ γὰρ δὴ συμπεσεῖν γε φήσω τά τε ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ποιεόμενα τῷ θεῷ καὶ τὰ ἐν τοῖσι Ἕλλησι· ὁμότροπα γὰρ ἂν ἦν τοῖσι Ἕλλησι καὶ οὐ νεωστὶ ἐσηγμένα. οὐ μὲν οὐδὲ φήσω ὅκως Αἰγύπτιοι παρ' Ἑλλήνων ἔλαβον ἢ τοῦτο ἢ ἄλλο κού τι νόμαιον. πυθέσθαι δέ μοι δοκεῖ μάλιστα Μελάμπους τὰ περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον παρὰ Κάδμου τε τοῦ Τυρίου καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ ἐκ Φοινίκης ἀπικομένων ἐς τὴν νῦν Βοιωτίην καλεομένην χώρην.

Σχεδὸν δὲ καὶ πάντων τὰ οὐνόματα τῶν θεῶν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου 50
ἐλήλυθε ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα.[6] διότι μὲν γὰρ ἐκ τῶν βαρβάρων ἥκει, πυνθανόμενος οὕτω εὑρίσκω ἐόν· δοκέω δ' ὦν μάλιστα ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου ἀπῖχθαι. ὅτι γὰρ δὴ μὴ Ποσειδέωνος καὶ Διοσκούρων, ὡς καὶ πρότερόν μοι τάοτα εἴρηται, καὶ Ἥρης καὶ Ἱστίης καὶ Θέμιος καὶ Χαρίτων καὶ Νηρηίδων, τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν Αἰγυπτίοισι αἰεί κοτε τὰ οὐνόματα ἐστὶ ἐν τῇ χώρῃ. λέγω δὲ τὰ λέγουσι αὐτοὶ Αἰγύπτιοι. τῶν δὲ οὔ φασι θεῶν γινώσκειν τὰ οὐνόματα, οὗτοι δέ μοι δοκέουσι ὑπὸ Πελασγῶν ὀνομασθῆναι, πλὴν Ποσειδέωνος· τοῦτον δὲ τὸν θεὸν παρὰ Λιβύων ἐπύθοντο· οὐδαμοὶ γὰρ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς Ποσειδέωνος οὔνομα ἔκτηνται εἰ μὴ Λίβυες,[7] καὶ τιμῶσι τὸν θεὸν τοῦτον αἰεί. νομίζουσι δ' ὦν Αἰγύπτιοι οὐδ' 51
ἥρωσι οὐδέν.[8] τάοτα μέν νυν καὶ ἄλλα πρὸς τούτοισι, τὰ ἐγὼ φράσω, Ἕλληνες ἀπ' Αἰγυπτίων νενομίκασι· τοῦ δὲ Ἑρμέω τὰ ἀγάλματα ὀρθὰ ἔχειν τὰ αἰδοῖα ποιέοντες οὐκ ἀπ' Αἰγυπτίων

[6] The Chauvinism of Herodotos, if he ever had any, had been entirely removed by his travels, and he had the same high opinion of the Egyptians that many Englishmen have of the French. Not only were "things better managed there," but Greece had to go to Egypt even for its theology. Of course the name of no Greek deity really "came from Egypt."

[7] It is a pity that Herodotos does not tell us what was the Lybian form of the name. But probably he did not know it. In Egypt the sea was under the influence of Typhon (Set).

[8] "The Egyptians are in no way used to heroes." The very idea was unknown in Pantheistic Egypt. The worship of ancestors (ἱερά) was altogether different.

μεμαθήκασι, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ Πελασγῶν πρῶτοι μὲν Ἑλλήνων ἁπάντων Ἀθηναῖοι παραλαβόντες, παρὰ δὲ τούτων ὦλλοι. Ἀθηναίοισι γὰρ ἤδη τηνικαῦτα ἐς Ἕλληνας τελέουσι[9] Πελασγοὶ σύνοικοι ἐγένοντο ἐν τῇ χώρῃ, ὅθεν περ καὶ Ἕλληνες ἤρξαντο νομισθῆναι. ὅστις δὲ τὰ Καβείρων ὄργια μεμύηται,[1] τὰ Σαμοθρήικες ἐπιτελέουσι παραλαβόντες παρὰ Πελασγῶν, οὗτος ὠνὴρ οἶδε τὸ λέγω· τὴν γὰρ Σαμοθρηίκην οἴκεον πρότερον Πελασγοὶ οὗτοι οἵ περ Ἀθηναίοισι σύνοικοι ἐγένοντο, καὶ παρὰ τούτων Σαμοθρήικες τὰ ὄργια παραλαμβάνουσι. ὀρθὰ ὧν ἔχειν τὰ αἰδοῖα τἀγάλματα τοῦ Ἑρμέω Ἀθηναῖοι πρῶτοι Ἑλλήνων μαθόντες παρὰ Πελασγῶν ἐποιήσαντο· οἱ δὲ Πελασγοὶ ἱερόν τινα λόγον περὶ αὐτοῦ ἔλεξαν, τὰ ἐν τοῖσι ἐν Σαμοθρηίκῃ μυστηρίοισι δεδήλωται.

52 ἔθυον δὲ πάντα πρότερον οἱ Πελασγοὶ θεοῖσι ἐπευχόμενοι, ὡς ἐγὼ ἐν Δωδώνῃ οἶδα ἀκούσας, ἐπωνυμίην δὲ οὐδ' οὔνομα ἐποιέοντο οὐδενὶ αὐτῶν· οὐ γὰρ ἀκηκόεσάν κω. θεοὺς δὲ προσωνόμασάν σφεας ἀπὸ τοῦ τοιούτου, ὅτι κόσμῳ θέντες τὰ πάντα πρήγματα καὶ πάσας νομὰς εἶχον.[2] ἔπειτα δὲ χρόνου πολλοῦ διεξελθόντος ἐπύθοντο ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἀπιγμένα τὰ οὐνόματα

[9] "Beginning to be reckoned among Hellenes." See i. 57, note 1.

[1] "Has been initiated into the mysteries of the Kabeiri." The Kabeiri were the eight Phœnician *Kabbirim* or *Kĕbirim*, "the strong (or great) ones," of whom Eshmun ("the eighth"), identified with Asklêpios, was the youngest. Perhaps they originally represented the planets, Eshmun being a form of the supreme god. According to Sanchoniathon (Phil. Byb. 11), they were the seven sons of Sydyk or Sadykos, "the just." The mother of Eshmun (Damascius, *Vit. Isid.*) was Astronoë, *i.e.* Astartê. The Greeks identified them with the Dioskuri, "the sons of Zeus," *i.e.* El, the supreme god, who was the father of the seven Titans (a Greek translation of Kabeiri), and of whom Sydyk was a title. Their worship in Lemnos and Samothrakê shows that these islands once possessed Phœnician colonies, which Herodotos calls Pelasgic, *i.e.* prehistoric. Greek writers vary as to their number as worshipped in these islands; the scholiast on Apollon. (i. 917) makes them four, Axieros or Dêmêtêr, Axiokersa or Persephonê, Axiokersos or Aidês, and Kasmilos or Hermês; Akusilaos and Pherekydes reckoned only three; others only two (Zeus and Dionysos). M. James Darmesteter (*Mém. de la Soc. de Linguistique*, iv. 2) seeks to identify them with the "Sons of God" of Gen. vi. 2, and supposes the legend to have originally run: "The sons of God saw the daughters of men that they were fair, and left for them the daughters of God (*i.e.* the seven Kabeirides or women of Lemnos); the daughters of God slew them." See Herodotos, iii. 37. The old Aryan god Hermês (the Vedic Sârameyas, the dog of the dawn) was changed into the Phœnician Kasmilos, who presided over generation.

[2] Θεός probably stands for *θεσός*, from *θε-*, *dha*, the root of *τίθημι*, so that the etymology of Herodotos seems to be correct. At any rate phonetic laws prevent us from connecting the word with *deus* and its kindred.

τῶν θεῶν τῶν ἄλλων, Διονύσου δὲ ὕστερον πολλῷ ἐπύθοντο.[3] καὶ μετὰ χρόνον ἐχρηστηριάζοντο περὶ τῶν οὐνομάτων ἐν Δωδώνῃ· τὸ γὰρ δὴ μαντήιον τοῦτο νενόμισται ἀρχαιότατον τῶν ἐν Ἕλλησι χρηστηρίων εἶναι, καὶ ἦν τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον μοῦνον. ἐπεὶ ὦν ἐχρηστηριάζοντο ἐν τῇ Δωδώνῃ οἱ Πελασγοὶ εἰ ἀνέλωνται τὰ οὐνόματα τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων ἥκοντα, ἀνεῖλε τὸ μαντήιον χρᾶσθαι. ἀπὸ μὲν δὴ τούτου τοῦ χρόνου ἔθυον τοῖσι οὐνόμασι τῶν θεῶν χρεώμενοι· παρὰ δὲ Πελασγῶν Ἕλληνες ἐξεδέξαντο ὕστερον. ὅθεν δὲ ἐγένοντο ἕκαστος τῶν θεῶν, εἴτε 53
αἰεὶ ἦσαν πάντες, ὁκοῖοί τε τινὲς τὰ εἴδεα, οὐκ ἠπιστέατο μέχρι οὗ πρώην τε καὶ χθὲς ὡς εἰπεῖν λόγῳ. Ἡσίοδον γὰρ καὶ Ὅμηρον ἡλικίην τετρακοσίοισι ἔτεσι δοκέω μεο πρεσβυτέρους γενέσθαι καὶ οὐ πλέοσι· οὗτοι δέ εἰσι οἱ ποιήσαντες θεογονίην Ἕλλησι καὶ τοῖσι θεοῖσι τὰς ἐπωνυμίας δόντες καὶ τιμάς τε καὶ τέχνας διελόντες καὶ εἴδεα αὐτῶν σημήναντες.[5] οἱ δὲ πρότερον ποιηταὶ λεγόμενοι τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν γενέσθαι ὕστερον, ἔμοιγε δοκεῖν, ἐγένοντο.[6] τούτων τὰ μὲν πρῶτα αἱ Δωδωνίδες ἱερεῖαι λέγουσι, τὰ δὲ ὕστερα τὰ ἐς Ἡσίοδόν τε καὶ Ὅμηρον ἔχοντα ἐγὼ λέγω.

Χρηστηρίων δὲ πέρι τοῦ τε ἐν Ἕλλησι καὶ τοῦ ἐν Λιβύῃ 54
τόνδε Αἰγύπτιοι λόγον λέγουσι. ἔφασαν οἱ ἱερεῖς τοῦ Θηβαιέος

[3] The statement of Herodotos about the names of the gods is as incorrect as his other surmises about the Pelasgians. The Greeks brought most of the names of their deities with them from the early home where they had lived before the separation of the Aryan family. But Dionysos certainly was of later importation, and came from the east, either from the Phœnicians or from the Hittites.

[5] As Homer and Hesiod are here said to have formed the Greek theogony, Herodotos must understand by Homer all that mass of epic literature which in after times was called Cyclic, and distributed among various authors, together with the "Homeric" hymns. The date of Homer largely depended on the birthplace assigned to him, *i.e.* to the rise of epic poetry, or the formation of guilds of rhapsodists in different localities, particular dates being connected with particular places. Krates placed him B.C. 1100, the author of the life of Herodotos B.C. 1104, Eratosthenes B.C. 1084, Aristotle and Aristarkhos in the age of the Ionic migration (B.C. 1144), the Khians in the ninth century B.C., Euphorion and Theopompos in the age of Gyges B.C. 670. In their present form, however, the Iliad and Odyssey bear traces of the age of Periklês, and the mass of epic and didactic literature which went under the names of Homer and Hesiod must have been of slow growth. Homer is a name rather than a person, and *δμηρος*, "the fitted together," is applied by Euripides (*Alk.* 870) to the marriage-bond. Why Herodotos has fixed on his particular date is clear from ch. 145, where he places the Trojan War 800 years before his own time. Dividing this 800 years in half gave him 400 years before himself for Homer.

[6] Linos, Orpheos, Musæos, etc.

Διὸς[7] δύο γυναῖκας ἱερείας ἐκ Θηβέων ἐξαχθῆναι ὑπὸ Φοινίκων, καὶ τὴν μὲν αὐτέων πυθέσθαι ἐς Λιβύην πρηθεῖσαν τὴν δὲ ἐς τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ταύτας δὲ τὰς γυναῖκας εἶναι τὰς ἱδρυσαμένας τὰ μαντήια πρώτας ἐν τοῖσι εἰρημένοισι ἔθνεσι. εἰρομένου δέ μεο ὁκόθεν οὕτω ἀτρεκέως ἐπιστάμενοι λέγουσι, ἔφασαν πρὸς τάοτα ζήτησιν μεγάλην ἀπὸ σφέων γενέσθαι τῶν γυναικῶν τουτέων, καὶ ἀνευρεῖν μέν σφεας οὐ δυνατοὶ γενέσθαι, πυθέσθαι δὲ
55 ὕστερον τάοτα περὶ αὐτέων τά περ δὴ ἔλεγον. τάοτα μέν νυν τῶν ἐν Θήβῃσι ἱερέων ἤκουον, τάδε δὲ Δωδωναίων φασὶ αἱ προμάντιες. δύο πελειάδας μελαίνας[8] ἐκ Θηβέων τῶν Αἰγυπτιέων ἀναπταμένας τὴν μὲν αὐτέων ἐς Λιβύην τὴν δὲ παρὰ σφέας ἀπικέσθαι, ἱζομένην δέ μιν ἐπὶ φηγὸν[9] αὐδάξασθαι φωνῇ ἀνθρωπηίῃ ὡς χρεὸν εἴη μαντήιον αὐτόθι Διὸς γενέσθαι, καὶ αὐτοὺς ὑπολαβεῖν θεῖον εἶναι τὸ ἐπαγγελλόμενον αὐτοῖσι, καί σφεας ἐκ τούτου ποιῆσαι. τὴν δὲ ἐς τοὺς Λίβυας οἰχομένην πελειάδα λέγουσι Ἄμμωνος χρηστήριον κελεῦσαι τοὺς Λίβυας ποιεῖν· ἔστι δὲ καὶ τοῦτο Διός. Δωδωναίων δὲ αἱ ἱερεῖαι, τῶν τῇ πρεσβυτάτῃ οὔνομα ἦν Προμένεια, τῇ δὲ μετὰ ταύτην Τιμαρέτῃ, τῇ δὲ νεωτάτῃ Νικάνδρῃ, ἔλεγον τάοτα·[1] συνωμολόγεον δέ σφι καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Δωδωναῖοι οἱ περὶ τὸ ἱερόν. ἐγὼ δ' ἔχω
56 περὶ αὐτῶν γνώμην τήνδε. εἰ ἀληθέως οἱ Φοίνικες ἐξήγαγον τὰς ἱερὰς γυναῖκας καὶ τὴν μὲν αὐτέων ἐς Λιβύην τὴν δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀπέδοντο, δοκεῖν ἐμοί, ἡ γυνὴ αὕτη τῆς νῦν Ἑλλάδος, πρότερον δὲ Πελασγίης καλεομένης τῆς αὐτῆς ταύτης, πρηθῆναι ἐς Θεσπρωτούς,[2] ἔπειτα δουλεύουσα αὐτόθι ἱδρύσασθαι ὑπὸ

[7] "The Theban Zeus." This does not show that Herodotos actually visited Thebes. The "priests" were the beadles who showed him over the temples. Herodotos probably had heard the story he recounts at Dôdôna, and when in Egypt took the opportunity of putting "leading" questions to his guides, who answered accordingly.

[8] The doves were sacred to Diônê, the Phœnician Astartê, who shared the temple of Dôdôna with Zeus. The πελειάς or cushat dove took its name from its "dark" colour (πελιός).

[9] The oracles of Dôdôna were communicated to their interpreters partly through the rustling of the oak leaves (*Od.* xiv. 327), partly through the murmuring of water, and the bronze vessel given by the Korkyreans. See i. 46, note 3.

[1] We gather from this that the oracle was served by three priestesses in the time of Herodotos. At an earlier time the prophets of the god were men, belonging to the tribe of Selli (later Helli), who "washed not the feet and lay on the ground." (*Il.* xvi. 233 ff.) This disposes of the attempt of Herodotos to rationalise the legend.

[2] "Among the Thesprôtians in what is now Hellas, but was formerly called Pelasgia." Herodotos does not mean that all Greece was once called Pelasgia, but only the district of Epeiros, in which Dôdôna was situated. It is interesting

φηγῷ πεφυκυίῃ Διὸς ἱερόν, ὥσπερ ἦν οἰκὸς ἀμφιπολεύουσαν ἐν Θήβῃσι ἱερὸν Διός, ἔνθα ἀπίκετο, ἐνθαῦτα μνήμην αὐτοῦ ἔχειν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου χρηστήριον κατηγήσατο, ἐπείτε συνέλαβε τὴν Ἑλλάδα γλῶσσαν. φάναι δέ οἱ ἀδελφεὴν ἐν Λιβύῃ πεπρῆσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν Φοινίκων ὑπ' ὧν καὶ αὐτὴ ἐπρήθη. πελειάδες 57
δέ μοι δοκέουσι κληθῆναι πρὸς Δωδωναίων ἐπὶ τοῦδε αἱ γυναῖκες, διότι βάρβαροι ἦσαν, ἐδόκεον δέ σφι ὁμοίως ὄρνισι φθέγγεσθαι. μετὰ δὲ χρόνον τὴν πελειάδα ἀνθρωπηίῃ φωνῇ αὐδάξασθαι λέγουσι, ἐπείτε συνετά σφι ἠΰδα ἡ γυνή· ἕως δὲ ἐβαρβάριζε, ὄρνιθος τρόπον ἐδόκεί σφι φθέγγεσθαι, ἐπεὶ τέῳ τρόπῳ ἂν πελειάς γε ἀνθρωπηίῃ φωνῇ φθέγξαιτο; μέλαιναν δὲ λέγοντες εἶναι τὴν πελειάδα σημαίνουσι ὅτι Αἰγυπτίη ἡ γυνὴ ἦν. ἡ δὲ 58
μαντηίη ἥ τε ἐν Θήβῃσι τῇσι Αἰγυπτίῃσι καὶ ἡ ἐν Δωδώνῃ παραπλήσιαι ἀλλήλῃσι τυγχάνουσι ἐοῦσαι.[3] ἔστι δὲ καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν ἡ μαντικὴ[4] ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου ἀπιγμένη. πανηγύριας δὲ ἄρα καὶ πομπὰς καὶ προσαγωγὰς[5] πρῶτοι ἀνθρώπων Αἰγύπτιοί εἰσι οἱ ποιησάμενοι, καὶ παρὰ τούτων Ἕλληνες μεμαθήκασι. τεκμήριον δέ μοι τούτου τόδε· αἱ μὲν γὰρ φαίνονται ἐκ πολλοῦ τεο χρόνου ποιεόμεναι, αἱ δὲ Ἑλληνικαὶ νεωστὶ ἐποιήθησαν.

Πανηγυρίζουσι δὲ Αἰγύπτιοι οὐκ ἅπαξ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ, πανη- 59
γύριας δὲ συχνάς, μάλιστα μὲν καὶ προθυμότατα ἐς Βούβαστιν πόλιν τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι,[6] δεύτερα δὲ ἐς Βούσιριν πόλιν τῇ Ἴσι·[7] ἐν

to find the Thesprôtians reckoned as Hellenes; Dôdôna, however, was an Hellenic sanctuary.

[3] Such an assertion goes to show that Herodotos could not have visited Thebes.

[4] "Divination by means of victims." This has been practised widely over the globe, and was not confined to Egypt and Greece, as Herodotos imagined.

[5] προσαγ. refers to the litanies and hymns which were sung to the sound of musical instruments. Separate calendars of feasts were possessed by each of the principal towns. In the time of the Old Empire the festival calendar of Memphis was: (1) Feast of the beginning of the year; (2) Feast of Thoth; (3) of the New Year; (4) of Uaka; (5) of Sokharis; (6) of the greater and lesser burning; (7) of holocausts; (8) of the manifestation of Khem; (9) of Sat; (10) of the first of the month; (11) of the first of the half month. Under the twelfth dynasty were added (12) the feast of Osiris, and (13) that of the Epagomenæ. The feast or *heb* usually lasted five days.

[6] Sekhet or Bast, the lion-headed and cat-headed goddess of Bubastis (Pi-Bast, now *Tel Basṭ*, near Zagazig), to whom the cat was sacred, was daughter of Ra, and bride of Ptah, and symbolised sexual passion. Her festival took place on the 16th of Khoiak (about Christmas). Bast (also called Menk) and Sekhet were also regarded as sisters. See ch. 137, note 4.

[7] The site of Busiris (*Abusir*) is now famous for its pyramids of the fifth dynasty. So far from being in the middle of the Delta, however, it lies beyond it to the south-east of Gizeh. The Busiris meant by Herodotos must therefore be another town, P-User-neb-

ταύτῃ γὰρ δὴ τῇ πόλει ἐστὶ μέγιστον Ἴσιος ἱερόν, ἵδρυται δὲ ἡ πόλις αὕτη τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἐν μέσῳ τῷ Δέλτα· Ἴσις δέ ἐστι κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλήνων γλῶσσαν Δημήτηρ. τρίτα δὲ ἐς Σάιν πόλιν τῇ Ἀθηναίῃ[8] πανηγυρίζουσι, τέταρτα δὲ ἐς Ἡλίου πόλιν τῷ Ἡλίῳ, πέμπτα δὲ ἐς Βουτοῦν πόλιν τῇ Λητοῖ,[9] ἕκτα δὲ ἐς Πάπρημιν
60 πόλιν τῷ Ἄρει.[1] ἐς μέν νυν Βούβαστιν πόλιν ἐπεὰν κομίζωνται, ποιέουσι τοιάδε. πλέουσί τε γὰρ δὴ ἅμα ἄνδρες γυναιξὶ καὶ πολλόν τι πλῆθος ἑκατέρων ἐν ἑκάστῃ βάρει· αἱ μέν τινες τῶν γυναικῶν κρόταλα ἔχουσαι κροταλίζουσι, οἱ δὲ αὐλέουσι κατὰ πάντα τὸν πλόον, αἱ δὲ λοιπαὶ γυναῖκες καὶ ἄνδρες ἀείδουσι καὶ τὰς χεῖρας κροτέουσι. ἐπεὰν δὲ πλέοντες κατά τινα πόλιν ἄλλην γένωνται, ἐγχρίμψαντες τὴν βᾶριν τῇ γέᾳ ποιέουσι τοιάδε. αἱ μέν τινες τῶν γυναικῶν ποιέουσι τά περ εἴρηκα, αἱ δὲ τωθάζουσι βοῶσαι τὰς ἐν τῇ πόλει ταύτῃ γυναῖκας, αἱ δὲ ὀρχέονται, αἱ δὲ ἀνασύρονται ἀνιστάμεναι. τάοτα παρὰ πᾶσαν πόλιν παραποταμίην ποιέουσι· ἐπεὰν δὲ ἀπίκωνται ἐς τὴν Βούβαστιν, ὀρτάζουσι μεγάλας ἀνάγοντες θυσίας, καὶ οἶνος ἀμπέλινος ἀναισιμοῦται πλέων ἐν τῇ ὁρτῇ ταύτῃ ἢ ἐν τῷ ἅπαντι ἐνιαυτῷ τῷ ἐπιλοίπῳ. συμφοιτέουσι δέ, ὅ τι ἀνὴρ καὶ γυνή ἐστι πλὴν παιδίων,[2] καὶ ἐς ἑβδομήκοντα μυριάδας, ὡς οἱ ἐπιχώριοι λέγουσι.
61 τάοτα μὲν δὴ ταύτῃ ποιεῖται, ἐν δὲ Βουσίρι πόλει ὡς ἀνάγουσι τῇ Ἴσι τὴν ὀρτήν, εἴρηται πρότερόν μοι· τύπτονται γὰρ δὴ μετὰ τὴν θυσίην πάντες καὶ πᾶσαι, μυριάδες κάρτα πολλαὶ ἀνθρώπων· τὸν δὲ τύπτονται,[3] οὔ μοι ὅσιόν ἐστι λέγειν. ὅσοι δὲ Καρῶν εἰσι ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ οἰκέοντες, οὗτοι δὲ τοσούτῳ ἔτι πλέω ποιέουσι τούτων ὅσῳ καὶ τὰ μέτωπα κόπτονται μαχαίρῃσι.[4] καὶ τούτῳ

Tat, or rather Tatta, of which Osiris was lord. See ch. 4, note 4.

[8] Neith, the "great cow," which gave birth to the world, and was a manifestation of Isis, was identified with Athêna on account of the similarity of name. Sais was already famous in the time of the eighteenth dynasty. Its ruins lie north of Sâ el-Hager, on the Rosetta arm of the Nile.

[9] The goddess Buto seems to be Uat or Uati, the genius of Lower Egypt, symbolised by the winged asp, who was worshipped at Tep, at the extremity of the Rosetta branch of the Nile. The city of Buto is usually identified with the Egyptian Pi-Uto in the nome of Am-pehu.

[1] Ares was Mentu-Ra, the warrior-god, who steers the bark of the sun, and pierces the serpent Apophis. He is hawk-headed, and is once represented with two heads. Paprêmis seems to have stood between Menzaleh and Damietta (see ch. 165, and iii. 12).

[2] "The pilgrims, reckoning men and women only, and not children, amount to."

[3] Osiris; see ch. 3, note 9. The Egyptians themselves felt no scruple about naming him.

[4] Like the fanatics who gash their heads at Cairo on the night of the 'Ashûra. The Karians were imported by Psammetikhos I., ch. 152. They are

εἰσὶ δῆλοι ὅτι εἰσὶ ξεῖνοι καὶ οὐκ Αἰγύπτιοι. ἐς Σάιν δὲ πόλιν 62
ἐπεὰν συλλεχθέωσι, τῇσι θυσίῃσι ἔν τινι νυκτὶ λύχνα καίουσι
πάντες πολλὰ ὑπαίθρια περὶ τὰ δώματα κύκλῳ· τὰ δὲ λύχνα
ἐστὶ ἐμβάφια ἔμπλεα ἁλὸς καὶ ἐλαίου, ἐπιπολῆς δὲ ἔπεστι αὐτὸ
τὸ ἐλλύχνιον, καὶ τοῦτο καίεται πανννύχιον, καὶ τῇ ὁρτῇ οὔνομα
κεῖται λυχνοκαΐη. οἳ δ' ἂν μὴ ἔλθωσι τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἐς τὴν
πανήγυριν ταύτην, φυλάσσοντες τὴν νύκτα τῆς θυσίης καίουσι
καὶ αὐτοὶ πάντες τὰ λύχνα, καὶ οὕτω οὐκ ἐν Σάι μούνῃ καίεται
ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀνὰ πᾶσαν Αἴγυπτον. ὅτεο δὲ εἵνεκα φῶς ἔλαχε καὶ
τιμὴν ἡ νὺξ αὕτη, ἔστι ἱερὸς περὶ αὐτοῦ λόγος λεγόμενος. ἐς δὲ 63
Ἡλίου τε πόλιν καὶ Βουτοῦν θυσίας μούνας ἐπιτελέουσι φοιτέοντες. ἐν δὲ Παπρήμι[4] θυσίας μὲν καὶ ἱερὰ κατά περ καὶ τῇ
ἄλλῃ ποιέουσι· εὖτ' ἂν δὲ γίνηται καταφερὴς ὁ ἥλιος, ὀλίγοι μέν
τινες τῶν ἱερέων περὶ τὤγαλμα πεπονέαται, οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ αὐτῶν
ξύλων κορύνας ἔχοντες ἑστᾶσι τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἐν τῇ ἐσόδῳ, ἄλλοι τε
εὐχωλὰς ἐπιτελέοντες πλέονες χιλίων ἀνδρῶν, ἕκαστοι ἔχοντες
ξύλα καὶ οὗτοι, ἐπὶ τὰ ἕτερα ἁλεῖς ἑστᾶσι. τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα ἐὸν
ἐν νηῷ μικρῷ ξυλίνῳ κατακεχρυσωμένῳ προεκκομίζουσι τῇ προτεραίῃ ἐς ἄλλο οἴκημα ἱερόν. οἱ μὲν δὴ ὀλίγοι οἱ περὶ τὤγαλμα
λελειμμένοι ἕλκουσι τετράκυκλον ἅμαξαν[5] ἄγουσαν τὸν νηόν τε
καὶ τὸ ἐν τῷ νηῷ ἐνεὸν ἄγαλμα, οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἐῶσι ἐν τοῖσι προπυλαίοισι ἑστεῶτες ἐσιέναι, οἱ δὲ εὐχωλιμαῖοι τιμωρέοντες τῷ θεῷ
παίουσι αὐτοὺς ἀλεξομένους. ἐνθαῦτα μάχη ξύλοισι καρτερὴ
γίνεται κεφαλάς τε συναράσσονται, καὶ ὡς ἐγὼ δοκέω πολλοὶ
καὶ ἀποθνήσκουσι ἐκ τῶν τρωμάτων· οὐ μέντοι οἵ γε Αἰγύπτιοι
ἔφασαν ἀποθνήσκειν οὐδένα. τὴν δὲ πανήγυριν ταύτην ἐκ τοῦδε
νομίσαι φασὶ οἱ ἐπιχώριοι. οἰκεῖν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τούτῳ τοῦ Ἄρεος
τὴν μητέρα, καὶ τὸν Ἄρεα ἀπότροφον γενόμενον ἐλθεῖν ἐξανδρωμένον ἐθέλοντα τῇ μητρὶ συμμῖξαι,[6] καὶ τοὺς προπόλους τῆς
μητρός, οἷα οὐκ ὀπωπότας αὐτὸν πρότερον, οὐ περιορᾶν παριέναι
ἀλλὰ ἀπερύκειν, τὸν δὲ ἐξ ἄλλης πόλιος ἀγαγόμενον ἀνθρώπους
τούς τε προπόλους τρηχέως περισπεῖν καὶ ἐσελθεῖν παρὰ τὴν

the Lud or Lydians of Jer. xlvi. 9, and Ezek. xxx. 5.

[4] Paprêmis is probably the Egyptian Rem, the name being P-ap-rem, "city of the (goddess) Ap of Rem." The Papremitic nome lay between the Khemmitic and Saitic.

[5] Chariots with four-spoked wheels characterise early Greek coins. The wheels of the Hittite chariots, as represented on the Egyptian monuments, have four spokes. Those of Egypt have four, six, and eight—generally six. Persian chariots usually have eight spokes, but one given by Ker Porter has eleven.

[6] Herodotos seems to have confounded the legend of Horus with what he was told about Mentu-Ra.

μητέρα. ἀπὸ τούτου τῷ Ἄρει ταύτην τὴν πληγὴν ἐν τῇ ὁρτῇ νενομικέναι φασί.

64 Καὶ τὸ μὴ μίσγεσθαι γυναιξὶ ἐν ἱεροῖσι μηδὲ ἀλούτους ἀπὸ γυναικῶν ἐς ἱερὰ ἐσιέναι οὗτοί εἰσι οἱ πρῶτοι θρησκεύσαντες. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοι σχεδὸν πάντες ἄνθρωποι,[7] πλὴν Αἰγυπτίων καὶ Ἑλλήνων, μίσγονται ἐν ἱεροῖσι καὶ ἀπὸ γυναικῶν ἀνιστάμενοι ἄλουτοι ἐσέρχονται ἐς ἱερόν, νομίζοντες ἀνθρώπους εἶναι κατά περ τὰ ἄλλα κτήνεα· καὶ γὰρ τὰ ἄλλα κτήνεα ὁρᾶν καὶ ὀρνίθων γένεα ὀχευόμενα ἔν τε τοῖσι νηοῖσι τῶν θεῶν καὶ ἐν τοῖσι τεμένεσι· εἰ ὦν εἶναι τῷ θεῷ τοῦτο μὴ φίλον, οὐκ ἂν οὐδὲ
65 τὰ κτήνεα ποιεῖν. οὗτοι μέν νυν τοιαῦτα ἐπιλέγοντες ποιέουσι ἔμοιγε οὐκ ἀρεστά. Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ θρησκεύουσι περισσῶς τά τε ἄλλα περὶ τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ δὴ καὶ τάδε. ἐοῦσα γὰρ Αἴγυπτος ὅμουρος τῇ Λιβύῃ οὐ μάλα θηριώδης ἐστί· τὰ δὲ ἐόντα σφι ἅπαντα ἱερὰ νενόμισται,[8] καὶ τὰ μὲν σύντροφα αὐτοῖσι τοῖσι ἀνθρώποισι, τὰ δὲ οὔ. τῶν δὲ εἵνεκεν ἀνεῖται τὰ θηρία ἱερὰ[9] εἰ λέγοιμι, καταβαίην ἂν τῷ λόγῳ ἐς τὰ θεῖα πρήγματα, τὰ ἐγὼ φεύγω μάλιστα ἀπηγεῖσθαι· τὰ δὲ καὶ εἴρηκα αὐτῶν ἐπιψαύσας, ἀναγκαίῃ καταλαμβανόμενος εἶπον. νόμος δέ ἐστι περὶ τῶν θηρίων ὧδε ἔχων. μελεδωνοὶ ἀποδεδέχαται τῆς τροφῆς χωρὶς ἑκάστων καὶ ἔρσενες καὶ θήλεαι[1] τῶν Αἰγυπτίων, τῶν παῖς παρὰ πατρὸς ἐκδέκεται τὴν τιμήν. οἱ δὲ ἐν τῇσι πόλισι ἕκαστοι εὐχὰς τάσδε σφι ἀποτελέουσι· εὐχόμενοι τῷ θεῷ τοῦ ἂν ᾖ τὸ θηρίον, ξυρῶντες τῶν παιδίων ἢ πᾶσαν τὴν κεφαλὴν ἢ τὸ ἥμισυ ἢ τὸ τρίτον μέρος τῆς κεφαλῆς, ἱστᾶσι σταθμῷ πρὸς ἀργύριον τὰς τρίχας·[2] τὸ δ' ἂν ἑλκύσῃ, τοῦτο τῇ μελεδωνῷ τῶν θηρίων

[7] "The rest of mankind" resolve themselves into Babylonians and Phœnicians only. See i. 199.

[8] "All the animals that belong to it are considered sacred." Σφι is here sing. in accordance with its original reflexive meaning (Skt. *sva*, Lat. *sui*, *sibi*), which admitted of no plural forms. The plural was formed after the analogy of that of the first and second personal pronouns, when the reflexive signification had been lost, the dative *σφίσι* (which occurs fifty-five times in Homer), being modelled after forms like *ναῦσι*, to distinguish it from the sing. *σφι*.

[9] "Why the sacred animals are allowed to range at large." Cp. the use of *ἀνειμένοι* in vii. 103. Herodotos is probably again making piety an excuse for ignorance. The true origin of the animal-worship of Egypt was totemism. The Egyptian monuments themselves explain it on the ground that the animals were *nem-ankh nuter*, "the godhead living again" or incarnated.

[1] The guardians of the sacred animals were all priests, who were called *khnem*, "guardians," or priestesses called *menâi*, "nurses."

[2] "They weigh the hair in a balance against a sum of silver." There was no coinage in Egypt. Though men shaved the whole head, tufts of hair were left on the heads of boys, and boys belonging

διδοῖ, ἡ δὲ ἀντ' αὐτοῦ τάμνουσα ἰχθῦς παρέχει βορὴν τοῖσι θηρίοισι. τροφὴ μὲν δὴ αὐτοῖσι τοιαύτη ἀποδέδεκται· τὸ δ' ἄν τις τῶν θηρίων τούτων ἀποκτείνῃ, ἢν μὲν ἑκών, θάνατος ἡ ζημίη, ἢν δὲ ἀέκων, ἀποτίνει ζημίην τὴν ἂν οἱ ἱερεῖς τάξωνται. ὃς δ' ἂν ἴβιν ἢ ἴρηκα ἀποκτείνῃ, ἤν τε ἑκὼν ἤν τε ἀέκων, τεθνάναι ἀνάγκη. πολλῶν δὲ ἐόντων ὁμοτρόφων τοῖσι ἀνθρώποισι θηρίων 66
πολλῷ ἂν ἔτι πλέω ἐγίνετο, εἰ μὴ κατελάμβανε τοὺς αἰελούρους τοιάδε. ἐπεὰν τέκωσι αἱ θήλεαι, οὐκέτι φοιτέουσι παρὰ τοὺς ἔρσενας· οἱ δὲ διζήμενοι μίσγεσθαι αὐτῇσι οὐκ ἔχουσι. πρὸς ὧν τάοτα σοφίζονται τάδε. ἁρπάζοντες ἀπὸ τῶν θηλέων καὶ ὑπαιρεόμενοι τὰ τέκνα κτείνουσι, κτείναντες μέντοι οὐ πατέονται· αἱ δὲ στερισκόμεναι τῶν τέκνων, ἄλλων δὲ ἐπιθυμέουσαι, οὕτω δὴ ἀπικνέονται παρὰ τοὺς ἔρσενας· φιλότεκνον γὰρ τὸ θηρίον. πυρκαϊῆς δὲ γινομένης θεῖα πρήγματα καταλαμβάνει τοὺς αἰελούρους· οἱ μὲν γὰρ Αἰγύπτιοι διαστάντες φυλακὰς ἔχουσι τῶν αἰελούρων, ἀμελήσαντες σβεννύναι τὸ καιόμενον, οἱ δὲ αἰέλουροι διαδύοντες καὶ ὑπερθρώσκοντες τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐσάλλονται ἐς τὸ πῦρ. τάοτα δὲ γινόμενα πένθεα μεγάλα τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους καταλαμβάνει.[3] ἐν ὁτέοισι δ' ἂν οἰκίοισι αἰέλουρος ἀποθάνῃ ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτομάτου, οἱ ἐνοικέοντες πάντες ξυρῶνται τὰς ὀφρύας μούνας, παρ' ὁτέοισι δ' ἂν κύων, πᾶν τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὴν κεφαλήν. ἀπάγονται δὲ οἱ αἰέλουροι ἀποθανόντες ἐς ἱερὰς στέγας, ἔνθα 67
θάπτονται ταριχευθέντες, ἐν Βουβάστι πόλει·[4] τὰς δὲ κύνας ἐν τῇ ἑωυτῶν ἕκαστοι πόλει θάπτουσι ἐν ἱερῇσι θήκῃσι. ὡς δὲ αὕτως τῇσι κυσὶ οἱ ἰχνευταὶ θάπτονται. τὰς δὲ μυγαλᾶς καὶ τοὺς ἴρηκας ἀπάγουσι ἐς Βουτοῦν πόλιν, τὰς δὲ ἴβις ἐς Ἑρμέω πόλιν.[5] τὰς δὲ ἄρκτους ἐούσας σπανίας[6] καὶ τοὺς λύκους οὐ πολλῷ τεῳ ἐόντας ἀλωπέκων μέζονας αὐτοῦ θάπτουσι τῇ ἂν εὑρεθέωσι κείμενοι.

Τῶν δὲ κροκοδείλων φύσις ἐστὶ τοιήδε.[7] τοὺς χειμεριω- 68

to the ruling class had a long plaited lock which fell behind the ear.

[3] It is difficult to understand how Herodotos could have gravely noted down such a story.

[4] As the mummies of cats, hawks, and ibises are found at Thebes and other places, it is plain that they were not carried to particular cities, as Herodotos states. Dogs and jackals, as guardians of Hades, were sacred to Anub (Anubis).

[5] Hermopolis Magna was in Upper Egypt, old Egyptian Sesunnu, modern Eshmunên. Hermopolis Parva,—Egyptian Tema-en-Hor, "city of Horus,"—is now Damanhur, to the south of Alexandria. The ibis (Egyptian *hib*) was sacred to Thoth, the god of literature, whom the Greeks identified with Hermês, as the hawk was to Horus.

[6] Bears do not, and did not (as the monuments show) exist in Egypt. Herodotos was perhaps thinking of hyænas.

[7] Herodotos stole his description of

τάτους μῆνας τέσσερας ἐσθίει οὐδέν,[8] ἐὸν δὲ τετράπουν χερσαῖον καὶ λιμναῖόν ἐστι. τίκτει μὲν γὰρ ᾠὰ ἐν γέῃ καὶ ἐκλέπει, καὶ τὸ πολλὸν τῆς ἡμέρης διατρίβει ἐν τῷ ξηρῷ, τὴν δὲ νύκτα πᾶσαν ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ· θερμότερον γὰρ δή ἐστι τὸ ὕδωρ τῆς τε αἰθρίης καὶ τῆς δρόσου. πάντων δὲ τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν θνητῶν τοῦτο ἐξ ἐλαχίστου μέγιστον γίνεται· τὰ μὲν γὰρ ᾠὰ χηνέων οὐ πολλῷ μέζονα τίκτει, καὶ ὁ νεοσσὸς κατὰ λόγον τοῦ ᾠοῦ γίνεται, αὐξανόμενος δὲ γίνεται καὶ ἐς ἑπτακαίδεκα πήχεας καὶ μέζων ἔτι. ἔχει δὲ ὀφθαλμοὺς μὲν ὑός, ὀδόντας δὲ μεγάλους καὶ χαυλιόδοντας κατὰ λόγον τοῦ σώματος. γλῶσσαν δὲ μοῦνον θηρίων οὐκ ἔφυσε. οὐδὲ κινεῖ τὴν κάτω γνάθον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτο μοῦνον θηρίων τὴν ἄνω γνάθον προσάγει τῇ κάτω.[9] ἔχει δὲ καὶ ὄνυχας καρτεροὺς καὶ δέρμα λεπιδωτὸν ἄρρηκτον ἐπὶ τοῦ νώτου. τυφλὸν δὲ ἐν ὕδατι,[1] ἐν δὲ τῇ αἰθρίῃ ὀξυδερκέστατον. ἅτε δὴ ὢν ἐν ὕδατι δίαιταν ποιεόμενον, τὸ στόμα ἔνδοθεν φορεῖ πᾶν μεστὸν βδελλέων.[2] τὰ μὲν δὴ ἄλλα ὄρνεα καὶ θηρία φεύγει μιν, ὁ δὲ τροχίλος εἰρηναῖόν οἱ ἐστὶ ἅτε ὠφελεομένῳ πρὸς αὐτοῦ· ἐπεὰν γὰρ ἐς τὴν γῆν ἐκβῇ ἐκ τοῦ ὕδατος ὁ κροκόδειλος καὶ ἔπειτα χάνῃ (ἔωθε γὰρ τοῦτο ὡς ἐπίπαν ποιεῖν πρὸς τὸν ζέφυρον), ἐνθαῦτα ὁ τροχιλος ἐσδύνων ἐς τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ καταπίνει τὰς βδέλλας·[3] ὁ δὲ ὠφελεόμενος ἥδεται καὶ οὐδὲν σίνεται τὸν
69 τροχίλον. τοῖσι μὲν δὴ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἱεροί εἰσι οἱ κροκόδειλοι, τοῖσι δὲ οὔ,[4] ἀλλ' ἅτε πολεμίους περιέπουσι· οἱ δὲ περί τε Θήβας καὶ τὴν Μοίριος λίμνην οἰκέοντες καὶ κάρτα ἥγηνται αὐτοὺς εἶναι ἱερούς· ἐκ πάντων δὲ ἕνα ἑκάτεροι τρέφουσι κροκόδειλον δεδιδαγμένον εἶναι χειροήθεα, ἀρτήματά τε λίθινα χυτὰ[5] καὶ χρύσεα ἐς τὰ ὦτα ἐνθέντες καὶ ἀμφιδέας περὶ τοὺς ἐμπροσθίους πόδας, καὶ σιτία ἀποτακτὰ διδόντες καὶ ἱερήια, καὶ περιέποντες ὡς κάλλιστα ζῶντας· ἀποθανόντας δὲ θάπτουσι ταριχεύοντες ἐν ἱερῇσι θήκῃσι. οἱ δὲ περὶ Ἐλεφαντίνην πόλιν οἰκέοντες

the crocodile, hippopotamus, and phœnix from Hekatæos (Porphyr. ap. Euseb. *Præp. ev.* x. 3, p. 466 B; Hermog. ii. 12, 6). The inaccuracy of the description shows that he never took the trouble to verify the statements of his authority, and casts a strong suspicion upon other parts of his account of Egypt, which may have been similarly taken, without acknowledgment and verification, from older writers. The crocodile has now disappeared from the Nile north of the First Cataract.

[8] Contrary to fact.

[9] Its lower jaw really moves downwards, though the movement is difficult to detect.

[1] This is absurd.

[2] An equally absurd statement.

[3] This is a pure myth.

[4] See ch. 42, note 1.

[5] *i.e.* glass.

καὶ ἐσθίουσι αὐτοὺς οὐκ ἡγεόμενοι ἱεροὺς εἶναι. καλέονται δὲ οὐ κροκόδειλοι ἀλλὰ χάμψαι· κροκόδειλους δὲ Ἴωνες ὠνόμασαν,[6] εἰκάζοντες αὐτῶν τὰ εἴδεα τοῖσι παρὰ σφίσι γινομένοισι κροκοδείλοισι τοῖσι ἐν τῇσι αἰμασιῇσι. ἄγραι δέ σφεων πολλαὶ 70
κατεστᾶσι καὶ παντοῖαι· ἡ δ' ὧν ἔμουγε δοκεῖ ἀξιωτάτη ἀπηγήσιος εἶναι, ταύτην γράφω. ἐπεὰν νῶτον ὑὸς δελεάσῃ περὶ ἄγκιστρον, μετίει ἐς μέσον τὸν ποταμόν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ χείλεος τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἔχων δέλφακα ζωὴν ταύτην τύπτει. ἐπακούσας δὲ τῆς φωνῆς ὁ κροκόδειλος ἴεται κατὰ τὴν φωνήν, ἐντυχὼν δὲ τῷ νώτῳ καταπίνει· οἱ δὲ ἕλκουσι. ἐπεὰν δὲ ἐξελκυσθῇ ἐς γῆν, πρῶτον ἁπάντων ὁ θηρευτὴς πηλῷ κατ' ὧν ἔπλασε αὐτοῦ τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς· τοῦτο δὲ ποιήσας κάρτα εὐπετέως τὰ λοιπὰ χειροῦται, μὴ ποιήσας δὲ τοῦτο σὺν πόνῳ.

Οἱ δὲ ἵπποι οἱ ποτάμιοι[7] νομῷ μὲν τῷ Παπρημίτῃ ἱεροί 71
εἰσι, τοῖσι δὲ ἄλλοισι Αἰγυπτίοισι οὐκ ἱεροί. φύσιν δὲ παρέχονται ἰδέης τοιήνδε· τετράπουν ἐστί, δίχηλον,[8] ὁπλαὶ βοός, σιμόν, λοφιὴν ἔχον ἵππου,[9] χαυλιόδοντας φαῖνον, οὐρὴν ἵππου[9] καὶ φωνήν,[1] μέγαθος ὅσον τε βοῦς ὁ μέγιστος·[2] τὸ δέρμα δ' αὐτοῦ οὕτω δή τι παχύ ἐστι ὥστε αὔου γενομένου ξυστὰ ποιεῖται ἀκόντια[3] ἐξ αὐτοῦ.

Γίνονται δὲ καὶ ἐνύδριες[4] ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ, τὰς ἱερὰς ἥγηνται 72
εἶναι. νομίζουσι δὲ καὶ τῶν ἰχθύων τὸν καλεόμενον λεπιδωτὸν ἱερὸν εἶναι καὶ τὴν ἔγχελυν,[5] ἱεροὺς δὲ τούτους τοῦ Νείλου φασὶ εἶναι, καὶ τῶν ὀρνίθων τοὺς χηναλώπεκας.[6] ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλος 73
ὄρνις ἱερός, τῷ οὔνομα φοῖνιξ.[7] ἐγὼ μέν μιν οὐκ εἶδον εἰ μὴ

[6] In old Egyptian the crocodile was *em-suh* (modern Arabic, *timsahh*), *em-suh* meaning "that which (is) from the egg." The Ionians are the Greek mercenaries of Psammetikhos I.

[7] In the time of the Old Empire the hippopotamus inhabited the Delta, as appears from a picture in the tomb of Ti (an official of the fifth dynasty) at Sakkârah. In the time of Pliny (*N. H.* xxviii. 8), it was still found in Upper Egypt. St. John describes it as existing opposite to Abu-Simbel forty or fifty years ago, but it is now not met with north of the Third Cataract.

[8] It is not cloven-footed, but has four small toes.

[9] It has no mane, and the tail, nearly trilateral at the end, is unlike that of a horse.

[1] It does not neigh.

[2] It is far larger than the ox, averaging sixteen or eighteen feet long.

[3] Herodotos means whips ("kurbashes.")

[4] If Herodotos means otters, he has made a mistake, as otters do not exist in Egypt.

[5] To these should be added the oxyrhinchus.

[6] The Nile-goose was the symbol of Seb, the earth-god, but was not sacred.

[7] The *bennu*, "Phœnix," or bird of Ra, was worshipped at Heliopolis. It is the *khol* or *khul* of Job. xxix. 18. The period of 500 years represents the 1500

ὅσον γραφῇ· καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ σπάνιος ἐπιφοιτᾷ σφι, δι' ἐτέων, ὡς Ἡλιοπολῖται λέγουσι, πεντακοσίων· φοιτᾶν δὲ τότε φασὶ ἐπεάν οἱ ἀποθάνῃ ὁ πατήρ. ἔστι δέ, εἰ τῇ γραφῇ παρόμοιος, τοσόσδε καὶ τοιόσδε· τὰ μὲν αὐτοῦ χρυσόκομα τῶν πτερῶν τὰ δὲ ἐρυθρά· ἐς τὰ μάλιστα αἰετῷ περιήγησιν ὁμοιότατος καὶ τὸ μέγαθος.[8] τοῦτον δὲ λέγουσι μηχανᾶσθαι τάδε, ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐ πιστὰ λέγοντες. ἐξ Ἀραβίης ὁρμεόμενον ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἡλίου κομίζειν τὸν πατέρα ἐν σμύρνῃ ἐμπλάσσοντα καὶ θάπτειν ἐν τοῦ Ἡλίου τῷ ἱερῷ· κομίζειν δὲ οὕτω. πρῶτον τῆς σμύρνης ᾠὸν πλάσσειν ὅσον τε δυνατός ἐστι φέρειν, μετὰ δὲ πειρᾶσθαι αὐτὸ φορέοντα, ἐπεὰν δὲ ἀποπειρηθῇ, οὕτω δὴ κοιλήναντα τὸ ᾠὸν τὸν πατέρα ἐς αὐτὸ ἐντιθέναι, σμύρνῃ δὲ ἄλλῃ ἐμπλάσσειν τοῦτο κατ' ὅ τι τοῦ ᾠοῦ ἐγκοιλήνας ἐνέθηκε τὸν πατέρα, ἐγκειμένου δὲ τοῦ πατρὸς γίνεσθαι τὠυτὸ βάρος, ἐμπλάσαντα δὲ κομίζειν μιν ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου ἐς τοῦ Ἡλίου τὸ ἱερόν. τάοτα μὲν τοῦτον τὸν
74 ὄρνιν λέγουσι ποιεῖν. εἰσὶ δὲ περὶ Θήβας ἱεροὶ ὄφιες, ἀνθρώπων οὐδαμῶς δηλήμονες.[9] οἱ μεγάθει ἐόντες σμικροὶ δύο κέρεα φορέουσι πεφυκότα ἐξ ἄκρης τῆς κεφαλῆς, τοὺς θάπτουσι ἀποθανόντας ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Διός· τούτου γάρ σφεας τοῦ θεοῦ φασι
75 εἶναι ἱερούς. ἔστι δὲ χῶρος τῆς Ἀραβίης κατὰ Βουτοῦν πόλιν μάλιστά κῃ κείμενος, καὶ ἐς τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον ἦλθον πυνθανόμενος περὶ τῶν πτερωτῶν ὀφίων.[1] ἀπικόμενος δὲ εἶδον ὀστέα ὀφίων καὶ ἀκάνθας πλήθει μὲν ἀδύνατα ἀπηγήσασθαι, σωροὶ δὲ ἦσαν ἀκανθέων καὶ μεγάλοι καὶ ὑποδεέστεροι καὶ ἐλάσσονες ἔτι τούτων, πολλοὶ δὲ ἦσαν οὗτοι. ἔστι δὲ ὁ χῶρος οὗτος, ἐν τῷ αἱ

and 500 years required for the soul after death to wander in search of purification; its connection with the Phœnix is due to the association of the latter with the sun. In the Book of the Dead it is said: "The Bennu is Osiris; in Heliopolis the verifier of things visible and invisible is his body . . . it is an age and an eternity."

[8] Had Herodotos actually seen it upon the monuments, he would have known that it was not an eagle but a heron.

[9] The *cerastes* or horned viper was not sacred, and is extremely venomous. The equally poisonous asp, however, was sacred to Khnum, and was the symbol of the goddess Ranno.

[1] It is difficult to believe that Herodotos actually visited the spot he describes. He seems to have attempted to give probability and local colouring to a traveller's tale he had heard by telling it in the first person. Neither Tep nor Pi-Utó in Upper Egypt (see ch. 59, note 9) were opposite Arabia, unless by the latter Herodotos means the Arabian side of the Nile. The winged serpents belong to mythical zoology, and were perhaps suggested by the monumental snakes with bird's wings and human legs. The gorge reminds us of the valley of the roc in the Arabian Nights. Herodotos can hardly have believed that there was only one entrance into Egypt from the east for winged creatures. See iii. 107.

ἄκανθαι κατακεχύαται, τοιόσδε τις, ἐσβολὴ ἐξ ὀρέων στεινῶν ἐς πεδίον μέγα· τὸ δὲ πεδίον τοῦτο συνάπτει τῷ Αἰγυπτίῳ πεδίῳ. λόγος δὲ ἐστὶ ἅμα τῷ ἔαρι πτερωτοὺς ὄφις ἐκ τῆς Ἀραβίης πέτεσθαι ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου, τὰς δὲ ἴβις τὰς ὄρνιθας ἀπαντώσας ἐς τὴν ἐσβολὴν ταύτης τῆς χώρης οὐ παριέναι τοὺς ὄφις ἀλλὰ κατακτείνειν. καὶ τὴν ἶβιν διὰ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον τετιμῆσθαι λέγουσι Ἀράβιοι μεγάλως πρὸς Αἰγυπτίων· ὁμολογέουσι δὲ καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι διὰ τάοτα τιμᾶν τὰς ὄρνιθας ταύτας. εἶδος δὲ τῆς 76
μὲν ἴβιος τόδε· μέλαινα δεινῶς πᾶσα, σκέλεα δὲ φορεῖ γεράνου, πρόσωπον δὲ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἐπίγρυπον, μέγαθος ὅσον κρέξ. τῶν μὲν δὴ μελαινέων τῶν μαχομενέων πρὸς τοὺς ὄφις ἥδε ἰδέη, τῶν δ' ἐν ποσὶ μᾶλλον εἰλεομενέων τοῖσι ἀνθρώποισι[2] (διξαὶ γὰρ δή εἰσι ἴβιες) ψιλὴ τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ τὴν δειρὴν πᾶσαν, λευκὴ πτεροῖσι πλὴν κεφαλῆς καὶ τοῦ αὐχένος καὶ ἀκρέων τῶν πτερύγων καὶ τοῦ πυγαίου ἄκρου (τάοτα δὲ τὰ εἶπον πάντα μέλαινά ἐστι δεινῶς), σκέλεα δὲ καὶ πρόσωπον ἐμφερὴς τῇ ἑτέρῃ. τοῦ δὲ ὄφιος ἡ μορφὴ οἵη περ τῶν ὕδρων, πτίλα δὲ οὐ πτερωτὰ φορεῖ ἀλλὰ τοῖσι τῆς νυκτερίδος πτεροῖσι μάλιστά κῃ ἐμφερέστατα. τοσαῦτα μὲν θηρίων πέρι ἱερῶν εἰρήσθω.

Αὐτῶν δὲ δὴ Αἰγυπτίων οἱ μὲν περὶ τὴν σπειρομένην[3] 77
Αἴγυπτον οἰκέουσι, μνήμην ἀνθρώπων πάντων ἐπασκέοντες μάλιστα λογιώτατοί εἰσι μακρῷ τῶν ἐγὼ ἐς διάπειραν ἀπικόμην, τρόπῳ δὲ ζόης τοιῷδε διαχρέωνται. συρμαΐζουσι τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἐπεξῆς μηνὸς ἑκάστου, ἐμέτοισι θηρώμενοι τὴν ὑγιείην καὶ κλύσμασι, νομίζοντες ἀπὸ τῶν τρεφόντων σιτίων πάσας τὰς νούσους τοῖσι ἀνθρώποισι γίνεσθαι.[4] εἰσὶ μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἄλλως Αἰγύπτιοι μετὰ Λίβυας ὑγιηρέστατοι πάντων ἀνθρώπων τῶν ὡρέων ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν εἵνεκεν, ὅτι οὐ μεταλλάσσουσι αἱ ὧραι· ἐν γὰρ τῇσι μεταβολῇσι τοῖσι ἀνθρώποισι αἱ νοῦσοι μάλιστα γίνονται τῶν τε ἄλλων πάντων καὶ δὴ καὶ τῶν ὡρέων μάλιστα. ἀρτοφαγέουσι δὲ ἐκ τῶν ὀλυρέων ποιέοντες ἄρτους, τοὺς ἐκεῖνοι κυλλήστις ὀνομάζουσι. οἴνῳ δὲ ἐκ κριθέων πεποιημένῳ διαχρέωνται· οὐ γάρ σφι εἰσὶ ἐν τῇ χώρῃ ἄμπελοι.[5] ἰχθύων δὲ τοὺς μὲν πρὸς

[2] "Of those who most go to and fro among men." Cp. the use of the Lat. *versari*.

[3] Upper Egypt, as opposed to the marshes of the Delta.

[4] The Papyrus Ebers, the great medical papyrus of the sixteenth century B.C., describes a large number of diseases, and gives a variety of prescriptions for their treatment, which read like doctors' prescriptions of the present day.

[5] This is a mistake. Vines were cultivated throughout Egypt, especially in the neighbourhood of the Mareotic Lake, Memphis, and Thebes. Wine (*erp*) was much drunk by the upper classes, the

ἥλιον αὐήναντες ὠμοὺς σιτέονται, τοὺς δὲ ἐξ ἅλμης τεταριχευμένους. ὀρνίθων δὲ τούς τε ὄρτυγας καὶ τὰς νήσσας καὶ τὰ σμικρὰ τῶν ὀρνιθίων ὠμὰ σιτέονται προταριχεύσαντες. τὰ δ' ἄλλα ὅσα ἢ ὀρνίθων ἢ ἰχθύων σφι ἐστὶ ἐχόμενα, χωρὶς ἢ ὁκόσοι σφι ἱεροὶ ἀποδεδέχαται, τοὺς λοιποὺς ὀπτοὺς καὶ ἑφθοὺς σιτέον-
78 ται. ἐν δὲ τῇσι συνουσίῃσι τοῖσι εὐδαίμοσι αὐτῶν, ἐπεὰν ἀπὸ δείπνου γένωνται, περιφέρει ἀνὴρ νεκρὸν ἐν σορῷ ξύλινον πεποιημένον, μεμιμημένον ἐς τὰ μάλιστα καὶ γραφῇ καὶ ἔργῳ,[6] μέγαθος ὅσον τε [πάντῃ] πηχυαῖον ἢ δίπηχυν, δεικνὺς δὲ ἑκάστῳ τῶν συμποτέων λέγει "ἐς τοῦτον ὁρέων πῖνέ τε καὶ τέρπεο· ἔσεαι γὰρ ἀποθανὼν τοιοῦτος." τάοτα μὲν παρὰ τὰ συμπόσια
79 ποιέουσι. πατρίοισι δὲ χρεώμενοι νόμοισι ἄλλον οὐδένα ἐπικτῶνται· τοῖσι ἄλλα τε ἐπάξιά ἐστι νόμιμα, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἄεισμα ἔν ἐστι, Λίνος,[7] ὅσπερ ἔν τε Φοινίκῃ ἀοίδιμός ἐστι καὶ ἐν Κύπρῳ

best kinds being those of Mareotis, Anthylla, Plinthinê, and Koptos, the Teniotic, Sebennytic, and Alexandrian. Wine is represented in the tombs of the fourth dynasty, and the monuments mention "white wine," the wine of Lower Egypt, southern wine, and "fisher's wine," besides wines imported from Syria. Beer was only drunk by the poorer classes because it was cheaper than wine. It was called *heka*, and was as old as the time of the fourth dynasty. Two kinds of beer were also imported from Kati (to the east of Egypt), alcoholic and mild, the latter being employed in medicine. Spirits were made from must, and mention is made of spiced wine. A cellar of Seti II. contained as many as 1600 jars of wine.

[6] "With both painting and carving." Many months often elapsed between the embalming of the corpse and its removal to the tomb, during which liturgical services were held over the mummy and funeral feasts were made. The introduction of the mummy into the banquet, no doubt, took place at the latter.

[7] "The air of Linos" (see *Il.* xviii. 570). As Herodotos did not understand Egyptian, it is only the air that he can be referring to. The plaintive melody of most primitive peoples is the same, and had Herodotos travelled in the Highlands of Scotland, he would have heard there the same air. According to Athenæus (*Deipn.* xiv. p. 620), Nymphis made Manerôs a youth who went to fetch water for the reapers and never returned, like the youths of European legend who are carried away by the water-spirits. The "first king of Egypt" would not be Menes, but Ptah. Manerôs is the Egyptian *ma-n-hra*, "come back to me," the words of a refrain in which Isis mourns for her lost brother and husband, Osiris. Linos is the same as Αἰλινος, the refrain of the Phœnician lament (*ai lênu*, "woe to us"), which was introduced into Greece, where it was supposed to mean, "Woe, Linos." Hence the mythical name Linos. The lament was sung throughout the Semitic world by the women, "weeping for Tammuz" (the old Accadian sun-god Dumu-zi, "son of life," or "only son"), called *adonai*, "lord" (Adônis) in Phœnician, Duzu (whence the Greek Thoas and Theias) in Assyrian, Tammuz in Hebrew (Ezek. viii. 14), Attys in Phrygia and Lydia, Bormos in Bithynia, and Hylas in Mysia. Byblos (Gebal) was the chief Phœnician seat of the three days' mourning for Adônis, slain by the boar's tusk of winter; and after the introduction of Egyptian influence into Phœnicia, and the consequent identifi-

καὶ ἄλλῃ, κατὰ μέντοι ἔθνεα οὔνομα ἔχει, συμφέρεται δὲ ὠυτὸς εἶναι τὸν οἱ Ἕλληνες Λίνον ὀνομάζοντες ἀείδουσι, ὥστε πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἄλλα ἀποθωυμάζειν με τῶν περὶ Αἴγυπτον ἐόντων, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ τὸν Λίνον ὁκόθεν ἔλαβον τὸ οὔνομα· φαίνονται δὲ αἰεί κοτε τοῦτον ἀείδοντες. ἔστι δὲ Αἰγυπτιστὶ ὁ Λίνος καλεόμενος Μανερῶς. ἔφασαν δέ μιν Αἰγύπτιοι τοῦ πρώτου βασιλεύσαντος Αἰγύπτου παῖδα μουνογενέα γενέσθαι, ἀποθανόντα δὲ αὐτὸν ἄνωρον θρήνοισι τούτοισι ὑπὸ Αἰγυπτίων τιμηθῆναι, καὶ ἀοιδήν τε ταύτην πρώτην καὶ μούνην σφίσι γενέσθαι. συμφέρονται δὲ 80
καὶ τόδε ἄλλο Αἰγύπτιοι Ἑλλήνων μούνοισι Λακεδαιμονίοισι· οἱ νεώτεροι αὐτῶν τοῖσι πρεσβυτέροισι συντυγχάνοντες εἴκουσι τῆς ὁδοῦ καὶ ἐκτράπονται καὶ ἐπιοῦσι ἐξ ἕδρης ὑπανιστέαται. τόδε μέντοι ἄλλοισι [Ἑλλήνων] οὐδαμοῖσι συμφέρονται· ἀντὶ τοῦ προσαγορεύειν ἀλλήλους ἐν τῇσι ὁδοῖσι προσκυνέουσι κατιέντες μέχρι τοῦ γούνατος τὴν χεῖρα. ἐνδεδύκασι δὲ κιθῶνας 81
λινέους περὶ τὰ σκέλεα θυσανωτούς, τοὺς καλέουσι καλασίρις· ἐπὶ τούτοισι δὲ εἰρίνεα εἵματα λευκὰ ἐπαναβληδὸν φορέουσι.[8] οὐ μέντοι ἔς γε τὰ ἱερὰ ἐσφέρεται εἰρίνεα οὐδὲ συγκαταθάπτεταί σφι· οὐ γὰρ ὅσιον.[9] ὁμολογέουσι δὲ τάοτα τοῖσι Ὀρφικοῖσι καλεομένοισι καὶ Βακχικοῖσι, ἐοῦσι δὲ Αἰγυπτίοισι καὶ Πυθαγορείοισι· οὐδὲ γὰρ τούτων τῶν ὀργίων μετέχοντα ὅσιόν ἐστι ἐν εἰρινέοισι εἵμασι θαφθῆναι. ἔστι δὲ περὶ αὐτῶν ἱερὸς λόγος λεγόμενος.

Καὶ τάδε ἄλλα Αἰγυπτίοισί ἐστι ἐξευρημένα, μείς τε καὶ ἡμέρη 82
ἑκάστη θεῶν ὅτεο ἐστί, καὶ τῇ ἕκαστος ἡμέρῃ γενόμενος ὁτέοισι ἐγκυρήσει καὶ ὅκως τελευτήσει καὶ ὁκοῖός τις ἔσται. καὶ τούτοισι τῶν Ἑλλήνων οἱ ἐν ποιήσει γενόμενοι ἐχρήσαντο.[1] τέρατά τε πλέω σφι ἀνεύρηται ἢ τοῖσι ἄλλοισι ἅπασι ἀνθρώποισι· γενομένου γὰρ τέρατος φυλάσσουσι γραφόμενοι τὠποβαῖνον, καὶ

cation of Osiris and Adônis, the mummy-case containing the limbs of the dead sun-god Osiris was believed to have been found there. An early Babylonian myth makes Istar (Aphroditê) descend into Hades in search of her husband Tammuz.

[8] We find from the sculptures that the usual dress was not a tunic properly so called, but a kilt extending from the waist to a little above the knee. The woollen upper garment is not represented on the monuments. One or two examples occur of a kilt with figures, and a scribe is represented in a skirt or tunic, which, however, was probably an upper garment worn over the kilt.

[9] See ch. 37. In a hot climate, where vermin are abundant, the reluctance to use woollen garments was salutary. The "Orphic and Bacchic rites" were importations from the East.

[1] "This the Greek poets have turned to account." Babylonia, rather than Egypt, was the country from which the West derived its astrology and its horoscopes.

ἦν κοτε ὕστερον παραπλήσιον τούτῳ γένηται, κατὰ τὠυτὸ νομί-
83 ζουσι ἀποβήσεσθαι.[2] μαντικὴ δὲ αὐτοῖσι ὧδε διακεῖται. ἀνθρώ-
πων μὲν οὐδενὶ προσκεῖται ἡ τέχνη, τῶν δὲ θεῶν μετεξετέροισι·
καὶ γὰρ Ἡρακλέος μαντήιον αὐτόθι ἐστὶ καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ
Ἀθηναίης καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ Ἄρεος καὶ Διός, καὶ τό γε μάλιστα
ἐν τιμῇ ἄγονται πάντων τῶν μαντηίων, Λητοῦς ἐν Βουτοῖ πόλει
ἐστί. οὐ μέντοι αἵ γε μαντηίαι σφι κατὰ τὠυτὸ ἑστᾶσι, ἀλλὰ
84 διάφοροί εἰσι.[3] ἡ δὲ ἰητρικὴ κατὰ τάδε σφι δέδασται· μιῆς
νούσου ἕκαστος ἰητρός ἐστι καὶ οὐ πλεόνων. πάντα δ' ἰητρῶν
ἐστι πλέα· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ὀφθαλμῶν ἰητροὶ κατεστᾶσι,[4] οἱ δὲ κεφα-
λῆς, οἱ δὲ ὀδόντων,[5] οἱ δὲ τῶν κατὰ νηδύν, οἱ δὲ τῶν ἀφανέων
νούσων.[6]

85 Θρῆνοι δὲ καὶ ταφαί σφεων εἰσὶ αἵδε. τοῖσι ἂν ἀπογένηται
ἐκ τῶν οἰκίων ἄνθρωπος τοῦ τις καὶ λόγος ᾖ, τὸ θῆλυ γένος πᾶν
τὸ ἐκ τῶν οἰκίων τούτων κατ' ὧν ἐπλάσατο τὴν κεφαλὴν πηλῷ
ἢ καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον, κἄπειτα ἐν τοῖσι οἰκίοισι λιποῦσαι τὸν
νεκρὸν αὐταὶ ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν στρωφώμεναι τύπτονται ἐπεζωσμέναι
καὶ φαίνουσαι τοὺς μαζούς, σὺν δέ σφι αἱ προσήκουσαι πᾶσαι,
ἑτέρωθεν δὲ οἱ ἄνδρες τύπτονται ἐπεζωσμένοι καὶ οὗτοι. ἐπεὰν
86 δὲ τάοτα ποιήσωσι, οὕτω ἐς τὴν ταρίχευσιν κομίζουσι. εἰσὶ δὲ
οἳ ἐπ' αὐτῷ τούτῳ κατέαται καὶ τέχνην ἔχουσι ταύτην. οὗτοι,
ἐπεάν σφι κομισθῇ νεκρός, δεικνύουσι τοῖσι κομίσασι παρα-
δείγματα νεκρῶν ξύλινα, τῇ γραφῇ μεμιμημένα[7] . . . , καὶ τὴν
μὲν σπουδαιοτάτην αὐτέων φασὶ εἶναι τοῦ οὐκ ὅσιον ποιέομαι τὸ
οὔνομα ἐπὶ τοιούτῳ πρήγματι ὀνομάζειν, τὴν δὲ δευτέρην δει-
κνύουσι ὑποδεεστέρην τε ταύτης καὶ εὐτελεστέρην, τὴν δὲ τρίτην
εὐτελεστάτην·[8] φράσαντες δὲ πυνθάνονται παρ' αὐτῶν κατὰ
ἥντινα βούλονταί σφι σκευασθῆναι τὸν νεκρόν. οἱ μὲν δὴ

[2] This was true of Babylonia rather than of Egypt.

[3] See ch. 77, note 4. The standard work on anatomy was ascribed to Athothis, the successor of Menes.

[4] According to the Papyrus Ebers, there were more than twenty different kinds of eye-disease. One of the prescriptions given is that of a "Semite" of Gebal, who seems to have been one of the most famous oculists of the time.

[5] Mummies found at Thebes have been supposed to show that the Egyptian dentists knew how to stop teeth with gold. This, however, is disputed by Sir Erasmus Wilson.

[6] "Obscure diseases."

[7] In the form of Osiris, whose nature the deceased had put on in order to be justified.

[8] The mummies show that there were more than three kinds of embalming. According to Diod. (i. 91), the most expensive sort cost a silver talent (nearly £250), the second 22 minæ or £90. For the religious scruples of Herodotos, see ch. 3, note 9.

ἐκποδὼν μισθῷ ὁμολογήσαντες ἀπαλλάσσονται, οἱ δὲ ὑπολειπόμενοι ἐν οἰκήμασι ὧδε τὰ σπουδαιότατα ταριχεύουσι. πρῶτα μὲν σκολιῷ σιδήρῳ διὰ τῶν μυξωτήρων ἐξάγουσι τὸν ἐγκέφαλον, τὰ μὲν αὐτοῦ οὕτω ἐξάγοντες, τὰ δὲ ἐγχέοντες φάρμακα· μετὰ δὲ λίθῳ Αἰθιοπικῷ ὀξέι[9] παρασχίσαντες παρὰ τὴν λαπάρην ἐξ ὧν εἶλον τὴν κοιλίην πᾶσαν, ἐκκαθήραντες δὲ αὐτὴν καὶ διηθήσαντες οἴνῳ φοινικηίῳ αὖτις διηθέουσι θυμιήμασι τετριμμένοισι· ἔπειτα τὴν νηδὺν σμύρνης ἀκηράτου τετριμμένης καὶ κασίης καὶ τῶν ἄλλων θυωμάτων, πλὴν λιβανωτοῦ, πλήσαντες συρράπτουσι ὀπίσω. τάοτα δὲ ποιήσαντες ταριχεύουσι λίτρῳ[1] κρύψαντες ἡμέρας ἑβδομήκοντα· πλέονας δὲ τουτέων οὐκ ἔξεστι ταριχεύειν. ἐπεὰν δὲ παρέλθωσι αἱ ἑβδομήκοντα, λούσαντες τὸν νεκρὸν κατειλίσσουσι πᾶν αὐτοῦ τὸ σῶμα σινδόνος βυσσίνης τελαμῶσι κατατετμημένοισι, ὑποχρίοντες τῷ κόμμι, τῷ δὴ ἀντὶ κόλλης τὰ πολλὰ χρέωνται Αἰγύπτιοι. ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ παραδεξάμενοί μιν οἱ προσήκοντες ποιέονται ξύλινον τύπον ἀνθρωποειδέα, ποιησάμενοι δὲ ἐσεργνῦσι τὸν νεκρόν, καὶ κατακληίσαντες οὕτω θησαυρίζουσι ἐν οἰκήματι θηκαίῳ,[2] ἱστάντες ὀρθὸν πρὸς τοῖχον. οὕτω μὲν 87
τοὺς τὰ πολυτελέστατα σκευάζουσι νεκρούς, τοὺς δὲ τὰ μέσα βουλομένους τὴν δὲ πολυτελείην φεύγοντας σκευάζουσι ὧδε. ἐπεὰν τοὺς κλυστῆρας πλήσωνται τοῦ ἀπὸ κέδρου ἀλείφατος γινομένου, ἐν ὧν ἔπλησαν τοῦ νεκροῦ τὴν κοιλίην, οὔτε ἀνατομόντες αὐτὸν οὔτε ἐξελόντες τὴν νηδύν, κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἕδρην ἐσηθήσαντες καὶ ἐπιλαβόντες τὸ κλύσμα τῆς ὀπίσω ὁδοῦ[3] ταριχεύουσι τὰς προκειμένας ἡμέρας, τῇ δὲ τελευταίῃ ἐξιεῖσι ἐξ τῆς κοιλίης τὴν κεδρίην τὴν ἐσῆκαν πρότερον. ἡ δὲ ἔχει τοσαύτην δύναμιν ὥστε ἅμα ἐωυτῇ τὴν νηδὺν καὶ τὰ σπλάγχνα κατατετηκότα ἐξάγει· τὰς δὲ σάρκας τὸ λίτρον κατατήκει, καὶ δὴ λείπεται τοῦ νεκροῦ τὸ δέρμα μοῦνον καὶ τὰ ὀστέα. ἐπεὰν δὲ τάοτα ποιήσωσι,

[9] Probably Ethiopian agate or obsidian, see vii. 69. The use of stone instead of metal implies that the practice of embalming in Egypt, like circumcision, went back to the stone age. Perhaps it originated in the natural preservation of bodies buried in the natrous soil of the Libyan lakes.

[1] Subcarbonate of soda (Egyptian, *hesmen*), from the natron lakes of the Libyan Desert and El Hegs in Upper Egypt. Κόμμι, or "gum," is the Egyptian *kami*. —*Sindôn* or "muslin," Hebrew *sâdin*, Assyrian *sindhu* (found in a list of clothes probably as old as B.C. 1800), was imported from India (*i.e.* the mouths of the Indus). It was not brought overland, as the initial *s* would have been changed into *h* in the mouths of Iranians. Brugsch compares the Egyptian *shenti*. *Byssos*, "fine linen," is the Egyptian *bus*.

[2] The well or pit in the inmost chamber of the tomb.

[3] "Having stopped the clyster from returning." Comp. iii. 55.

88 ἀπ' ὧν ἔδωκαν οὕτω τὸν νεκρόν, οὐδὲν ἔτι πρηγματευθέντες. ἡ δὲ τρίτη ταρίχευσις ἐστὶ ἥδε, ἢ τοὺς χρήμασι ἀσθενεστέρους σκευάζει· συρμαίῃ διηθήσαντες τὴν κοιλίην ταριχεύουσι τὰς ἑβδομήκοντα ἡμέρας καὶ ἔπειτα ἀπ' ὧν ἔδωκαν ἀποφέρεσθαι.
89 τὰς δὲ γυναῖκας τῶν ἐπιφανέων ἀνδρῶν, ἐπεὰν τελευτήσωσι, οὐ παραυτίκα διδοῦσι ταριχεύειν, οὐδὲ ὅσαι ἂν ἔωσι εὐειδεῖς κάρτα καὶ λόγου πλέονος γυναῖκες· ἀλλ' ἐπεὰν τριταῖαι ἢ τεταρταῖαι γένωνται, οὕτω παραδιδοῦσι τοῖσι ταριχεύουσι. τοῦτο δὲ ποιέουσι οὕτω τοῦδε εἵνεκεν, ἵνα μή σφι οἱ ταριχευταὶ μίσγωνται τῇσι γυναιξί· λαμφθῆναι γάρ τινα φασὶ μισγόμενον νεκρῷ προσφάτῳ
90 γυναικός, κατειπεῖν δὲ τὸν ὁμότεχνον. ὃς δ' ἂν ἢ αὐτῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἢ ξείνων ὁμοίως ὑπὸ κροκοδείλου ἁρπασθεὶς ἢ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ ποταμοῦ φαίνηται τεθνεώς, κατ' ἣν ἂν πόλιν ἐξενειχθῇ, τούτους πᾶσα ἀνάγκη ἐστὶ ταριχεύσαντας αὐτὸν καὶ περιστείλαντας ὡς κάλλιστα θάψαι ἐν ἱερῇσι θήκῃσι· οὐδὲ ψαῦσαι ἔξεστι αὐτοῦ ἄλλον οὐδένα οὔτε τῶν προσηκόντων οὔτε τῶν φίλων, ἀλλά μιν οἱ ἱερεῖς αὐτοὶ τοῦ Νείλου ἅτε πλέον τι ἢ ἀνθρώπου νεκρὸν[4] χειραπτάζοντες θάπτουσι.
91 Ἑλληνικοῖσι δὲ νομαίοισι φεύγουσι χρᾶσθαι, τὸ δέ σύμπαν εἰπεῖν μηδ' ἄλλων μηδαμὰ μηδαμῶν ἀνθρώπων νομαίοισι. οἱ μέν νυν ἄλλοι Αἰγύπτιοι οὕτω τοῦτο φυλάσσουσι, ἔστι δὲ Χέμμις πόλις μεγάλη νομοῦ τοῦ Θηβαϊκοῦ ἐγγὺς Νέης πόλιος·[5] ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ πόλει ἐστὶ Περσέος τοῦ Δανάης ἱερὸν τετράγωνον, πέριξ δὲ αὐτοῦ φοίνικες πεφύκασι. τὰ δὲ πρόπυλα τοῦ ἱεροῦ λίθινά ἐστι κάρτα μεγάλα· ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτοῖσι ἀνδριάντες δύο ἑστᾶσι λίθινοι μεγάλοι.[6] ἐν δὲ τῷ περιβεβλημένῳ τούτῳ νηός τε ἔνι καὶ ἄγαλμα ἐν αὐτῷ ἐνέστηκε τοῦ Περσέος. οὗτοι οἱ Χεμμῖται

[4] The expensive burial was rather a sort of tax to check needless loss of life in a district.

[5] Khemmis, called Khem and Apu by the Egyptians, the modern Ekhmîm, was the Panopolis of the Greeks; Khem, who was identified with Amun during the process of self-generation in the primordial waters, being identified with Pan. Neapolis, now Keneh, is more than ninety miles further south. This geographical ignorance of Herodotos is another proof of his not having been further south than the Fayûm. The friendly feeling of the people of Khemmis towards the Greeks, like the shrine of Perseus, must have been the invention of Herodotos's guides, who would be the natives of Khemmis of whom Herodotos made enquiries. Though he wishes his readers to believe that he was himself at Khemmis, he does not actually say so; and had he been there he could have communicated with the people only through his dragoman. Brugsch suggests that the shrine was that of Horus, who bore the title of *per-se*, "son of Isis."

[6] Statues never stood on the propylæa of an Egyptian temple, and would have been seen had they done so.

λέγουσι τὸν Περσέα πολλάκις μὲν ἀνὰ τὴν γῆν φαίνεσθαί σφι πολλάκις δὲ ἔσω τοῦ ἱεροῦ, σανδάλιόν τε αὐτοῦ πεφορημένον εὑρίσκεσθαι ἐὸν τὸ μέγαθος δίπηχυ,[7] τὸ ἐπεὰν φανῇ, εὐθηνεῖν ἅπασαν Αἴγυπτον. τάοτα μὲν λέγουσι, ποιέουσι δὲ τάδε Ἑλληνικὰ τῷ Περσέι· ἀγῶνα γυμνικὸν τιθεῖσι διὰ πάσης ἀγωνίης ἔχοντα, παρέχοντες ἄεθλα κτήνεα καὶ χλαίνας καὶ δέρματα. εἰρομένου δέ μεο ὅ τι σφι μούνοισι ἔωθε ὁ Περσεὺς ἐπιφαίνεσθαι καὶ ὅ τι κεχωρίδαται Αἰγυπτίων τῶν ἄλλων ἀγῶνα γυμνικὸν τιθέντες,[8] ἔφασαν τὸν Περσέα ἐκ τῆς ἑωυτῶν πόλιος γεγονέναι· τὸν γὰρ Δαναὸν καὶ τὸν Λυγκέα ἐόντας Χεμμίτας ἐκπλῶσαι ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἀπὸ δὲ τούτων γενεηλογέοντες κατέβαινον ἐς τὸν Περσέα. ἀπικόμενον δὲ αὐτὸν ἐς Αἴγυπτον κατ' αἰτίην τὴν καὶ Ἕλληνες λέγουσι, οἴσοντα ἐκ Λιβύης τὴν Γοργοῦς κεφαλήν, ἔφασαν ἐλθεῖν καὶ παρὰ σφέας καὶ ἀναγνῶναι τοὺς συγγενέας πάντας· ἐκμεμαθηκότα δέ μιν ἀπικέσθαι ἐς Αἴγυπτον τὸ τῆς Χέμμιος οὔνομα, πεπυσμένον παρὰ τῆς μητρός· ἀγῶνα δέ οἱ γυμνικὸν αὐτοῦ κελεύσαντος ἐπιτελεῖν.

Τάοτα μὲν πάντα οἱ κατύπερθε τῶν ἑλέων οἰκέοντες Αἰγύπτιοι 92
νομίζουσι· οἱ δὲ δὴ ἐν τοῖσι ἕλεσι κατοικημένοι τοῖσι μὲν αὐτοῖσι νόμοισι χρέωνται τοῖσι καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Αἰγύπτιοι, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα καὶ γυναικὶ μιῇ ἕκαστος αὐτῶν συνοικεῖ κατά περ Ἕλληνες, ἀτὰρ πρὸς εὐτελείην τῶν σιτίων τάδε σφι ἄλλα ἐξεύρηται. ἐπεὰν πλήρης γένηται ὁ ποταμὸς καὶ τὰ πεδία πελαγίσῃ, φύεται ἐν τῷ ὕδατι κρίνεα πολλά, τὰ Αἰγύπτιοι καλέουσι λωτόν.[9] τάοτ' ἐπεὰν δρέψωσι αὐαίνουσι πρὸς ἥλιον καὶ ἔπειτα τὸ ἐκ μέσου τοῦ λωτοῦ, τῇ μήκωνι ἐὸν ἐμφερές, πτίσαντες ποιέονται ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἄρτους ὀπτοὺς πυρί. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἡ ῥίζα τοῦ λωτοῦ τούτου ἐδωδίμη καὶ ἐγγλύσσει ἐπιεικέως, ἐὸν στρογγύλον, μέγαθος κατὰ μῆλον. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλα κρίνεα ῥόδοισι ἐμφερέα, ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ γινόμενα καὶ τάοτα, ἐξ ὧν ὁ καρπὸς ἐν ἄλλῃ κάλυκι παραφυομένῃ ἐκ τῆς ῥίζης γίνεται, κηρίῳ σφηκῶν ἰδέην ὁμοιότατον· ἐν τούτῳ τρωκτὰ ὅσον τε πυρὴν ἐλαίης ἐγγίνεται συχνά,[1] τρώγεται δὲ καὶ ἁπαλὰ τάοτα καὶ αὖα. τὴν δὲ βύβλον[2] τὴν ἐπέτειον γινομένην ἐπεὰν

[7] Over three feet in length was certainly a respectable size for a "little sandal."

[8] Gymnastic contests were common throughout Egypt, though they never became a religion as in Greece.

[9] The Nymphæa lotus, of which there are two kinds. It was the flower of Amenti or Hades, and the child Horus sits upon it. It differs from the lotos of the Iliad, which was trefoil, and the lotus of the Odyssey, which was the jujube.

[1] "In this are many seeds, good to eat, each of the size of an olive stone."

[2] The papyrus has disappeared from

ἀνασπάσωσι ἐκ τῶν ἑλέων, τὰ μὲν ἄνω αὐτῆς ἀποτάμνοντες ἐς ἄλλο τι τράπουσι, τὸ δὲ κάτω λελειμμένον ὅσον τε ἐπὶ πῆχυν τρώγουσι [καὶ πωλέουσι]. οἱ δὲ ἂν καὶ κάρτα βούλωνται χρηστῇ τῇ βύβλῳ χρᾶσθαι, ἐν κλιβάνῳ διαφανέι[3] πνίξαντες οὕτω τρώγουσι. οἱ δέ τινες αὐτῶν ζῶσι ἀπὸ τῶν ἰχθύων μοῦνον, τοὺς ἐπεὰν λάβωσι καὶ ἐξέλωσι τὴν κοιλίην, αὐαίνουσι πρὸς
93 ἥλιον καὶ ἔπειτα αὗους ἐόντας σιτέονται. οἱ δὲ ἰχθύες οἱ ἀγελαῖοι ἐν μὲν τοῖσι ποταμοῖσι οὐ μάλα γίνονται, τρεφόμενοι δὲ ἐν τῇσι λίμνῃσι τοιάδε ποιέουσι. ἐπεάν σφεας ἐσίῃ οἶστρος κυΐσκεσθαι, ἀγεληδὸν ἐκπλώουσι ἐς θάλασσαν· ἡγέονται δὲ οἱ ἔρσενες ἀπορραίνοντες τοῦ θοροῦ, αἱ δὲ ἐπόμεναι ἀνακάπτουσι καὶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ κυΐσκονται.[4] ἐπεὰν δὲ πλήρεις γένωνται ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ, ἀναπλώουσι ὀπίσω ἐς ἤθεα τὰ ἑωυτῶν ἕκαστοι. ἡγέονται μέντοι γε οὐκέτι οἱ αὐτοί, ἀλλὰ τῶν θηλέων γίνεται ἡ ἡγεμονίη· ἡγεόμεναι δὲ ἀγεληδὸν ποιέουσι οἷόν περ ἐποίεον οἱ ἔρσενες· τῶν γὰρ ᾠῶν ἀπορραίνουσι κατ' ὀλίγους τῶν κέγχρων, οἱ δὲ ἔρσενες καταπίνουσι ἑπόμενοι. εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ κέγχροι οὗτοι ἰχθύες. ἐκ δὲ τῶν περιγινομένων καὶ μὴ καταπινομένων κέγχρων οἱ τρεφόμενοι ἰχθύες γίνονται. οἱ δ' ἂν αὐτῶν ἁλῶσι ἐκπλώοντες ἐς θάλασσαν, φαίνονται τετριμμένοι τὰ ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ τῶν κεφαλέων, οἱ δ' ἂν ὀπίσω ἀναπλώοντες, τὰ ἐπὶ δεξιὰ τετρίφαται.[5] πάσχουσι δὲ τάοτα διὰ τόδε· ἐχόμενοι τῆς γέας ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ καταπλώουσι ἐς θάλασσαν, καὶ ἀναπλώοντες ὀπίσω τῆς αὐτῆς ἀντέχονται, ἐγχριμπτόμενοι καὶ ψαύοντες ὡς μάλιστα, ἵνα δὴ μὴ ἁμάρτοιεν τῆς ὁδοῦ διὰ τὸν ῥόον. ἐπεὰν δὲ πληθύεσθαι ἄρχηται ὁ Νεῖλος, τά τε κοῖλα τῆς γέας καὶ τὰ τέλματα τὰ παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν πρῶτα ἄρχεται πίμπλασθαι διηθέοντος τοῦ ὕδατος ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ· καὶ αὐτίκα τε πλέα γίνεται τάοτα καὶ παραχρῆμα ἰχθύων σμικρῶν πίμπλαται πάντα.[6] κόθεν δὲ οἰκὸς αὐτοὺς γίνεσθαι, ἐγώ μοι δοκέω κατανοεῖν τοῦτο. τοῦ προτέρου ἔτεος ἐπεὰν ἀπολίπῃ ὁ Νεῖλος, οἱ ἰχθύες ἐντεκόντες ᾠὰ ἐς τὴν ἰλὺν ἅμα τῷ ἐσχάτῳ ὕδατι ἀπαλλάσσονται· ἐπεὰν δὲ περιελθόντος τοῦ χρόνου πάλιν ἐπέλθῃ τὸ ὕδωρ, ἐκ τῶν ᾠῶν τούτων παραυτίκα γίνονται οἱ ἰχθύες οὗτοι.

Egypt. North of the Second Cataract it is found only in Palestine and at Syracuse.

[3] "Red-hot."

[4] Aristotle has exposed the absurdity of this statement (*De gen. anim.* iii. 5). The male fish deposit the milt after the female fish have deposited the spawn.

[5] This is a myth.

[6] The fish were brought by the canals which were fed by the Nile, not by the percolation of the water through the soil.

Καὶ περὶ μὲν τοὺς ἰχθύας οὕτω ἔχει. ἀλείφατι δὲ χρέωνται 94
Αἰγυπτίων οἱ περὶ τὰ ἕλεα οἰκέοντες ἀπὸ τῶν σιλλικυπρίων τοῦ
καρποῦ, τὸ καλέουσι μὲν Αἰγύπτιοι κίκι,[7] ποιέουσι δὲ ὧδε. παρὰ
τὰ χείλεα τῶν τε ποταμῶν καὶ τῶν λιμνέων σπείρουσι τὰ σιλ-
λικύπρια τάοτα, τὰ ἐν Ἕλλησι αὐτόματα ἄγρια φύεται. τάοτα
ἐν τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ σπειρόμενα καρπὸν φέρει πολλὸν μὲν δυσώδεα
δέ· τοῦτον ἐπεὰν συλλέξωνται, οἱ μὲν κόψαντες ἀπιποῦσι, οἱ δὲ
καὶ φρύξαντες ἀπέψουσι, καὶ τὸ ἀπορρέον ἀπ' αὐτοῦ συγκομί-
ζονται. ἔστι δὲ πῖον καὶ οὐδὲν ἧσσον τοῦ ἐλαίου τῷ λύχνῳ
προσηνές, ὀδμὴν δὲ βαρέαν παρέχεται. πρὸς δὲ τοὺς κώνωπας 95
ἀφθόνους ἐόντας τάδε σφι ἐστὶ μεμηχανημένα. τοὺς μὲν τὰ ἄνω
τῶν ἑλέων οἰκέοντας οἱ πύργοι ὠφελέουσι, ἐς τοὺς ἀναβαίνοντες
κοιμέονται· οἱ γὰρ κώνωπες ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνέμων οὐκ οἷοί τε εἰσὶ
ὑψοῦ πέτεσθαι. τοῖσι δὲ περὶ τὰ ἕλεα οἰκέουσι τάδε ἀντὶ τῶν
πύργων ἄλλα μεμηχάνηται. πᾶς ἀνὴρ αὐτῶν ἀμφίβληστρον
ἔκτηται, τῷ τῆς μὲν ἡμέρης ἰχθῦς ἀγρεύει,[8] τὴν δὲ νύκτα τάδε
αὐτῷ χρᾶται· ἐν τῇ ἀναπαύεται κοίτῃ, περὶ ταύτην ἵστησι τὸ
ἀμφίβληστρον καὶ ἔπειτα ἐνδὺς ὑπ' αὐτὸ κατεύδει. οἱ δὲ κώνω-
πες, ἢν μὲν ἐν ἱματίῳ ἐνειλιξάμενος εὕδῃ ἢ σινδόνι, διὰ τούτων
δάκνουσι, διὰ δὲ τοῦ δικτύου οὐδὲ πειρῶνται ἀρχήν.

Τὰ δὲ δὴ πλοιά σφι, τοῖσι φορτηγέουσι, ἐστὶ ἐκ τῆς ἀκάνθης[9] 96
ποιεόμενα, τῆς ἡ μορφὴ μέν ἐστι ὁμοιοτάτη τῷ Κυρηναίῳ λωτῷ
τὸ δὲ δάκρυον κόμμι ἐστί. ἐκ ταύτης ὧν τῆς ἀκάνθης κοψάμενοι
ξύλα ὅσον τε διπήχεα πλινθηδὸν συντιθεῖσι ναυπηγεόμενοι
τρόπον τοιόνδε. περὶ γόμφους πυκνοὺς καὶ μακροὺς περιείρουσι
τὰ διπήχεα ξύλα· ἐπεὰν δὲ τῷ τρόπῳ τούτῳ ναυπηγήσωνται,
ζυγὰ ἐπιπολῆς τείνουσι αὐτῶν. νομεῦσι δὲ οὐδὲν χρέωνται·
ἔσωθεν δὲ τὰς ἁρμονίας ἐν ὧν ἐπάκτωσαν τῇ βύβλῳ. πηδάλιον
δὲ ἓν ποιέονται, καὶ τοῦτο διὰ τῆς τρόπιος διαβύνεται. ἱστῷ δὲ
ἀκανθίνῳ χρέωνται, ἱστίοισι δὲ βυβλίνοισι. τάοτα τὰ πλοῖα
ἀνὰ μὲν τὸν ποταμὸν οὐ δύναται πλεῖν, ἢν μὴ λαμπρὸς ἄνεμος
ἐπέχῃ, ἐκ γέας δὲ παρέλκεται. κατὰ ῥόον δὲ κομίζεται ὧδε.
ἔστι ἐκ μυρίκης πεποιημένη θύρη, κατερραμμένη ῥίπει καλάμων,[1]

[7] The castor-oil plant (Palma Christi), of which Nubian damsels and the baskets they sell to travellers are still redolent. In the Egyptian texts the *kiki* is called *tekem* (Révillout in Lepsius's *Zeitschrift*, 1879, p. 92).

[8] The fishing-net must have had marvellously small meshes if it kept out mosquitoes.

[9] The modern *sont* or acacia, of which the Nile boats are still made.

[1] "A raft made of tamarisk, and stitched together with a wattling of reeds."

καὶ λίθος τετρημένος διτάλαντος μάλιστά κῃ σταθμόν. τούτων τὴν μὲν θύρην δεδεμένην κάλῳ ἔμπροσθε τοῦ πλοίου ἀπίει ἐπιφέρεσθαι, τὸν δὲ λίθον ἄλλῳ κάλῳ ὄπισθε. ἡ μὲν δὴ θύρη τοῦ ῥόου ἐμπίπτοντος χωρεῖ ταχέως καὶ ἕλκει τὴν βᾶριν (τοῦτο γὰρ δὴ οὔνομά ἐστι τοῖσι πλοίοισι τούτοισι), ὁ δὲ λίθος ὄπισθε ἑπελκόμενος καὶ ἐὼν ἐν βυσσῷ κατιθύνει τὸν πλόον. ἔστι δέ σφι τὰ πλοῖα τάοτα πλήθει πολλά, καὶ ἄγει ἔνια πολλὰς χιλιάδας ταλάντων.

97 Ἐπεὰν δὲ ἐπέλθῃ ὁ Νεῖλος τὴν χώρην, αἱ πόλιες μοῦναι φαίνονται ὑπερέχουσαι, μάλιστά κῃ ἐμφερεῖς τῇσι ἐν τῷ Αἰγαίῳ πόντῳ νήσοισι· τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλα τῆς Αἰγύπτου πέλαγος γίνεται, αἱ δὲ πόλιες μοῦναι ὑπερέχουσι. πορθμεύονται ὦν, ἐπεὰν τοῦτο γένηται, οὐκέτι κατὰ τὰ ῥεῖθρα τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀλλὰ διὰ μέσου τοῦ πεδίου. ἐς μέν γε Μέμφιν ἐκ Ναυκράτιος ἀναπλώοντι παρ' αὐτὰς τὰς πυραμίδας γίνεται ὁ πλόος· ἔστι δὲ οὐδ' οὗτος, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τὸ ὀξὺ τοῦ Δέλτα[2] καὶ παρὰ Κερκάσωρον πόλιν· ἐς δὲ Ναύκρατιν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης καὶ Κανώβου διὰ πεδίου πλέων ἥξεις κατ' Ἀνθυλλάν τε πόλιν καὶ τὴν Ἀρχάνδρου καλεομένην.[3]

98 τουτέων δὲ ἡ μὲν Ἀνθυλλα ἐοῦσα λογίμη πόλις ἐς ὑποδήματα[4] ἐξαίρετος δίδοται τοῦ αἰεὶ βασιλεύοντος Αἰγύπτου τῇ γυναικί (τοῦτο δὲ γίνεται ἐξ ὅσου ὑπὸ Πέρσῃσί ἐστι Αἴγυπτος), ἡ δὲ ἑτέρη πόλις δοκεῖ μοι τὸ οὔνομα ἔχειν ἀπὸ τοῦ Δαναοῦ γαμβροῦ Ἀρχάνδρου τοῦ Φθίου τοῦ Ἀχαιοῦ·[5] καλεῖται γὰρ δὴ Ἀρχάνδρου πόλις. εἴη δ' ἂν καὶ ἄλλος τις Ἄρχανδρος, οὐ μέντοι γε Αἰγύπτιον τὸ οὔνομα.

99 Μέχρι μὲν τούτου ὄψις τε ἐμὴ καὶ γνώμη καὶ ἱστορίη[6] τάοτα λέγουσά ἐστι, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦδε Αἰγυπτίους ἔρχομαι λόγους ἐρέων κατὰ τὰ ἤκουον· προσέσται δέ τι καὶ αὐτοῖσι καὶ τῆς ἐμῆς ὄψιος.

Τὸν Μῖνα[7] πρῶτον βασιλεύσαντα Αἰγύπτου οἱ ἱερεῖς ἔλεγον

[2] Two MSS. read οὐκ instead of οὐδέ. The passage seems to mean, "whereas the (usual) way is not this, but by the apex of the Delta;" ὁ ἐωθώς appears to have fallen out of the text.

[3] These two towns must have stood westward of the Kanopic branch of the Nile.

[4] "To keep her in shoes." Revenues of towns were given to the Persian queens as pin-money (Xenoph. *Anab.* i. 4, 9). So three cities were given to Themistokles by Artaxerxes to provide him with bread, wine, and meat (Corn. Nep. *Vit. Them.* 10).

[5] "Son of Phthios, son of Akhæos." Pausanias makes him son of Akhæos.

[6] "Enquiries." As we have seen, the "judgment" of Herodotos is not always to be commended.

[7] See ch. 4, note 3. Menes ("the enduring" or "eternal") was originally king of This (see Appendix I.) The great dyke of Kokheikhe, by means of which he obtained the embankment on which to build the capital of his new

τοῦτο μὲν ἀπογεφυρῶσαι τὴν Μέμφιν. τὸν γὰρ ποταμὸν πάντα ῥεῖν παρὰ τὸ ὄρος τὸ ψάμμινον πρὸς Λιβύης, τὸν δὲ Μῖνα ἄνωθεν, ὅσον τε ἑκατὸν σταδίους ἀπὸ Μέμφιος, τὸν πρὸς μεσαμβρίης ἀγκῶνα προσχώσαντα τὸ μὲν ἀρχαῖον ῥεῖθρον ἀποξηρῆναι, τὸν δὲ ποταμὸν ὀχετεῦσαι τὸ μέσον τῶν ὀρέων ῥεῖν. ἔτι δὲ καὶ νῦν ὑπὸ Περσέων ὁ ἀγκὼν οὗτος τοῦ Νείλου ὡς ἀπεργμένος ῥέῃ[8] ἐν φυλακῇσι μεγάλῃσι ἔχεται, φρασσόμενος ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος· εἰ γὰρ ἐθελήσει ῥήξας ὑπερβῆναι ὁ ποταμὸς ταύτῃ, κίνδυνος πάσῃ Μέμφι κατακλυσθῆναί ἐστι. ὡς δὲ τῷ Μῖνι τούτῳ τῷ πρώτῳ γενομένῳ βασιλέι χέρσον γεγονέναι τὸ ἀπεργμένον, τοῦτο μὲν ἐν αὐτῷ πόλιν κτίσαι ταύτην ἥτις νῦν Μέμφις καλεῖται· ἔστι γὰρ καὶ ἡ Μέμφις ἐν τῷ στεινῷ τῆς Αἰγύπτου· ἔξωθεν δὲ αὐτῆς περιορύξαι λίμνην ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ πρὸς βορέην τε καὶ πρὸς ἑσπέρην (τὸ γὰρ πρὸς τὴν ἠὼ αὐτὸς ὁ Νεῖλος ἀπέργει), τοῦτο δὲ[9] τοῦ Ἡφαίστου τὸ ἱερὸν ἱδρύσασθαι ἐν αὐτῇ, ἐὸν μέγα τε καὶ ἀξιαπηγητότατον. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον κατέλεγον οἱ ἱερεῖς 100
ἐκ βύβλου ἄλλων βασιλέων τριηκοσίων καὶ τριήκοντα οὐνόματα.[1] ἐν τοσαύτῃσι γενεῇσι ἀνθρώπων ὀκτωκαίδεκα μὲν Αἰθίοπες ἦσαν,[2] μία δὲ γυνὴ ἐπιχωρίη,[3] οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι ἄνδρες Αἰγύπτιοι. τῇ δὲ γυναικὶ οὔνομα ἦν, ἥτις ἐβασίλευσε, τὸ περ τῇ Βαβυλωνίῃ, Νίτωκρις·[4] τὴν ἔλεγον τιμωρέουσαν ἀδελ-

empire, still exists near Mitrahenny; and two miles south of Memphis, Linant Bey has recognised the point where the Nile was turned in an easterly direction. We may provisionally place the date of Menes with Mariette, at 5004 B.C.

[8] "In order that it may run cut off from its old channel . . . secured every year." The MSS. read *ῥέει*.

[9] "And next," answering to *τοῦτο μὲν* above. The site of the temple of Ptah (Hephæstos), with its sacred lake, can still be traced, the fallen colossos of Ramses II. having stood in front of it.

[1] Varying lists of kings were kept in the principal cities of Egypt, owing partly to the fact that at various periods Egypt was divided into several kingdoms, one dynasty being considered legitimate in one city, another in another; partly to the omission of monarchs in the several lists. The kings given by Eratosthenes were taken from the Theban list. The 330 kings ended with Mœris (ch. 101) or Amen-em-hat III. of the twelfth dynasty. The number is a round one, like the 350 kings who Sargon states preceded him on the throne of Assyria, and is plainly fictitious. According to Africanus, Manetho reckoned 204 kings only from Menes to the fourth (*i.e.* sixth) monarch of the twelfth dynasty. On the other hand there were no Ethiopian kings of Egypt until after the rise of the New Empire, so that Herodotos cannot have understood his informants properly; and it is possible that the 330 kings were intended by them to be reckoned down to the beginning of the twenty-sixth dynasty (Psammetikhos I.)

[2] See last note.

[3] Egypt was ruled by more than one queen. Two of the most famous were Hatasu, the elder sister of Thothmes III., and Taia, the mother of Amenophis, the heretic (see Appendix I.)

[4] Neitakrit was the last of the sixth dynasty according to Manetho. The

φεῷ,[5] τὸν Αἰγύπτιοι βασιλεύοντά σφεων ἀπέκτειναν, ἀποκτείναντες δὲ οὕτω ἐκείνῃ ἀπέδοσαν τὴν βασιληίην, τούτῳ τιμωρέουσαν πολλοὺς Αἰγυπτίων διαφθεῖραι δόλῳ. ποιησαμένην γάρ μιν οἴκημα περίμηκες ὑπόγεον καινοῦν τῷ λόγῳ, νόῳ δὲ ἄλλα μηχανᾶσθαι· καλέσασαν δέ μιν Αἰγυπτίων τοὺς μάλιστα μεταιτίους τοῦ φόνου ᾗδει, πολλοὺς ἱστιᾶν, δαινυμένοισι δὲ ἐπεῖναι τὸν ποταμὸν δι' αὐλῶνος κρυπτοῦ μεγάλου. ταύτης μὲν πέρι τοσαῦτα ἔλεγον, πλὴν ὅτι αὐτήν μιν, ὡς τοῦτο ἐξέργαστο, ῥίψαι ἐς οἴκημα σποδοῦ
101 πλέον, ὅκως ἀτιμώρητος γένηται. τῶν δὲ ἄλλων βασιλέων οὐ γὰρ ἔλεγον οὐδεμίαν ἔργων ἀπόδεξιν καὶ οὐδὲν εἶναι λαμπρότητος,[6] πλὴν ἑνὸς τοῦ ἐσχάτου αὐτῶν Μοίριος·[7] τοῦτον δὲ ἀποδέξασθαι μνημόσυνα τοῦ Ἡφαίστου τὰ πρὸς βορέην ἄνεμον τετραμμένα προπύλαια,[8] λίμνην τε ὀρύξαι, τῆς ἡ περίοδος ὅσων ἐστὶ σταδίων ὕστερον δηλώσω, πυραμίδας τε ἐν αὐτῇ οἰκοδομῆσαι, τῶν τοῦ μεγάθεος πέρι ὁμοῦ αὐτῇ τῇ λίμνῃ ἐπιμνήσομαι. τοῦτον μὲν τοσαῦτα ἀποδέξασθαι, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων οὐδένα οὐδέν.

102 Παραμειψάμενος ὦν τούτους τοῦ ἐπὶ τούτοισι γενομένου βασιλέος, τῷ οὔνομα ἦν Σέσωστρις,[9] τούτου μνήμην ποιήσομαι· τὸν ἔλεγον οἱ ἱερεῖς πρῶτον μὲν πλοίοισι μακροῖσι ὁρμηθέντα ἐκ τοῦ Ἀραβίου κόλπου τοὺς παρὰ τὴν Ἐρυθρὴν θάλασσαν κατοικημένους καταστρέφεσθαι, ἐς δὲ πλέοντά μιν πρόσω ἀπικέσθαι ἐς θάλασσαν οὐκέτι πλωτὴν ὑπὸ βραχέων,[1] ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ὡς ὀπίσω ἀπίκετο ἐς Αἴγυπτον, κατὰ τῶν ἱερέων τὴν φάτιν, στρατιὴν

Turin Papyrus, however, has after her Nofer-ka, Nefrus, and Ra-ab.

[5] Merenra Zaf-em-saf, called Menthesouphis by Manetho, according to whom he reigned only one year.

[6] If we may argue from the silence of the monuments, this would be perfectly true of the successors of Neitakrit down to Amen-em-hat I., the founder of the twelfth dynasty. But the earlier kings of this latter dynasty were great warriors and builders, which looks as if Mœris were intended to be Amen-em-hat I., who, however, did not construct the lake and its pyramids. Perhaps, however, the Memphite priests took no heed of the glories that were won for Thebes, and the buildings that adorned a rival city. Or, more probably, Herodotos and his interpreter only half understood what was read to them.

[7] See ch. 13, note 5.

[8] This is in favour of the idea that the Memphite priests would not allow that any kings could be illustrious who had neglected their own city and temple. Lake Mœris, too, was in the neighbourhood of Memphis rather than of Thebes.

[9] Ramses II. of the nineteenth dynasty, popularly called Sestûra, whence the Greek Sesostris. As there was an interval of between one and two thousand years between Amen-em-hat III. and Ramses II., ἐπὶ τούτοισι, "after these," must be taken in a wide sense.

[1] The war of Seti I., the father of Ramses II., against the Punt on the coast of Somâla seems to be referred to. For the real character and military feats of Ramses II., see App. I.

πολλὴν τῶν . . λαβὼν ἤλαυνε διὰ τῆς ἠπείρου, πᾶν ἔθνος τὸ ἐμποδὼν καταστρεφόμενος. ὁτέοισι μέν νυν αὐτῶν ἀλκίμοισι ἐνετύγχανε καὶ δεινῶς γλιχομένοισι περὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίης, τούτοισι μὲν στήλας[2] ἐνίστη ἐς τὰς χώρας διὰ γραμμάτων λεγούσας τό τε ἑωυτοῦ οὔνομα καὶ τῆς πάτρης, καὶ ὡς δυνάμει τῇ ἑωυτοῦ κατεστρέψατό σφεας· ὅτεων δὲ ἀμαχητὶ καὶ εὐπετέως παρέλαβε τὰς πόλιας, τούτοισι δὲ ἐνέγραφε ἐν τῇσι στήλῃσι κατὰ ταὐτὰ καὶ τοῖσι ἀνδρηίοισι τῶν ἐθνέων γενομένοισι,[3] καὶ δὴ καὶ αἰδοῖα γυναικὸς προσενέγραφε, δῆλα βουλόμενος ποιεῖν ὡς εἴησαν ἀνάλκιδες. τάοτα δὲ ποιέων διεξήιε τὴν ἤπειρον, ἐς ὃ ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίης 103
ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην διαβὰς τούς τε Σκύθας κατεστρέψατο καὶ τοὺς Θρήικας.[4] ἐς τούτους δέ μοι δοκεῖ καὶ προσώτατα ἀπικέσθαι ὁ Αἰγύπτιος στρατός· ἐν μὲν γὰρ τῇ τούτων χώρῃ φαίνονται σταθεῖσαι αἱ στῆλαι,[5] τὸ δὲ προσωτέρω τούτων οὐκέτι. ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ἐπιστρέψας ὀπίσω ἦιε, καὶ ἐπείτε ἐγίνετο ἐπὶ Φάσι ποταμῷ,[6] οὐκ ἔχω τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν ἀτρεκέως εἰπεῖν εἴτε αὐτὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς Σέσωστρις ἀποδασάμενος τῆς ἑωυτοῦ στρατιῆς μόριον ὅσον δὴ αὐτοῦ κατέλιπε τῆς χώρης οἰκήτορας, εἴτε τῶν τινες στρατιωτέων τῇ πλάνῃ αὐτοῦ ἀχθεσθέντες περὶ Φᾶσιν ποταμὸν κατέμειναν. φαίνονται μὲν γὰρ ἐόντες οἱ Κόλχοι Αἰγύπτιοι, νοήσας δὲ 104
πρότερον αὐτὸς ἢ ἀκούσας ἄλλων λέγω.[7] ὡς δέ μοι ἐν φροντίδι ἐγένετο, εἰρόμην ἀμφοτέρους, καὶ μᾶλλον οἱ Κόλχοι ἐμεμνέατο τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἢ οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι τῶν Κόλχων· νομίζειν δ' ἔφασαν οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι τῆς Σεσώστριος στρατιῆς εἶναι τοὺς Κόλχους. αὐτὸς δὲ εἴκασα τῇδε καὶ ὅτι μελάγχροές εἰσι καὶ οὐλότριχες.[8]

[2] Tablets rather than pillars, like the three cut in the rock by the side of the ancient road at the mouth of the Nahr el-Kelb or Dog River (the ancient Lykos), eight miles north of Beyrût. One of these was dedicated by Ramses to Ptah, the second to Ra, and the third to Amun.

[3] "The same inscription as in the case of those who had shown themselves brave." The description of the tablets is wholly imaginary.

[4] No Egyptian sovereign ever penetrated into Europe, or ever heard the name of Skythians and Thrakians.

[5] This gratuitous falsehood does not raise our opinion of the credibility of Herodotos in regard to objects which he might have seen.

[6] The Phasis was unknown to both Egyptians and Assyrians.

[7] We may gather from this that the story of the Egyptian colony in Kolkhis had been suggested to the guides of Herodotos by his "leading" questions.

[8] The Egyptians are not black skinned, nor have they woolly hair. This warns us against accepting Herodotos as an anthropological authority. As the Egyptians shaved, he had not much opportunity of observing their hair, but seems to have made his observations upon their negro slaves. It is equally difficult to believe that the Kolkhians were black and woolly haired. Certainly none of the numerous races now inhabiting the Kaukasos are so. But the black skin of

καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἐς οὐδὲν ἀνήκει· εἰσὶ γὰρ καὶ ἕτεροι τοιοῦτοι· ἀλλὰ τοῖσιδε καὶ μᾶλλον, ὅτι μοῦνοι πάντων ἀνθρώπων Κόλχοι καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ Αἰθίοπες περιτάμνονται ἀπ' ἀρχῆς τὰ αἰδοῖα.[9] Φοίνικες δὲ καὶ Σύροι οἱ ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ καὶ αὐτοὶ ὁμολογέουσι παρ' Αἰγυπτίων μεμαθηκέναι, Σύριοι δὲ οἱ περὶ Θερμώδοντα καὶ Παρθένιον ποταμὸν καὶ Μάκρωνες οἱ τούτοισι ἀστυγείτονες ἐόντες[1] ἀπὸ Κόλχων φασὶ νεωστὶ μεμαθηκέναι. οὗτοι γάρ εἰσι οἱ περιταμνόμενοι ἀνθρώπων μοῦνοι, καὶ οὗτοι Αἰγυπτίοισι φαίνονται ποιέοντες κατὰ ταὐτά. αὐτῶν δὲ Αἰγυπτίων καὶ Αἰθιόπων οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν ὁκότεροι παρὰ τῶν ἑτέρων ἐξέμαθον· ἀρχαῖον γὰρ δή τι φαίνεται ἐόν. ὡς δὲ ἐπιμισγόμενοι Αἰγύπτῳ ἐξέμαθον, μέγα μοι καὶ τόδε τεκμήριον γίνεται· Φοινίκων ὁκόσοι τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἐπιμίσγονται, οὐκέτι Αἰγυπτίους μιμέονται κατὰ τὰ
105 αἰδοῖα, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἐπιγινομένων οὐ περιτάμνουσι τὰ αἰδοῖα. φέρε νῦν καὶ ἄλλο εἴπω περὶ τῶν Κόλχων, ὡς Αἰγυπτίοισι προσφερεῖς εἰσί. λίνον μοῦνοι οὗτοί τε καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι ἐργάζονται κατὰ ταὐτά, καὶ ἡ ζόη πᾶσα καὶ ἡ γλῶσσα[2] ἐμφερής ἐστι ἀλλήλοισι. λίνον δὲ τὸ μὲν Κολχικὸν ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων Σαρδωνικὸν κέκληται,[3]
106 τὸ μέντοι ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου ἀπικνεόμενον καλεῖται Αἰγύπτιον. αἱ δὲ στῆλαι τὰς ἴστα κατὰ τὰς χώρας ὁ Αἰγύπτου βασιλεὺς Σέσωστρις, αἱ μὲν πλέονες οὐκέτι φαίνονται περιεοῦσαι, ἐν δὲ τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ Συρίῃ[4] αὐτὸς ὤρων ἐούσας καὶ τὰ γράμματα τὰ εἰρημένα ἐνεόντα καὶ γυναικὸς αἰδοῖα. εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ περὶ Ἰωνίην δύο τύποι ἐν πέτρῃσι ἐγκεκολαμμένοι τούτου τοῦ ἀνδρός, τῇ τε ἐκ τῆς Ἐφεσίης ἐς Φώκαιαν ἔρχονται καὶ τῇ ἐκ Σαρδίων ἐς Σμύρνην.[5] ἑκατέρωθι δὲ ἀνὴρ ἐγγέγλυπται μέγαθος πέμπτης

the Kolkhians seems to have been an old Greek myth ; cf. Pind. *Pyth.* iv. 212.

[9] See ch. 36, note 9.

[1] The Thermôdon seems to be the Termeh Chai, eastward of Samsûn and the Halys, while the Parthenios is the Chati Chai or river of Bartan, considerably to the west of the Halys. The Makrônians lived inland from Trebizond (Xen. *Anab.* iv. 8), and were afterwards called Sanni or Zani (Strab. xii. p. 795). Their heads were artificially elongated. For the "Syrians," see i. 72, note 3.

[2] There are no traces of any language related to Old Egyptian among the numerous languages of the Kaukasos. Herodotos, who knew neither Egyptian nor Kolkhian, was as near the truth as his hypothetical Dodonæans, who could not distinguish between the Egyptian language and the chirping of birds.

[3] Why Kolkhian yarn should be called Sardinian is not clear. Perhaps the Kolkhian name sounded to the Greeks like *sardonikos*.

[4] At the Nahr el-Kelb, see ch. 102, note 2. The female emblems upon them are due to the imagination of Herodotos.

[5] The two sculptures are carved on the rocks of the pass of Karabel, three miles east of Nimfi, and about twenty-five miles inland from Smyrna, on the sides of the old road which led from Smyrna to Ephesos through the Mahmud

σπιθαμῆς,[6] τῇ μὲν δεξιῇ χειρὶ ἔχων αἰχμὴν τῇ δὲ ἀριστερῇ τόξα,[7] καὶ τὴν ἄλλην σκευὴν ὡσαύτως· καὶ γὰρ Αἰγυπτίην καὶ Αἰθιοπίδα ἔχει·[8] ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ὤμου ἐς τὸν ἕτερον ὦμον διὰ τῶν στηθέων γράμματα ἱερὰ Αἰγύπτια[9] διήκει ἐγκεκολαμμένα, λέγοντα τάδε. "ἐγὼ τήνδε τὴν χώρην ὤμοισι τοῖσι ἐμοῖσι ἐκτησάμην."[1] ὅστις δὲ καὶ ὁκόθεν ἐστί, ἐνθαῦτα μὲν οὐ δηλοῖ, ἑτέρωθι δὲ δεδήλωκε. τὰ δὴ καὶ μετεξέτεροι τῶν θεησαμένων Μέμνονος εἰκόνα εἰκάζουσί μιν εἶναι, πολλὸν τῆς ἀληθείης ἀπολελειμμένοι.[2]

Τοῦτον δὴ τὸν Αἰγύπτιον Σέσωστριν ἀναχωρέοντα καὶ 107
ἀνάγοντα πολλοὺς ἀνθρώπους τῶν ἐθνέων τῶν τὰς χώρας κατεστρέψατο, ἔλεγον οἱ ἱερεῖς, ἐπείτε ἐγίνετο ἀνακομιζόμενος ἐν Δάφνῃσι τῇσι Πηλουσίῃσι, τὸν ἀδελφεὸν ἑωυτοῦ,[3] τῷ ἐπέτρεψε

range. The best preserved (discovered by Renouard in 1839) is about 140 feet above the path on the eastern side, and represents a warrior larger than life-size, standing in a niche, who looks southward, holds a spear in the left hand, has a bow at the back, and wears a tiara, a tunic reaching to the knees, and boots with turned up ends. The second, which is an exact repetition of the first, is on a level with the old road, and on its western side, but is much mutilated, and has but lately been brought to light. The dress and style of art, which agree with those of the Hittite sculptures at Boghaz Keui and Eyuk (in Kappadokia), as well as at Ghiaur Kalessi (near Ancyra) and Ibreez (in Lykaonia), show that the sculptures are Hittite. The first-mentioned figure is also accompanied by an inscription in Hittite hieroglyphics placed between the face of the figure and the top of the spear, which does not seem to have existed in the case of the second figure, where it may have run across the breast. The second figure looks northward. These figures, instead of being memorials of the conquests of Sesostris, are monuments of his most redoubtable enemies, the Hittites, and testify to the extension of their power as far as the Ægean (see Sayce on *The Monuments of the Hittites* in the *Trans. Soc. Bibl. Archæol.* vii. 2). The road from Sardes to Smyrna, however, could hardly have run through Karabel, though it no doubt joined the road to Ephesos at the entrance to the pass, and both figures hold the spear in the right, not left hand. The direct route now from Ephesos to Phokæa is through Smyrna; in the time of Herodotos the marshes at the mouth of the Hermos seem to have been impassable, and the road then doubled the eastern shoulder of Sipylos, and ran from Magnesia to Kymê by the pass of Uzun Hassanly (still used by cattle drivers), and thence to Phokæa (cf. *Academy*, April 9, 1881, p. 262).

[6] A little over three feet, which is only half the real height.

[7] The bow is really slung behind the back.

[8] The dress is utterly different from that of the Egyptians and Ethiopians.

[9] The characters are hieroglyphs, it is true, but not Egyptian.

[1] This must have been the invention of the *cicerone*. As the Greeks did not know what the origin of the figure was, it is not likely that they would have been able to interpret the long disused characters upon it.

[2] The legend was nearer the truth than the guess of Herodotos. Memnon, the son of the Dawn, was associated with the Homeric Kêteians or Hittites, as Mr. Gladstone has shown (*Homeric Synchronism*, pp. 173 *sq.*)

[3] Manetho is said (Joseph. cont. Ap.

ὁ Σέσωστρις τὴν Αἴγυπτον, τοῦτον ἐπὶ ξείνια αὐτὸν καλέσαντα καὶ πρὸς αὐτῷ τοὺς παῖδας περινῆσαι ἔξωθεν τὴν οἰκίην ὕλῃ, περινήσαντα δὲ ὑποπρῆσαι. τὸν δὲ ὡς μαθεῖν τοῦτο, αὐτίκα συμβουλεύεσθαι τῇ γυναικί· καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτὸν ἅμα ἄγεσθαι· τὴν δέ οἱ συμβουλεῦσαι τῶν παίδων ἐόντων ἓξ τοὺς δύο ἐπὶ τὴν πυρὴν ἐκτείναντα γεφυρῶσαι τὸ καιόμενον, αὐτοὺς δὲ ἐπ' ἐκείνων ἐπιβαίνοντας ἐκσώζεσθαι. τάοτα ποιῆσαι τὸν Σέσωστριν, καὶ δύο μὲν τῶν παίδων κατακαῆναι τρόπῳ
108 τοιούτῳ, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἀποσωθῆναι ἅμα τῷ πατρί. νοστήσας δὲ ὁ Σέσωστρις ἐς τὴν Αἴγυπτον καὶ τισάμενος τὸν ἀδελφεόν, τῷ μὲν ὁμίλῳ τὸν ἐπηγάγετο τῶν τὰς χώρας κατεστρέψατο, τούτῳ μὲν τάδε ἐχρήσατο. τούς τέ οἱ λίθους τοὺς ἐπὶ τούτου τοῦ βασιλέος κομισθέντας ἐς τοῦ Ἡφαίστου τὸ ἱερόν, ἐόντας μεγάθει περιμήκεας, οὗτοι ἦσαν οἱ ἑλκύσαντες, καὶ τὰς διώρυχας τὰς νῦν ἐούσας ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ πάσας οὗτοι ἀναγκαζόμενοι ὤρυσσον, ἐποίεόν τε οὐκ ἑκόντες Αἴγυπτον, τὸ πρὶν ἐοῦσαν ἱππασίμην καὶ ἁμαξευομένην πᾶσαν, ἐνδεᾶ τούτων.[4] ἀπὸ γὰρ τούτου τοῦ χρόνου Αἴγυπτος ἐοῦσα πεδιὰς πᾶσα ἄνιππος καὶ ἀναμάξευτος γέγονε· αἴτιαι δὲ τούτων αἱ διώρυχες γεγόνασι ἐοῦσαι πολλαὶ καὶ παντοίους τρόπους ἔχουσαι. κατέταμνε δὲ τοῦδε εἵνεκα τὴν χώρην ὁ βασιλεύς· ὅσοι τῶν Αἰγυπτίων μὴ ἐπὶ τῷ ποταμῷ ἔκτηντο τὰς πόλιας ἀλλ' ἀναμέσους, οὗτοι, ὅκως τε ἀπίοι ὁ ποταμός, σπανίζοντες ὑδάτων πλατυτέροισι[5] ἐχρέωντο τοῖσι
109 πόμασι, ἐκ φρεάτων χρεώμενοι. τούτων μὲν δὴ εἵνεκα κατετμήθη ἡ Αἴγυπτος. κατανεῖμαι δὲ τὴν χώρην Αἰγυπτίοισι ἅπασι τοῦτον ἔλεγον τὸν βασιλέα, κλῆρον ἴσον ἑκάστῳ τετράγωνον διδόντα,[6] καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου τὰς προσόδους ποιήσασθαι. ἐπιτάξαντα ἀποφορὴν ἐπιτελεῖν κατ' ἐνιαυτόν. εἰ δέ τινος τοῦ κλήρου ὁ ποταμὸς

i. 15) to have known of this brother, whom he called Armais, and declared to be the same as the Danaos of the Greeks. But he makes him a brother, not of Ramses II., but of Sethosis, *i.e.* Seti (Meneptah) II., the grandson of Ramses. As Seti II. was driven from the throne for about five years by a successful pretender, Amun-mes, while Egypt fell under the dominion of a Semitic invader, Arisu, after his death, it is possible that Manetho's account may be a confused rendering of actual events.

[4] The canal system of Egypt existed from the beginning of the monarchy. On the other hand, horses were first introduced by the Hyksos, and, like the chariot (which had the Semitic name *merkebat*), are first found on the monuments of the eighteenth dynasty.

[5] "Brackish," perhaps because πλατὺς was used of the "broad" sea.

[6] This equal division of the land, which was a favourite theory of Greek philosophers, was both unworkable in practice and non-existent in fact. Only a Greek guide could have invented the story.

τι παρέλοιτο, ἐλθὼν ἂν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐσήμαινε τὸ γεγενημένον· ὁ δὲ ἔπεμπε τοὺς ἐπισκεψομένους καὶ ἀναμετρήσοντας ὅσῳ ἐλάσσων ὁ χῶρος γέγονε, ὅκως τοῦ λοιποῦ κατὰ λόγον τῆς τεταγμένης ἀποφορῆς τελέοι. δοκεῖ δέ μοι ἐνθεῦτεν γεωμετρίη[7] εὑρεθεῖσα ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐπανελθεῖν· πόλον μὲν γὰρ καὶ γνώμονα καὶ τὰ δυώδεκα μέρεα τῆς ἡμέρης παρὰ Βαβυλωνίων ἔμαθον οἱ Ἕλληνες.[8]

Βασιλεὺς μὲν δὴ οὗτος μοῦνος Αἰγύπτιος Αἰθιοπίης ἦρξε,[9] 110
μνημόσυνα δὲ ἐλίπετο πρὸ τοῦ Ἡφαιστείου ἀνδριάντας λιθίνους, δύο μὲν τριήκοντα πηχέων,[1] ἑωυτόν τε καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα, τοὺς δὲ παῖδας ἐόντας τέσσερας εἴκοσι πηχέων ἕκαστον· τῶν δὴ ὁ ἱερεὺς τοῦ Ἡφαίστου χρόνῳ μετέπειτα πολλῷ Δαρεῖον τὸν Πέρσην οὐ περιεῖδε ἱστάντα ἔμπροσθε ἀνδριάντα, φὰς οὔ οἱ πεποιῆσθαι ἔργα οἷά περ Σεσώστρι τῷ Αἰγυπτίῳ· Σέσωστριν μὲν γὰρ ἄλλα τε καταστρέψασθαι ἔθνεα οὐκ ἐλάσσω ἐκείνου καὶ δὴ καὶ Σκύθας, Δαρεῖον δὲ οὐ δυνασθῆναι Σκύθας ἐλεῖν·[2] οὔκων δίκαιον εἶναι ἱστάναι ἔμπροσθε τῶν ἐκείνου ἀναθημάτων μὴ οὐκ ὑπερβαλλόμενον τοῖσι ἔργοισι. Δαρεῖον μέν νυν λέγουσι πρὸς τάοτα συγγνώμην ποιήσασθαι.

Σεσώστριος δὲ τελευτήσαντος ἐκδέξασθαι ἔλεγον τὴν βασι- 111
ληίην τὸν παῖδα αὐτοῦ Φερῶν,[5] τὸν ἀποδέξασθαι μὲν οὐδεμίαν

[7] For the geometrical papyrus that has been discovered, see App. I.

[8] This is perfectly correct. The sundial and gnomon were invented by the Babylonians, who divided the day into twelve *casputni* or "double hours." Anaximander set up the first gnomon (or obelisk) in Sparta in B.C. 560 (Diog. Laert. ii. 1).

[9] Contrary to fact. Not only the kings of the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth dynasties ruled over Ethiopia, but those of the twelfth also. After the time of Thothmes I., the kings' sons are called "princes of Kush."

[1] *i.c.* over 51 feet high. The fallen colossos of Ramses II. at Memphis is between 42 and 43 feet in length. One found by Hekekyan Bey is about 34½ feet (20 cubits = 34 feet).

[2] This reason has plainly a Greek author.

[5] Pherôn is Pharaoh, *per-aa* or "great house," the title of the Egyptian kings (like the "sublime Porte"). The real successor of Ramses was his son Meneptah I. Herodotos now leaves history behind, and introduces us to the legends which passed current among the ignorant guides and dragomen. They are interesting, however, as examples of the folk-lore of the time and country. Hence it is that the king is not named; he is simply "a Pharaoh," which Herodotos has mistaken for a proper name. The tale told of him is thoroughly Greek and non-Egyptian in character, and must therefore be regarded as belonging not to Egyptian but to Greek folk-lore. There is more than one Kôm el-Ahmar or "Red Mound" in modern Egypt, so called from the heaps of red bricks in the ruins which mark the site of an ancient city. It was to a similar "Red Mound" that the legend recounted by Herodotos was attached.

στρατηίην, συνενειχθῆναι δέ οἱ τυφλὸν γενέσθαι διὰ τοιόνδε πρῆγμα. τοῦ ποταμοῦ κατελθόντος μέγιστα δὴ τότε ἐπ' ὀκτωκαίδεκα πήχεας, ὡς ὑπερέβαλε τὰς ἀρούρας, πνεύματος ἐμπεσόντος κυματίης ὁ ποταμὸς ἐγένετο· τὸν δὲ βασιλέα λέγουσι τοῦτον ἀτασθαλίῃ χρησάμενον, λαβόντα αἰχμὴν βαλεῖν ἐς μέσας τὰς δίνας τοῦ ποταμοῦ, μετὰ δὲ αὐτίκα καμόντα αὐτὸν τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς τυφλωθῆναι. δέκα μὲν δὴ ἔτεα εἶναί μιν τυφλόν, ἐνδεκάτῳ δὲ ἔτει ἀπικέσθαι οἱ μαντήιον ἐκ Βουτοῦς πόλιος ὡς ἐξήκει τέ οἱ ὁ χρόνος τῆς ζημίης καὶ ἀναβλέψει γυναικὸς οὔρῳ νιψάμενος τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς, ἥτις παρὰ τὸν ἑωυτῆς ἄνδρα μοῦνον πεφοίτηκε, ἄλλων ἀνδρῶν ἐοῦσα ἄπειρος. καὶ τὸν πρώτης τῆς ἑωυτοῦ γυναικὸς πειρᾶσθαι, μετὰ δέ, ὡς οὐκ ἀνέβλεπε, ἐπεξῆς πασέων πειρᾶσθαι· ἀναβλέψαντα δὲ συναγαγεῖν τὰς γυναῖκας τῶν ἐπειρήθη, πλὴν ἡ τῆς τῷ οὔρῳ νιψάμενος ἀνέβλεψε, ἐς μίαν πόλιν, ἣ νῦν καλεῖται Ἐρυθρὴ βῶλος· ἐς ταύτην συναλίσαντα ὑποπρῆσαι πάσας σὺν αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει. τῆς δὲ νιψάμενος τῷ οὔρῳ ἀνέβλεψε, ταύτην δὲ εἶχε αὐτὸς γυναῖκα. ἀναθήματα δὲ ἀποφυγὼν τὴν πάθην τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἄλλα τε ἀνὰ τὰ ἱερὰ πάντα τὰ λόγιμα ἀνέθηκε καὶ τοῦ γε λόγου μάλιστα ἄξιόν ἐστι ἔχειν, ἐς τοῦ Ἡλίου τὸ ἱερὸν ἀξιοθέητα ἀνέθηκε ἔργα, ὀβελοὺς δύο λιθίνους,[6] ἐξ ἑνὸς ἑόντας ἑκάτερον λίθου, μῆκος μὲν ἑκάτερον πηχέων ἑκατόν,[7] εὖρος δὲ ὀκτὼ πηχέων.

112 Τούτου δὲ ἐκδέξασθαι τὴν βασιληίην ἔλεγον ἄνδρα Μεμφίτην, τῷ κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλήνων γλῶσσαν οὔνομα Πρωτέα εἶναι·[8] τοῦ νῦν τέμενός ἐστι ἐν Μέμφι κάρτα καλόν τε καὶ εὖ ἐσκευασμένον, τοῦ Ἡφαιστείου πρὸς νότον ἄνεμον κείμενον. περιοικέουσι δὲ τὸ τέμενος τοῦτο Φοίνικες Τύριοι, καλεῖται δὲ ὁ χῶρος οὗτος ὁ συνάπας Τυρίων στρατόπεδον. ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῷ τεμένει τοῦ Πρωτέος ἱερὸν τὸ καλεῖται ξείνης Ἀφροδίτης· συμβάλλομαι

[6] The tale, therefore, was attached by the guides to the two obelisks at Heliopolis, one of which, erected by Usertesen I., still stands there.

[7] Over 150 feet, a gross exaggeration. The height of the obelisk of Heliopolis is 66 feet; the loftiest in Egypt, that of Queen Hatasu at Karnak, is 122 feet, or, without the podestal, 108 feet 10 inches. Small obelisks were first used for sepulchral purposes under the fourth and fifth dynasties.

[8] Here we have another Greek legend attached to the shrine of the Phœnician Astartê at Memphis. The Greek Helen was easily identified by Herodotos with the Semitic goddess of beauty and love, more especially as there were strong points of similarity between the legend of Helen and that of Astartê and Adônis. Homer makes Prôteus live on the coast of the Delta, on the island of Pharos, and Polybos king of "Egyptian Thebes" (*Od.* iv. 385, 126). Herodotos seems unacquainted with the Homeric version, but see note 2 on ch. 116.

δὲ τοῦτο τὸ ἱερὸν εἶναι Ἑλένης τῆς Τυνδάρεω, καὶ τὸν λόγον
ἀκηκοὼς ὡς διατήθη Ἑλένη παρὰ Πρωτέι, καὶ δὴ καὶ ὅτι ξείνης
Ἀφροδίτης ἐπώνυμόν ἐστι· ὅσα γὰρ ἄλλα Ἀφροδίτης ἱερά ἐστι,
οὐδαμῶς ξείνης ἐπικαλεῖται. ἔλεγον δέ μοι οἱ ἱερεῖς ἱστορέοντι 113
τὰ περὶ Ἑλένην γενέσθαι ὧδε.[9] Ἀλέξανδρον ἁρπάσαντα
Ἑλένην ἐκ Σπάρτης ἀποπλεῖν ἐς τὴν ἑωυτοῦ· καί μιν, ὡς ἐγένετο
ἐν τῷ Αἰγαίῳ, ἐξῶσται ἄνεμοι ἐκβάλλουσι ἐς τὸ Αἰγύπτιον
πέλαγος, ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ (οὐ γὰρ ἀνίει τὰ πνεύματα) ἀπικνεῖται ἐς
Αἴγυπτον καὶ Αἰγύπτου ἐς τὸ νῦν Κανωβικὸν καλεόμενον στόμα
τοῦ Νείλου καὶ ἐς Ταριχείας.[1] ἦν δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς ἠιόνος, τὸ καὶ νῦν
ἐστι, Ἡρακλέος[2] ἱερόν, ἐς τὸ ἢν καταφυγὼν οἰκέτης ὁτευῶν
ἀνθρώπων ἐπιβάληται στίγματα ἱερά, ἑωυτὸν διδοὺς τῷ θεῷ,[3]
οὐκ ἔξεστι τούτου ἅψασθαι. ὁ νόμος οὗτος διατελεῖ ἐὼν ὅμοιος
τὸ μέχρι ἐμέο ἀπ' ἀρχῆς. τοῦ ὦν δὴ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀπιστέαται
θεράποντες πυθόμενοι τὸν περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ἔχοντα νόμον, ἱκέται
δὲ ἱζόμενοι τοῦ θεοῦ κατηγόρεον τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου, βουλόμενοι
βλάπτειν αὐτόν, πάντα λόγον ἐξηγεόμενοι ὡς εἶχε περὶ τὴν
Ἑλένην τε καὶ τὴν ἐς Μενέλεων ἀδικίην. κατηγόρεον δὲ τάοτα
πρός τε τοὺς ἱερέας καὶ τὸν τοῦ στόματος τούτου φύλακον, τῷ
οὔνομα ἦν Θῶνις.[4] ἀκούσας δὲ τούτων ὁ Θῶνις πέμπει τὴν 114
ταχίστην ἐς Μέμφιν παρὰ Πρωτέα ἀγγελίην λέγουσαν τάδε.
"ἥκει ξεῖνος γένος μὲν Τευκρός, ἔργον δὲ ἀνόσιον ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι
ἐξεργασμένος· ξείνου γὰρ τοῦ ἑωυτοῦ ἐξαπατήσας τὴν γυναῖκα
αὐτήν τε ταύτην ἄγων ἥκει καὶ πολλὰ κάρτα χρήματα, ὑπὸ
ἀνέμων ἐς γῆν τὴν σὴν ἀπενειχθείς. κότερα δῆτα τοῦτον ἐῶμεν
ἀσινέα ἐκπλεῖν ἢ ἀπελώμεθα τὰ ἔχων ἦλθε;" ἀντιπέμπει πρὸς
τάοτα ὁ Πρωτεὺς λέγοντα τάδε. "ἄνδρα τοῦτον, ὅστις κοτέ
ἐστι ἀνόσια ἐξεργασμένος ξεῖνον τὸν ἑωυτοῦ, συλλαβόντες
ἀπάγετε παρ' ἐμέ, ἵνα εἰδέω ὅ τι κοτὲ καὶ λέξει." ἀκούσας δὲ 115
τάοτα ὁ Θῶνις συλλαμβάνει τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ τὰς νέας αὐτοῦ
κατίσχει, μετὰ δὲ αὐτόν τε τοῦτον ἀνήγαγε ἐς Μέμφιν καὶ τὴν
Ἑλένην τε καὶ τὰ χρήματα, πρὸς δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἱκέτας. ἀνα-

[9] This a clear case in which Herodotos was answered according to his wishes.

[1] "The salt-pans."

[2] That is the Tyrian Melkarth. For the Phœnician colonists in the Delta, see ch. 15, note 4.

[3] Cf. Lev. xix. 28; Is. xliv. 5; Ezek. ix. 6; Rev. ix. 4; and the marks of the Vishnavite sects in India. See Luc. *De Dea Syr.* 59, where we learn that the Syrians devoted themselves to the service of Astartê by tattooing the wrist or neck. Cp. Gal. vi. 17.

[4] Thônis was a town on the Kanôpic mouth of the Nile. Cp. *Od.* iv. 228. It was subsequently superseded by Kanopos. The name may be derived from the Egyptian *ton*, "canal."

κομισθέντων δὲ πάντων, εἰρώτα τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ὁ Πρωτεὺς τίς εἴη καὶ ὁκόθεν πλέοι. ὁ δέ οἱ καὶ τὸ γένος κατέλεξε καὶ τῆς πάτρης εἶπε τὸ οὔνομα, καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸν πλόον ἀπηγήσατο ὁκόθεν πλέοι. μετὰ δὲ ὁ Πρωτεὺς εἰρώτα αὐτὸν ὁκόθεν τὴν Ἑλένην λάβοι· πλανωμένου δὲ τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐν τῷ λόγῳ καὶ οὐ λέγοντος τὴν ἀληθείην, ἤλεγχον οἱ γενόμενοι ἱκέται, ἐξηγεόμενοι πάντα λόγον τοῦ ἀδικήματος. τέλος δὲ δή σφι λόγον τόνδε ἐκφαίνει ὁ Πρωτεύς, λέγων ὅτι "ἐγὼ εἰ μὴ περὶ πολλοῦ ἡγεόμην μηδένα ξείνων κτείνειν, ὅσοι ὑπ' ἀνέμων ἤδη ἀπολαμφθέντες ἦλθον ἐς χώρην τὴν ἐμήν, ἐγὼ ἄν σε ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἕλληνος ἐτισάμην, ὅς, ὦ κάκιστε ἀνδρῶν, ξεινίων τυχὼν ἔργον ἀνοσιώτατον ἐργάσαο· παρὰ τοῦ σεωυτοῦ ξείνου[5] τὴν γυναῖκα ἦλθες. καὶ μάλα τάοτά τοι οὐκ ἤρκεσε, ἀλλ' ἀναπτερώσας αὐτὴν οἴχεαι ἔχων ἐκκλέψας. καὶ οὐδὲ τάοτά τοι μοῦνα ἤρκεσε, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἰκία τοῦ ξείνου κερατίσας ἥκεις. νῦν ὦν ἐπειδὴ περὶ πολλοῦ ἤγημαι μὴ ξεινοκτονεῖν, γυναῖκα μὲν ταύτην καὶ τὰ χρήματα οὔ τοι προήσω ἀπάγεσθαι, ἀλλ' αὐτὰ ἐγὼ τῷ Ἕλληνι ξείνῳ φυλάξω, ἐς ὃ ἂν αὐτὸς ἐλθὼν ἐκεῖνος ἀπαγαγέσθαι ἐθέλῃ· αὐτὸν δέ σε καὶ τοὺς σοὺς συμπλόους τριῶν ἡμερέων προαγορεύω ἐκ τῆς ἐμῆς γέας ἐς ἄλλην τινὰ μετορμίζεσθαι, εἰ δὲ μή, ἅτε πολεμίους περιέψεσθαι."

116 Ἑλένης μὲν ταύτην ἄπιξιν παρὰ Πρωτέα ἔλεγον οἱ ἱερεῖς γενέσθαι· δοκεῖ δέ μοι καὶ Ὅμηρος τὸν λόγον τοῦτον πυθέσθαι· ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ ὁμοίως ἐς τὴν ἐποποιίην εὐπρεπὴς ἦν τῷ ἑτέρῳ τῷ περ ἐχρήσατο, ἐκὼν μετῆκε[6] αὐτόν, δηλώσας ὡς καὶ τοῦτον ἐπίσταιτο τὸν λόγον· δῆλον δὲ κατά περ ἐποίησε ἐν Ἰλιάδι (καὶ οὐδαμῇ ἄλλῃ ἀνεπόδισε[7] ἑωυτόν) πλάνην τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου, ὡς ἀπηνείχθη ἄγων Ἑλένην τῇ τε δὴ ἄλλῃ πλαζόμενος καὶ ὡς ἐς Σιδῶνα[8] τῆς Φοινίκης ἀπίκετο. ἐπιμέμνηται δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐν Διομήδεος ἀριστηίῃ·[9] λέγει δὲ τὰ ἔπεα ὧδε.

[5] "Host;" παρὰ goes with the acc.

[6] "He threw it aside." Stein reads ἐκών for the unintelligible ἐς ὃ of the MSS.

[7] "Contradicted." This is the first mention of the Iliad as a separate poem in Greek literature.

[8] Sidon, "the fisher's town," now Saida, though the older city, had ceased to be the leading state of Phœnicia after the rise of Tyre under Hiram, the contemporary of David and Solomon. It did not recover its former position until the Assyrian wars had ruined Tyre for a short time, when it again represented Phœnicia up to B.C. 678, in which year Esarhaddon destroyed it. This must have therefore been the period when the robes imported from Phœnicia came to be called Sidonian by the Greeks.

[9] *Il.* vi. 290-2. Book v. is the part of the Iliad known as the "Bravery of Diomêdês" in our texts. The arrangement of the poem by the rhapsodists

ἔνθ' ἔσαν οἱ πέπλοι παμποίκιλοι, ἔργα[1] γυναικῶν
Σιδονίων, τὰς αὐτὸς Ἀλέξανδρος θεοειδὴς
ἤγαγε Σιδονίηθεν, ἐπιπλὼς εὐρέα πόντον,
τὴν ὁδὸν ἣν Ἑλένην περ ἀνήγαγεν εὐπατέρειαν.
[2][ἐπιμέμνηται δὲ καὶ ἐν Ὀδυσσείῃ ἐν τοῖσιδε τοῖσι ἔπεσι.
τοῖα Διὸς θυγάτηρ ἔχε φάρμακα μητιόεντα,
ἐσθλά, τά οἱ Πολύδαμνα πόρεν Θῶνος παράκοιτις
Αἰγυπτίη, τῇ πλεῖστα φέρει ζείδωρος ἄρουρα
φάρμακα, πολλὰ μὲν ἐσθλὰ μεμιγμένα, πολλὰ δὲ λυγρά.
καὶ τάδε ἕτερα πρὸς Τηλέμαχον Μενέλεως λέγει.
Αἰγύπτῳ μ' ἔτι δεῦρο θεοὶ μεμαῶτα νέεσθαι
ἔσχον, ἐπεὶ οὔ σφιν ἔρεξα τεληέσσας ἑκατόμβας.][3]
ἐν τούτοισι τοῖσι ἔπεσι δηλοῖ ὅτι ἠπίστατο τὴν ἐς Αἴγυπτον
Ἀλεξάνδρου πλάνην· ὁμουρεῖ γὰρ ἡ Συρίη Αἰγύπτῳ, οἱ δὲ
Φοίνικες, τῶν ἐστι ἡ Σιδών, ἐν τῇ Συρίῃ οἰκέουσι.[4] κατὰ τάοτα 117
δὲ τὰ ἔπεα καὶ τόδε τὸ χωρίον οὐκ ἥκιστα ἀλλὰ μάλιστα[5] δηλοῖ
ὅτι οὐκ Ὁμήρου τὰ Κύπρια ἔπεά ἐστι ἀλλ' ἄλλου τινός. ἐν
μὲν γὰρ τοῖσι Κυπρίοισι εἴρηται ὡς τριταῖος ἐκ Σπάρτης
Ἀλέξανδρος ἀπίκετο ἐς τὸ Ἴλιον ἄγων Ἑλένην, εὐαέι τε πνεύ-
ματι χρησάμενος καὶ θαλάσσῃ λείῃ· ἐν δὲ Ἰλιάδι λέγει ὡς
ἐπλάζετο ἄγων αὐτήν.

Ὅμηρος μέν νυν καὶ τὰ Κύπρια ἔπεα χαιρέτω. εἰρομένου 118
δέ μεο τοὺς ἱερέας εἰ μάταιον λόγον λέγουσι οἱ Ἕλληνες τὰ

must have been different in the time of Herodotos.

[1] The digamma is absent from this word; the original line probably ran—παμποίκιλα Ϝέργα; but the corrupt reading has been imitated in *Od.* xv. 105.

[2] Schäfer doubts the authenticity of the passage between brackets, on the ground of τόδε in ch. 117, but it is found in all the MSS. Since Herodotos could quote the Iliad as a separate poem, there is no reason why he should not have quoted the Odyssey as a separate poem also. The reference is to *Od.* iv. 227-30.

[3] *Od.* iv. 351-2. The last line does not scan, since the two dipthongs ει—ον cannot be pronounced as one syllable.

[4] A parallel argument would be that Homer knew of the wanderings of Menelaos in Abyssinia, because Egypt bordered on Abyssinia. The logic of Herodotos is as much at fault as his geography.

[5] "From these verses, and more especially this passage." The words of Herodotos show that the authorship of the Kypria was in his day commonly ascribed to Homer, like that of other parts of epic literature (see ch. 53, note 5). In the Alexandrine age, when the Iliad and Odyssey alone had come to be marked off as Homeric, it was the fashion to assign the Kypria to Stasinos. If Herodotos had carried out his principle of denying a common Homeric authorship to passages which were inconsistent, he would have had to anticipate Wolf and Lachmann in dividing the Iliad into independent lays.

περὶ Ἴλιον γενέσθαι ἢ οὔ, ἔφασαν πρὸς τάοτα τάδε, ἱστορίῃσι φάμενοι εἰδέναι παρ' αὐτοῦ Μενέλεω. ἐλθεῖν μὲν γὰρ μετὰ τὴν Ἑλένης ἁρπαγὴν ἐς τὴν Τευκρίδα[6] γῆν Ἑλλήνων στρατιὴν πολλὴν βοηθέουσαν Μενέλεῳ, ἐκβᾶσαν δὲ ἐς γῆν καὶ ἱδρυθεῖσαν τὴν στρατιὴν πέμπειν ἐς τὸ Ἴλιον ἀγγέλους, σὺν δέ σφι ἰέναι καὶ αὐτὸν Μενέλεων· τοὺς δ' ἐπείτε ἐσελθεῖν ἐς τὸ τεῖχος, ἀπαιτεῖν Ἑλένην τε καὶ τὰ χρήματα τά οἱ οἴχετο κλέψας Ἀλέξανδρος, τῶν τε ἀδικημάτων δίκας αἰτεῖν· τοὺς δὲ Τευκροὺς τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον λέγειν τότε καὶ μετέπειτα, καὶ ὀμνύντας καὶ ἀνωμοτί, μὴ μὲν ἔχειν Ἑλένην μηδὲ τὰ ἐπικαλεόμενα χρήματα, ἀλλ' εἶναι αὐτὰ πάντα ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, καὶ οὐκ ἂν δικαίως αὐτοὶ δίκας ὑπέχειν τῶν Πρωτεὺς ὁ Αἰγύπτιος βασιλεὺς ἔχει. οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες καταγελᾶσθαι δοκέοντες ὑπ' αὐτῶν οὕτω δὴ ἐπολιόρκεον, ἐς ὃ ἐξεῖλον· ἑλοῦσι δὲ τὸ τεῖχος ὡς οὐκ ἐφαίνετο ἡ Ἑλένη, ἀλλὰ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον τῷ προτέρῳ ἐπυνθάνοντο, οὕτω δὴ πιστεύσαντες τῷ λόγῳ τῷ πρώτῳ οἱ Ἕλληνες αὐτὸν Μενέλεων
119 ἀποστέλλουσι παρὰ Πρωτέα. ἀπικόμενος δὲ ὁ Μενέλεως ἐς τὴν Αἴγυπτον καὶ ἀναπλώσας ἐς τὴν Μέμφιν, εἴπας τὴν ἀληθείην τῶν πρηγμάτων, καὶ ξεινίων ἤντησε μεγάλων καὶ Ἑλένην ἀπαθέα κακῶν ἀπέλαβε, πρὸς δὲ καὶ τὰ ἑωυτοῦ χρήματα πάντα. τυχὼν μέντοι τούτων ἐγένετο Μενέλεως ἀνὴρ ἄδικος ἐς Αἰγυπτίους. ἀποπλεῖν γὰρ ὁρμημένον αὐτὸν ἰσχον ἀπλοῖαι· ἐπειδὴ δὲ τοῦτο ἐπὶ πολλὸν τοιοῦτον ἦν, ἐπιτεχνᾶται πρῆγμα οὐκ ὅσιον· λαβὼν γὰρ δύο παιδία ἀνδρῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἔντομά σφεα ἐποίησε.[7] μετὰ δὲ ὡς ἐπάιστος ἐγένετο τοῦτο ἐργασμένος, μισηθείς τε καὶ διωκόμενος οἴχετο φεύγων τῇσι νηυσὶ ἐπὶ Λιβύης· τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ὅκου ἔτι ἐτράπετο οὐκ εἶχον εἰπεῖν Αἰγύπτιοι. τούτων δὲ τὰ μὲν ἱστορίῃσι ἔφασαν ἐπίστασθαι, τὰ δὲ παρ' ἑωυτοῖσι γενόμενα ἀτρεκέως ἐπιστάμενοι λέγειν.

120 Τάοτα μὲν Αἰγυπτίων οἱ ἱερεῖς ἔλεγον· ἐγὼ δὲ τῷ λόγῳ τῷ περὶ Ἑλένης λεχθέντι καὶ αὐτὸς προστίθεμαι, τάδε ἐπιλεγόμενος, εἰ ἦν Ἑλένη ἐν Ἰλίῳ, ἀποδοθῆναι ἂν αὐτὴν τοῖσι Ἕλλησι ἤτοι ἑκόντος γε ἢ ἀέκοντος Ἀλεξάνδρου. οὐ γὰρ δὴ οὕτω γε φρενοβλαβὴς ἦν ὁ Πρίαμος οὐδὲ οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ προσήκοντες αὐτῷ, ὥστε τοῖσι σφετέροισι σώμασι καὶ τοῖσι τέκνοισι καὶ τῇ πόλει κιν-

[6] The Teukrians are probably the Tekkri of the Egyptian monuments, who came to the help of the Hittites, along with other allies, from the western part of Asia Minor.

[7] Suggested, probably, partly by the legend of the sacrifice of Iphigeneia at Aulis, partly by the human sacrifices offered to the sun-god by the Phœnicians of the Delta coast.

δυνεύειν ἐβούλοντο, ὅκως Ἀλέξανδρος Ἑλένῃ συνοικῇ. εἰ δέ τοι καὶ ἐν τοῖσι πρώτοισι χρόνοισι τάοτα ἐγίνωσκον, ἐπεὶ πολλοὶ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων Τρώων, ὁκότε συμμίσγοιεν τοῖσι Ἕλλησι, ἀπώλλυντο, αὐτοῦ δὲ Πριάμου οὐκ ἔστι ὅτε οὐ[8] δύο ἢ τρεῖς ἢ καὶ ἔτι πλέους τῶν παίδων μάχης γινομένης ἀπέθνησκον, εἰ χρή τι τοῖσι ἐποποιοῖσι χρεώμενον λέγειν, τούτων δὲ τοιούτων συμβαινόντων ἐγὼ μὲν ἔλπομαι, εἰ καὶ αὐτὸς Πρίαμος συνοίκει Ἑλένῃ, ἀποδοῦναι ἂν αὐτὴν τοῖσι Ἀχαιοῖσι, μέλλοντά γε δὴ τῶν παρεόντων κακῶν ἀπαλλαγήσεσθαι. οὐ μὲν οὐδὲ ἡ βασιληίη ἐς Ἀλέξανδρον περιήιε, ὥστε γέροντος Πριάμου ἐόντος ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ τὰ πρήγματα εἶναι, ἀλλὰ Ἕκτωρ καὶ πρεσβύτερος καὶ ἀνὴρ ἐκείνου μᾶλλον ἐὼν ἔμελλε αὐτὴν Πριάμου ἀποθανόντος παραλάμψεσθαι, τὸν οὐ προσῆκε ἀδικέοντι τῷ ἀδελφεῷ ἐπιτράπειν, καὶ τάοτα μεγάλων κακῶν δι' αὐτὸν συμβαινόντων ἰδίῃ τε αὐτῷ καὶ τοῖσι ἄλλοισι πᾶσι Τρωσί. ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ εἶχον Ἑλένην ἀποδοῦναι, οὐδὲ λέγουσι αὐτοῖσι τὴν ἀληθείην ἐπίστευον οἱ Ἕλληνες, ὡς μὲν ἐγὼ γνώμην ἀποφαίνομαι, τοῦ δαιμονίου παρασκευάζοντος ὅκως πανωλεθρίῃ ἀπολόμενοι καταφανὲς τοῦτο τοῖσι ἀνθρώποισι ποιήσωσι, ὡς τῶν μεγάλων ἀδικημάτων μεγάλαι εἰσὶ καὶ αἱ τιμωρίαι παρὰ τῶν θεῶν. καὶ τάοτα μὲν τῇ ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ εἴρηται.

Πρωτέος δὲ ἐκδέξασθαι τὴν βασιληίην Ῥαμψίνιτον[9] ἔλεγον, 121
ὃς μνημόσυνα ἐλίπετο τὰ προπύλαια τὰ πρὸς ἑσπέρην τετραμμένα τοῦ Ἡφαιστείου, ἀντίους δὲ τῶν προπυλαίων ἔστησε ἀνδριάντας δύο, ἐόντας τὸ μέγαθος πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι πηχέων, τῶν

[8] "There is not when it did not happen that" = "constantly."

[9] The old Aryan story of the Master-thief, which the Greek colonists had brought with them into Egypt, was attached by them to the name of Rhampsinitos, who seems to have been Ramses III., the builder of the pavilion of Medinet Abu at Thebes. The name is a Greek form of *Ramessu pa nuter*, "Ramses, the god," according to Brugsch. Maspero makes it *Ramessu si-Neith*, "R. son of Neith," a title never borne by the Theban kings, but first used by the Saitic princes, which fixes the date of the tale to the period of Psammetikhos and his dynasty. For illustrations of the story, see Dunlop-Liebrecht: "Geschichte der Prosadichtungen," pp. 264 *sq.*, and Schiefner "Ueber einige morgenländische Fassungen der Rhampsinit-Sage" in the *Bulletin de l'Acad. Imp. des Sciences de Saint-Pétersbourg*, xiv. pp. 299-315. It is but a variant of that told of Trophonios and Agamêdes in the treasury of Hyrieus at Hyria (Paus. ix. 37, 5), of Augeias in Elis (Schol. Aristoph. *Clouds*, 504), and of Hermes who receives as his reward the title of ἀρχὸς φηλήτεων (*Hymn. Herm.* 292); or again, of the Hindu legend of Karpara and Gata, of the Highland tale of the Shifty Lad, or of the story of Ali Baba and the Forty Thieves in the Arabian Nights. In the Pecorone of Ser Giovanni, a Florentine of the fourteenth century, a Venetian doge takes the place of the Egyptian king.

Αἰγύπτιοι τὸν μὲν πρὸς βορέω ἑστεῶτα καλέουσι θέρος, τὸν δὲ πρὸς νότον χειμῶνα· καὶ τὸν μὲν καλέουσι θέρος, τοῦτον μὲν προσκυνέουσί τε καὶ εὖ ποιέουσι, τὸν δὲ χειμῶνα καλεόμενον τὰ
α) ἔμπαλιν τούτων ἔρδουσι. πλοῦτον δὲ τούτῳ τῷ βασιλέι γενέσθαι ἀργύρου μέγαν, τὸν οὐδένα τῶν ὕστερον ἐπιτραφέντων βασιλέων δύνασθαι ὑπερβαλέσθαι οὐδ' ἐγγὺς ἐλθεῖν. βουλόμενον δὲ αὐτὸν ἐν ἀσφαλείῃ τὰ χρήματα θησαυρίζειν οἰκοδομεῖσθαι οἴκημα λίθινον, τοῦ τῶν τοίχων ἕνα ἐς τὸ ἔξω μέρος τῆς οἰκίης ἔχειν.[1] τὸν δὲ ἐργαζόμενον ἐπιβουλεύοντα τάδε μηχανᾶσθαι· τῶν λίθων παρασκευάσασθαι ἕνα ἐξαιρετὸν εἶναι ἐκ τοῦ τοίχου ῥηιδίως καὶ ὑπὸ δύο ἀνδρῶν καὶ ὑπὸ ἑνός. ὡς δὲ ἐπετελέσθη τὸ οἴκημα, τὸν μὲν βασιλέα θησαυρίσαι τὰ χρήματα ἐν αὐτῷ· χρόνου δὲ περιόντος τὸν οἰκοδόμον περὶ τελευτὴν τοῦ βίου ἐόντα ἀνακαλέσασθαι τοὺς παῖδας (εἶναι γὰρ αὐτῷ δύο), τούτοισι δὲ ἀπηγήσασθαι ὡς ἐκείνων προορέων, ὅκως βίον ἄφθονον ἔχωσι, τεχνάσαιτο οἰκοδομέων τὸν θησαυρὸν τοῦ βασιλέος· σαφέως δὲ αὐτοῖσι πάντα ἐξηγησάμενον τὰ περὶ τὴν ἐξαίρεσιν τοῦ λίθου δοῦναι τὰ μέτρα αὐτοῦ, λέγοντα ὡς τάοτα διαφυλάσσοντες ταμίαι τῶν βασιλέος χρημάτων ἔσονται. καὶ τὸν μὲν τελευτῆσαι τὸν βίον, τοὺς δὲ παῖδας αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἐς μακρὴν ἔργου ἔχεσθαι, ἐπελθόντας δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ βασιλήια νυκτὸς καὶ τὸν λίθον ἐπὶ τῷ οἰκοδομήματι ἀνευρόντας ῥηιδίως μεταχειρίσασθαι καὶ τῶν χρημάτων πολλὰ ἐξενείκασθαι.
β) ὡς δὲ τυχεῖν τὸν βασιλέα ἀνοίξαντα τὸ οἴκημα, θωυμάσαι ἰδόντα τῶν χρημάτων καταδεᾶ τὰ ἀγγήια, οὐκ ἔχειν δὲ ὅντινα ἐπαιτιᾶται τῶν τε σημάντρων ἐόντων σόων καὶ τοῦ οἰκήματος κεκλημένου. ὡς δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ δὶς καὶ τρὶς ἀνοίξαντι αἰεὶ ἐλάσσω φαίνεσθαι τὰ χρήματα (τοὺς γὰρ κλέπτας οὐκ ἀνιέναι κεραΐζοντας), ποιῆσαί μιν τάδε· πάγας προστάξαι ἐργάσασθαι καὶ ταύτας περὶ τὰ ἀγγήια ἐν τοῖσι τὰ χρήματα ἐνῆν στῆσαι. τῶν δὲ φωρῶν ὥσπερ ἐν τῷ πρὸ τοῦ χρόνῳ ἐλθόντων καὶ ἐνδύντος τοῦ ἑτέρου αὐτῶν, ἐπεὶ πρὸς τὸ ἄγγος προσῆλθε, ἰθέως τῇ πάγῃ ἐνέχεσθαι. ὡς δὲ γνῶναι αὐτὸν ἐν οἵῳ κακῷ ἦν, ἰθέως καλεῖν τὸν ἀδελφεὸν καὶ δηλοῦν αὐτῷ τὰ παρεόντα, καὶ κελεύειν τὴν ταχίστην ἐσδύντα ἀποταμεῖν αὐτοῦ τὴν κεφαλήν, ὅκως μὴ αὐτὸς ὀφθεὶς καὶ γνωρισθεὶς ὃς εἴη προσαπολέσῃ κἀκεῖνον. τῷ δὲ δόξαι εὖ λέγειν, καὶ ποιῆσαί μιν πεισθέντα τάοτα, καὶ καταρ-

[1] "One of the walls of which should adjoin the external part of his palace." The secret treasure-chamber reminds us of the crypts in the Egyptian temples, concealed even from most of those employed in the edifice. At Denderah there are twelve such crypts.

μόσαντα τὸν λίθον ἀπιέναι ἐπ' οἶκου, φέροντα τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ ἀδελφεοῦ. ὡς δὲ ἡμέρη ἐγένετο, ἐσελθόντα τὸν βασιλέα ἐς τὸ (γ οἴκημα ἐκπεπλῆχθαι ὀρέοντα τὸ σῶμα τοῦ φωρὸς ἐν τῇ πάγῃ ἄνευ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἐόν, τὸ δὲ οἴκημα ἀσινὲς καὶ οὔτε ἔσοδον οὔτε ἔκδυσιν οὐδεμίαν ἔχον. ἀπορεόμενον δέ μιν τάδε ποιῆσαι· τοῦ φωρὸς τὸν νέκυν κατὰ τοῦ τείχεος κατακρεμάσαι, φυλάκους δὲ αὐτοῦ καταστήσαντα ἐντείλασθαί σφι, τὸν ἂν ἴδωνται ἀποκλαύσαντα ἢ κατοικτισάμενον, συλλαβόντας ἄγειν πρὸς ἑωυτόν. ἀνακρεμαμένου δὲ τοῦ νέκυος τὴν μητέρα δεινῶς φέρειν, λόγους δὲ πρὸς τὸν περιεόντα παῖδα ποιεομένην προστάσσειν αὐτῷ, ὅτεῳ τρόπῳ δύναται, μηχανᾶσθαι ὅκως τὸ σῶμα τοῦ ἀδελφεοῦ καταλύσας κομίσῃ· εἰ δὲ τούτων ἀμελήσει, διαπειλεῖν αὐτὴν ὡς ἐλθοῦσα πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα μηνύσει αὐτὸν ἔχοντα τὰ χρήματα. ὡς δὲ χαλεπῶς ἐλαμβάνετο ἡ μήτηρ τοῦ περιεόντος παιδὸς καὶ (δ πολλὰ πρὸς αὐτὴν λέγων οὐκ ἔπειθε, ἐπιτεχνήσασθαι τοιάδε μιν. ὄνους κατασκευασάμενον καὶ ἀσκοὺς πλήσαντα οἴνου ἐπιθεῖναι ἐπὶ τῶν ὄνων καὶ ἔπειτα ἐλαύνειν αὐτούς. ὡς δὲ κατὰ τοὺς φυλάσσοντας ἦν τὸν κρεμάμενον νέκυν,[2] ἐπισπάσαντα τῶν ἀσκῶν δύο ἢ τρεῖς ποδεῶνας αὐτὸν λύειν ἀπαμμένους· ὡς δὲ ἔρρει ὁ οἶνος, τὴν κεφαλήν μιν κόπτεσθαι μεγάλα βοῶντα ὡς οὐκ ἔχοντα πρὸς ὁκοῖον τῶν ὄνων πρῶτον τράπηται. τοὺς δὲ φυλάκους ὡς ἰδεῖν πολλὸν ῥέοντα τὸν οἶνον, συντρέχειν ἐς τὴν ὁδὸν ἀγγήια ἔχοντας, καὶ τὸν ἔκκεχυμένον οἶνον συγκομίζειν ἐν κέρδει ποιεομένους· τὸν δὲ διαλοιδορεῖσθαι πᾶσι ὀργὴν προσποιεόμενον, παραμυθεομένων δὲ αὐτὸν τῶν φυλάκων χρόνῳ πρηΰνεσθαι προσποιεῖσθαι καὶ ὑπίεσθαι τῆς ὀργῆς, τέλος δὲ ἐξελάσαι αὐτὸν τοὺς ὄνους ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ καὶ κατασκευάζειν. ὡς δὲ λόγους τε πλέους ἐγγίνεσθαι καὶ τινα καὶ σκῶψαί μιν καὶ ἐς γέλωτα προαγαγέσθαι, ἐπιδοῦναι αὐτοῖσι τῶν ἀσκῶν ἕνα· τοὺς δὲ αὐτοῦ ὥσπερ εἶχον κατακλιθέντας πίνειν διανοεῖσθαι, καὶ ἐκεῖνον παραλαμβάνειν καὶ κελεύειν μετ' ἑωυτῶν μείναντα συμπίνειν· τὸν δὲ πεισθῆναί τε δὴ καὶ καταμεῖναι. ὡς δέ μιν παρὰ τὴν πόσιν φιλοφρόνως ἠσπάζοντο, ἐπιδοῦναι αὐτοῖσι καὶ ἄλλον τῶν ἀσκῶν· δαψιλέι δὲ τῷ ποτῷ χρησαμένους τοὺς φυλάκους ὑπερμεθυσθῆναι καὶ κρατηθέντας ὑπὸ τοῦ ὕπνου αὐτοῦ ἔνθα περ ἔπινον κατακοιμηθῆναι. τὸν δέ, ὡς πρόσω ἦν τῆς νυκτός, τό τε σῶμα τοῦ ἀδελφεοῦ καταλῦσαι καὶ τῶν φυλάκων ἐπὶ λύμῃ πάντων ξυρῆσαι τὰς δεξιὰς παρηίδας,[3] ἐπιθέντα δὲ τὸν νέκυν ἐπὶ

[2] "When he was come to the guards who were watching the hanging corpse."

[3] The native Egyptians usually (though not invariably) shaved. The police, how-

τοὺς ὄνους ἀπελαύνειν ἐπ' οἴκου, ἐπιτελέσαντα τῇ μητρὶ τὰ
ε) προσταχθέντα. τὸν δὲ βασιλέα, ὡς αὐτῷ ἀπηγγέλθη τοῦ φωρὸς
ὁ νέκυς ἐκκεκλεμμένος, δεινὰ ποιεῖν· πάντως δὲ βουλόμενον
εὑρεθῆναι ὅστις κοτὲ εἴη ὁ τάοτα μηχανεόμενος, ποιῆσαί μιν
τάδε, ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐ πιστά. τὴν θυγατέρα τὴν ἑωυτοῦ κατίσαι ἐπ'
οἰκήματος, ἐντειλάμενον πάντας τε ὁμοίως προσδέκεσθαι, καὶ
πρὶν συγγενέσθαι, ἀναγκάζειν λέγειν αὐτῇ ὅ τι δὴ ἐν τῷ βίῳ
ἔργασται αὐτῷ σοφώτατον καὶ ἀνοσιώτατον· ὃς δ' ἂν ἀπηγήσηται
τὰ περὶ τὸν φῶρα γεγενημένα, τοῦτον συλλαμβάνειν καὶ μὴ
ἀπιέναι ἔξω. ὡς δὲ τὴν παῖδα ποιεῖν τὰ ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς προ-
σταχθέντα, τὸν φῶρα πυθόμενον τῶν εἵνεκα τάοτα ἐπρήσσετο,
βουληθέντα πολυτροπίῃ τοῦ βασιλέος περιγενέσθαι ποιεῖν τάδε.
νεκροῦ προσφάτου ἀποταμόντα ἐν τῷ ὤμῳ τὴν χεῖρα ἰέναι αὐτὸν
ἔχοντα αὐτὴν ὑπὸ τῷ ἱματίῳ· ἐσελθόντα δὲ ὡς[3a] τοῦ βασιλέος
τὴν θυγατέρα καὶ εἰρωτεόμενον τά περ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι, ἀπηγήσασθαι
ὡς ἀνοσιώτατον μὲν εἴη ἐργασμένος ὅτε τοῦ ἀδελφεοῦ ἐν τῷ
θησαυρῷ τοῦ βασιλέος ὑπὸ πάγης ἁλόντος ἀποτάμοι τὴν
κεφαλήν, σοφώτατον δὲ ὅτι τοὺς φυλάκους καταμεθύσας κατα-
λύσειε τοῦ ἀδελφεοῦ κρεμάμενον τὸν νέκυν. τὴν δὲ ὡς ἤκουσε
ἅπτεσθαι αὐτοῦ. τὸν δὲ φῶρα ἐν τῷ σκότει προτεῖναι αὐτῇ τοῦ
νεκροῦ τὴν χεῖρα· τὴν δὲ ἐπιλαβομένην ἔχειν, νομίζουσαν
αὐτοῦ ἐκείνου τῆς χειρὸς ἀντέχεσθαι· τὸν δὲ φῶρα προέμενον
ζ) αὐτῇ οἴχεσθαι διὰ θυρέων φεύγοντα. ὡς δὲ καὶ τάοτα ἐς τὸν
βασιλέα ἀνηνείχθη, ἐκπεπλῆχθαι μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ πολυφροσύνῃ τε
καὶ τόλμῃ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, τέλος δὲ διαπέμποντα ἐς πάσας τὰς
πόλιας ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι ἀδείην τε διδόντα καὶ μεγάλα ὑποδεκό-
μενον ἐλθόντι ἐς ὄψιν τὴν ἑωυτοῦ. τὸν δὲ φῶρα πιστεύσαντα
ἐλθεῖν πρὸς αὐτόν, Ῥαμψίνιτον δὲ μεγάλως θωυμάσαι, καί οἱ
τὴν θυγατέρα ταύτην συνοικίσαι ὡς πλεῖστα ἐπισταμένῳ ἀνθρώ-
πων· Αἰγυπτίους μὲν γὰρ τῶν ἄλλων προκεκρίσθαι, ἐκεῖνον δὲ
Αἰγυπτίων.

122 Μετὰ δὲ τάοτα ἔλεγον τοῦτον τὸν βασιλέα ζωὸν καταβῆναι
κάτω ἐς τὸν οἱ Ἕλληνες Ἅιδην νομίζουσι εἶναι, καὶ κεῖθι συγ-
κυβεύειν τῇ Δήμητρι,[4] καὶ τὰ μὲν νικᾶν αὐτὴν τὰ δὲ ἐσσοῦσθαι

ever, were recruited from the Libyan Matiu, who had whiskers. See Maspero, *Contes égyptiens*, p. xl.

[3a] "To"; not elsewhere in Herodotos.

[4] *i.e.* Isis. Plutarch (*De Is.* 12) records an Egyptian myth which accounted for the five days of the epact, needed to make up the 365 days of the solar year, by declaring that Hermês (Thoth) had won them at dice from the Moon before the birth of Osiris. The story told by Herodotos may be a dis-

ὑπ' αὐτῆς, καὶ μιν πάλιν ἀπικέσθαι δῶρον ἔχοντα παρ' αὐτῆς χειρόμακτρον χρύσεον. ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Ῥαμψινίτου καταβάσιος, ὡς πάλιν ἀπίκετο, ὀρτὴν δὴ ἀνάγειν Αἰγυπτίους ἔφασαν, τὴν καὶ ἐγὼ οἶδα ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἐπιτελέοντας αὐτούς· οὐ μέντοι εἴ γε διὰ τάοτα ὀρτάζουσι ἔχω λέγειν. φᾶρος δὲ αὐτημερὸν ἐξυφήναντες οἱ ἱερεῖς κατ' ὧν ἔδησαν ἑνὸς ἑωυτῶν μίτρῃ τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς, ἀγαγόντες δέ μιν ἔχοντα τὸ φᾶρος ἐς ὁδὸν φέρουσαν ἐς ἱερὸν Δήμητρος[5] αὐτοὶ ἀπαλλάσσονται ὀπίσω· τὸν δὲ ἱερέα τοῦτον καταδεδεμένον τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς λέγουσι ὑπὸ δύο λύκων ἄγεσθαι ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Δήμητρος ἀπέχον τῆς πόλιος εἴκοσι σταδίους, καὶ αὖτις ὀπίσω ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἀπάγειν μιν τοὺς λύκους ἐς τὠυτὸ χωρίον. τοῖσι μέν νυν ὑπ' Αἰγυπτίων λεγομένοισι 123
χράσθω ὅτεῳ τὰ τοιαῦτα πιθανά ἐστι·[6] ἐμοὶ δὲ παρὰ πάντα τὸν λόγον ὑποκεῖται ὅτι τὰ λεγόμενα ὑπ' ἑκάστων ἀκοῇ γράφω. ἀρχηγετεύειν δὲ τῶν κάτω Αἰγύπτιοι λέγουσι Δήμητρα καὶ Διόνυσον.[7] πρῶτοι δὲ καὶ τόνδε τὸν λόγον Αἰγύπτιοί εἰσι οἱ εἰπόντες, ὡς ἀνθρώπου ψυχὴ ἀθάνατός ἐστι, τοῦ σώματος δὲ καταφθίνοντος ἐς ἄλλο ζῷον αἰεὶ γινόμενον ἐσδύεται, ἐπεὰν δὲ πάντα περιέλθῃ τὰ χερσαῖα καὶ τὰ θαλάσσια καὶ τὰ πετεινά, αὖτις ἐς ἀνθρώπου σῶμα γινόμενον ἐσδύνει, τὴν περιήλυσιν δὲ αὐτῇ γίνεσθαι ἐν τρισχιλίοισι ἔτεσι.[8] τούτῳ τῷ λόγῳ εἰσὶ οἳ Ἑλλήνων ἐχρήσαντο, οἱ μὲν πρότερον οἱ δὲ ὕστερον,[9] ὡς ἰδίῳ ἑωυτῶν ἐόντι· τῶν ἐγὼ εἰδὼς τὰ οὐνόματα οὐ γράφω.

Μέχρι μέν νυν Ῥαμψινίτου βασιλέος εἶναι ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ πᾶσαν 124
εὐνομίην ἔλεγον καὶ εὐθηνεῖν Αἴγυπτον μεγάλως, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον βασιλεύσαντά σφεων Χέοπα ἐς πᾶσαν κακότητα ἐλάσαι.[1] κατα-

torted form of this, since it is associated with a feast of Isis. The Greeks perhaps affixed it to the name of Rhampsinitos in consequence of the representation of Ramses III. seated at draughts with a woman of the harem, which holds a prominent place on the outer wall of his palace at Medînet Abu. The romance of Setnau, given in a demotic papyrus, describes how Setnau descended into the tomb of Ptah-nofer-ka at Koptos, and beat the dead man in a game of fifty-two points, thereby gaining possession of a magical book.

[5] Doubt is thrown upon the ceremony by the fact that Herodotos does not say where this particular temple of Isis was.

Amenti, the Egyptian Hades, was guarded by two jackals, the representatives of Anubis, who are accordingly often depicted on the monuments. Herodotos or his informants mistook them for wolves.

[6] Even the faith of Herodotos was not robust enough to swallow the descent of Rhampsinitos into Hades.

[7] Isis and Osiris.

[8] See Appendix I. The souls of the wicked alone passed into animals.

[9] Pherekydês of Syros (Cic. *Tusc. Disp.* i. 16), Pythagoras, Empedoklês, etc.

[1] The three pyramid-builders belonged to the fourth dynasty, and reigned about 3000 years earlier than Ramses. But

κληίσαντα γάρ μιν πάντα τὰ ἱερὰ πρῶτα μέν σφεας θυσίων τουτέων ἀπέρξαι,[2] μετὰ δὲ ἐργάζεσθαι ἑωυτῷ κελεύειν πάντας Αἰγυπτίους. τοῖσι μὲν δὴ ἀποδεδέχθαι ἐκ τῶν λιθοτομίων τῶν ἐν τῷ Ἀραβίῳ ὄρει,[3] ἐκ τουτέων ἕλκειν λίθους μέχρι τοῦ Νείλου· διαπεραιωθέντας δὲ τὸν ποταμὸν πλοίοισι τοὺς λίθους ἑτέροισι ἔταξε ἐκδέκεσθαι καὶ πρὸς τὸ Λιβυκὸν καλεόμενον ὄρος, πρὸς τοῦτο ἕλκειν. ἐργάζοντο δὲ κατὰ δέκα μυριάδας ἀνθρώπων αἰεὶ τὴν τρίμηνον ἑκάστην. χρόνον δὲ ἐγγενέσθαι τριβομένῳ τῷ λεῷ δέκα ἔτεα μὲν τῆς ὁδοῦ κατ' ἣν εἵλκον τοὺς λίθους,[4] τὴν ἔδειμαν ἔργον ἐὸν οὐ πολλῷ τεῳ ἔλασσον τῆς πυραμίδος, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν· τῆς μὲν γὰρ μῆκος εἰσὶ πέντε στάδιοι, εὖρος δὲ δέκα ὀργυιαί, ὕψος δέ, τῇ ὑψηλοτάτη ἐστὶ αὐτὴ ἑωυτῆς, ὀκτὼ ὀργυιαί, λίθου τε ξεστοῦ καὶ ζῴων ἐγγεγλυμμένων· ταύτης τε δὴ τὰ δέκα ἔτεα γενέσθαι καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ λόφου ἐπ' οὗ ἑστᾶσι αἱ πυραμίδες, τῶν ὑπὸ γῆν οἰκημάτων, τὰς ἐποιεῖτο θήκας ἑωυτῷ ἐν νήσῳ,[5] διώρυχα τοῦ Νείλου ἐσαγαγών. τῇ δὲ πυραμίδι αὐτῇ χρόνον γενέσθαι εἴκοσι ἔτεα ποιεομένῃ, τῆς ἐστι πανταχῇ μέτωπον ἕκαστον ὀκτὼ πλέθρα[6] ἐούσης τετραγώνου καὶ ὕψος ἴσον, λίθου δὲ ξεστοῦ τε καὶ ἁρμοσμένου τὰ μάλιστα· οὐδεὶς τῶν λίθων τριήκοντα ποδῶν
125 ἐλάσσων.[7] ἐποιήθη δὲ ὧδε αὕτη ἡ πυραμίς, ἀναβαθμῶν τρόπον,

Herodotos having visited Memphis before the pyramids, and having consequently noted down the stories attached to the building of the city before those attached to the pyramids, imagined that Kheops must have come after Rhampsinitos. Kheops—Souphis in Manetho—is the Egyptian Khufu or Shufu, "the long-haired," the builder of the Great Pyramid of Gizeh, and the conqueror of the Sinaitic Peninsula for the sake of the copper and turquoise mines there. So far from being impious, he was a devoted worshipper of the gods, the builder and endower of a temple of Isis, and even, according to tradition, the author of a religious treatise. His impiety was an invention of the Greeks, like the bad government of his reign.

[2] This is in direct contradiction of the monuments.

[3] See ch. 8, note 1.

[4] "The period during which the people were oppressed in order to make a causeway." Most MSS. read τῷ ἄλλῳ λεῷ, which is not easy to explain. Traces of two causeways still remain, one leading to the Great Pyramid, the other to the Third. The first is only 32 feet broad (not 60 as Herodotos says), and 85 feet high (not 48 as Herodotos makes it).

[5] "Ten years were devoted to this and to the underground chambers on the (rock) platform whereon the pyramids stand, which he made to be vaults for himself in the midst of an island." There is no trace of a canal, and none could have existed, as the platform on which the pyramids stand is more than 100 feet above the level of the highest inundation at the present day.

[6] That is, 800 feet. The real length of the side was originally 764 feet, the perpendicular height from 480 to 485 feet, and the height of each sloping side 610 feet.

[7] The stones vary considerably in size. —Pyramid was *abumir* in Egyptian. The Greek word properly denoted a pyramid-shaped cake (Athen. 647 C),

τὰς μετεξέτεροι κρόσσας οἱ δὲ βωμίδας ὀνομάζουσι. τοιαύτην τὸ πρῶτον ἐπείτε ἐποίησαν αὐτήν, ἤειρον τοὺς ἐπιλοίπους λίθους μηχανῇσι ξύλων βραχέων πεποιημένῃσι, χαμᾶθεν μὲν ἐπὶ τὸν πρῶτον στοῖχον τῶν ἀναβαθμῶν ἀείροντες· ὅκως δὲ ἀνίοι ὁ λίθος ἐπ' αὐτόν, ἐς ἑτέρην μηχανὴν ἐτίθετο ἑστεῶσαν ἐπὶ τοῦ πρώτου στοίχου, ἀπὸ τούτου δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν δεύτερον εἵλκετο στοῖχον ἐπ' ἄλλης μηχανῆς· ὅσοι γὰρ δὴ στοῖχοι ἦσαν τῶν ἀναβαθμῶν, τοσαῦται καὶ μηχαναὶ ἦσαν, εἴτε καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν μηχανὴν ἐοῦσαν μίαν τε καὶ εὐβάστακτον μετεφόρεον ἐπὶ στοῖχον ἕκαστον, ὅκως τὸν λίθον ἐξέλοιεν· λελέχθω γὰρ[8] ἡμῖν ἐπ' ἀμφότερα, κατά περ λέγεται. ἐξεποιήθη δ' ὦν τὰ ἀνώτατα αὐτῆς πρῶτα, μετὰ δὲ τὰ ἐχόμενα τούτων ἐξεποίεον, τελευταῖα δὲ αὐτῆς τὰ ἐπίγεα καὶ τὰ κατωτάτω ἐξεποίησαν,[9] σεσήμανται δὲ διὰ γραμμάτων Αἰγυπτίων ἐν τῇ πυραμίδι ὅσα ἔς τε συρμαίην καὶ κρόμμυα καὶ σκόροδα ἀναισιμώθη τοῖσι ἐργαζομένοισι· καὶ ὡς ἐμὲ εὖ μεμνῆσθαι τὰ ὁ ἑρμηνεύς μοι ἐπιλεγόμενος τὰ γράμματα ἔφη, ἑξακόσια καὶ χίλια τάλαντα ἀργυρίου τετελέσθαι.[1] εἰ δ' ἔστι οὕτω ἔχοντα τάοτα, κόσα οἰκὸς ἄλλα δεδαπανῆσθαί ἐστι ἔς τε σίδηρον τῷ ἐργάζοντο, καὶ σιτία καὶ ἐσθῆτα τοῖσι ἐργαζομένοισι; ὁκότε χρόνον μὲν οἰκοδόμεον τὰ ἔργα τὸν εἰρημένον, ἄλλον δέ, ὡς ἐγὼ δοκέω, ἐν τῷ τοὺς λίθους ἔταμνον καὶ ἦγον καὶ τὸ ὑπὸ γῆν ὄρυγμα ἐργάζοντο, οὐκ ὀλίγον χρόνον. ἐς τοῦτο δὲ ἐλθεῖν Χέοπα κακότητος ὥστε 126

made of wheat (πυρός), which was compared by the first Ionian settlers in Egypt with the tombs of the ancient Egyptian kings. De Sacy's derivation from the Egyptian article *pi* (*pa*), and the Arabic *haram*, "sacred enclosure," is plainly impossible.

[8] "Or again they might have had only one machine, which, being easily moved, they transferred from tier to tier, when they had chosen the stone; for let the story be given."

[9] This is plainly contrary to probability. Lepsius has shown that a king, on ascending the throne, built a small pyramid, and covered it with a fresh coating of stone each year of his reign. Hence the size of the Great Pyramid is explained by the long reign of Kheops.

[1] This was not the kind of inscription placed by Egyptian kings upon their monuments, and the inscriptions written on the exterior of a pyramid were either funeral formulæ of a later date or graffiti. The Greek guide was not likely to be able to read hieroglyphics, and simply guessed at their meaning, which was probably suggested to him by what looked like the head of an onion in the name of Kheops. Lentils, rather than radishes, onions, and garlick, were the staple vegetables of the Egyptian working class. The Great Pyramid was called Khufu-khut, "the glorious throne (*or* lights) of Kheops," by the Egyptians. Maspero suggests that the inscription seen by Herodotos was a proscynema to Osiris for a dead person to whom the god is asked to give bread, beef, wine, oil, etc., the inscription being accompanied by the picture of a table on which the food was piled (*Annuaire de l'Ass. des Et. grecques*, 1875, p. 17).

χρημάτων δεόμενον τὴν θυγατέρα τὴν ἑωυτοῦ κατίσαντα ἐπ' οἰκήματος προστάξαι πρήσσεσθαι ἀργύριον ὁκόσον δή τι· οὐ γὰρ δὴ τοῦτό γε ἔλεγον. τὴν δὲ τά τε ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ταχθέντα πρήσσεσθαι, ἰδίῃ δὲ καὶ αὐτὴν διανοηθῆναι μνημήιον καταλιπέσθαι, καὶ τοῦ ἐσιόντος πρὸς αὐτὴν ἑκάστου δεῖσθαι ὅκως ἂν αὐτῇ ἕνα λίθον ἐν τοῖσι ἔργοισι δωρέοιτο. ἐκ τούτων δὲ τῶν λίθων ἔφασαν τὴν πυραμίδα οἰκοδομηθῆναι τὴν ἐν μέσῳ τῶν τριῶν ἑστηκυῖαν, ἔμπροσθε τῆς μεγάλης πυραμίδος,[2] τῆς ἐστι τὸ
127 κῶλον ἕκαστον ὅλου καὶ ἡμίσεος πλέθρου. βασιλεῦσαι δὲ τὸν Χέοπα τοῦτον Αἰγύπτιοι ἔλεγον πεντήκοντα ἔτεα,[3] τελευτήσαντος δὲ τούτου ἐκδέξασθαι τὴν βασιληίην τὸν ἀδελφεὸν αὐτοῦ Χεφρῆνα·[4] καὶ τοῦτον δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ τρόπῳ διαχρᾶσθαι τῷ ἑτέρῳ τά τε ἄλλα καὶ πυραμίδα ποιῆσαι, ἐς μὲν τὰ ἐκείνου μέτρα οὐκ ἀνήκουσαν· τάοτα γὰρ ὧν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐμετρήσαμεν· οὔτε γὰρ ὕπεστι οἰκήματα ὑπὸ γῆν, οὔτε ἐκ τοῦ Νείλου διῶρυξ ἥκει ἐς αὐτὴν ὥσπερ ἐς τὴν ἑτέρην ῥέουσα· δι' οἰκοδομημένου δὲ αὐλῶνος ἔσω νῆσον περιρρεῖν, ἐν τῇ αὐτὸν λέγουσι κεῖσθαι Χέοπα. ὑποδείμας δὲ τὸν πρῶτον δόμον λίθου Αἰθιοπικοῦ ποικίλου,[5] τεσσεράκοντα πόδας ὑποβὰς τῆς ἑτέρης, τὠυτὸ μέγαθος ἐχομένην τῆς μεγάλης οἰκοδόμησε. ἑστᾶσι δὲ ἐπὶ λόφου τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀμφότεραι, μάλιστα ἐς ἑκατὸν πόδας ὑψηλοῦ. βασιλεῦσαι δὲ ἔλεγον Χεφρῆνα ἓξ καὶ πεντήκοντα ἔτεα.[6]

128 Τάοτα ἓξ τε καὶ ἑκατὸν λογίζονται ἔτεα, ἐν τοῖσι Αἰγυπτίοισί τε πᾶσαν εἶναι κακότητα καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ χρόνου τοσούτου κατακλησθέντα οὐκ ἀνοιχθῆναι. τούτους ὑπὸ μίσεος οὐ κάρτα θέλουσι Αἰγύπτιοι ὀνομάζειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς πυραμίδας καλέουσι ποιμένος Φιλίτιος, ὃς τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ἔνεμε κτήνεα κατὰ τάοτα τὰ χωρία.[7]

[2] This pyramid has the name of Men-ka-ra (Mykerinos) painted on the ceiling. The story attached to it was an invention of the Greek guides. Maspero suggests that the heroine was Hont-sen, a favourite daughter of Khufu, for whom he built a funereal pyramid near the temple of Isis of Rosta.

[3] According to Manetho sixty-three years. His successor was Ra-tatef according to the tablets of Abydos and Sakkarah; then came his son-in-law Shafra (for sixty-six years according to Manetho, who calls him Souphis II.)

[4] Son-in-law, not brother. Khafra or Shafra in Egyptian, called Khabryas by Diod. Sic. His wife was Meri-s-ankh, by whom he had two sons, Neb-m-akhu-t and S-kem-ka-ra, and in right of whom he came to the throne.

[5] Syenian granite. Shafra had the command of the river as far as the First Cataract. The Egyptian name of the Second Pyramid was *ur*, "the great." Its original perpendicular height was 458 feet, the height of each sloping side 575¾ feet, and the length 711¾ feet.

[6] According to Manetho sixty-six years.

[7] Perhaps a reminiscence of the Hyksos invasion, Philitis or Philition standing

Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον βασιλεῦσαι Αἰγύπτου Μυκερῖνον[8] ἔλεγον 129
Χέοπος παῖδα· τῷ τὰ μὲν τοῦ πατρὸς ἔργα ἀπαδεῖν, τὸν δὲ τά
τε ἱερὰ ἀνοῖξαι καὶ τὸν λεὼν τετρυμένον ἐς τὸ ἔσχατον κακοῦ
ἀνεῖναι πρὸς ἔργα τε καὶ θυσίας, δίκας δέ σφι πάντων βασιλέων
δικαιοτάτας κρίνειν. κατὰ τοῦτο μέν νυν τὸ ἔργον ἀπάντων
ὅσοι ἤδη βασιλεῖς ἐγένοντο Αἰγυπτίων αἰνέουσι μάλιστα τοῦτον.
τά τε ἄλλα γάρ μιν κρίνειν εὖ, καὶ δὴ καὶ τῷ ἐπιμεμφομένῳ ἐκ
τῆς δίκης παρ' ἑωυτοῦ διδόντα ἄλλα ἀποπιμπλάναι αὐτοῦ τὸν
θυμόν.[9] ἐόντι δὲ ἠπίῳ τῷ Μυκερίνῳ κατὰ τοὺς πολιήτας καὶ
τάοτα ἐπιτηδεύοντι πρῶτον κακῶν ἄρξαι τὴν θυγατέρα ἀποθα-
νοῦσαν αὐτοῦ, τὴν μοῦνόν οἱ εἶναι ἐν τοῖσι οἰκίοισι τέκνον. τὸν
δὲ ὑπεραλγήσαντά τε τῷ περιεπεπτώκει πρήγματι, καὶ βουλό-
μενον περισσότερόν τι τῶν ἄλλων θάψαι τὴν θυγατέρα, ποιή-
σασθαι βοῦν ξυλίνην κοίλην, καὶ ἔπειτα καταχρυσώσαντά μιν
ταύτην ἔσω ἐν αὐτῇ θάψαι ταύτην δὴ τὴν ἀποθανοῦσαν θυγατέρα.
αὕτη ὦν ἡ βοῦς γέα οὐκ ἐκρύφθη, ἀλλ' ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἦν φανερή, 130
ἐν Σάι μὲν πόλει ἐοῦσα, κειμένη δὲ ἐν τοῖσι βασιληίοισι ἐν
οἰκήματι ἠσκημένῳ· θυμιήματα δὲ παρ' αὐτῇ παντοῖα καταγί-
ζουσι ἀνὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέρην, νύκτα δὲ ἑκάστην πάννυχος λύχνος
παρακαίεται.[1] ἀγχοῦ δὲ τῆς βοὸς ταύτης ἐν ἄλλῳ οἰκήματι
εἰκόνες τῶν παλλακέων τῶν Μυκερίνου ἑστᾶσι, ὡς ἔλεγον οἱ ἐν
Σάι πόλει ἱερεῖς· ἑστᾶσι μὲν γὰρ ξύλινοι κολοσσοί, ἐοῦσαι
ἀριθμὸν ὡς εἴκοσι μάλιστά κῃ, γυμναὶ ἐργασμέναι· αἴτινες
μέντοι εἰσί, οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν πλὴν ἢ τὰ λεγόμενα.[2] οἱ δέ τινες 131
λέγουσι περὶ τῆς βοὸς ταύτης καὶ τῶν κολοσσῶν τόνδε τὸν
λόγον, ὡς Μυκερῖνος ἠράσθη τῆς ἑωυτοῦ θυγατρὸς καὶ ἔπειτα
ἐμίγη οἱ ἀεκούσῃ·[3] μετὰ δὲ λέγουσι ὡς ἡ παῖς ἀπήγξατο ὑπὸ

for Salatis, the first king of the Shepherds, rather than for Philistines. But the connection between the pyramids and the Hyksos is difficult to discover.

[8] Men-ka-ra in Egyptian, Menkheres in Manetho, the lid of whose sarcophagus is now in the British Museum. He does not seem to have been related to Khufu, and it is possible that at this time in Egypt descent was traced through the mother rather than through the father (see i. ch. 173, note 5). In the Book of the Dead it is stated that his son Hortetef found one of the most important chapters of the Ritual, during his reign, at Sesennu or Hermopolis. According to Manetho he reigned sixty-three years; the Turin Papyrus seems to read twenty-four.

[9] "If anyone brought a charge against him on account of his decision, Mykerinos appeased his mind by giving him something else out of his own purse." For παρ' ἑωυτοῦ, cp. vii. 29, viii. 5.

[1] The cow must have been an image (or rather symbol) of Isis Hathor, who bore between the horns the disk of the moon (ch. 132).

[2] They were doubtless images of Hathor, who is represented naked. Adult women were never so depicted.

[3] We have once more an unclean inven-

ἄχεος, ὁ δέ μιν ἔθαψε ἐν τῇ βοὶ ταύτῃ, ἡ δὲ μήτηρ αὐτῆς τῶν ἀμφιπόλων τῶν προδουσέων τὴν θυγατέρα τῷ πατρὶ ἀπέταμε τὰς χεῖρας, καὶ νῦν τὰς εἰκόνας αὐτέων εἶναι πεπονθυίας τά περ αἱ ζωαὶ ἔπαθον. τάοτα δὲ λέγουσι φλυηρέοντες, ὡς ἐγὼ δοκέω, τά τε ἄλλα καὶ δὴ καὶ τὰ περὶ τὰς χεῖρας τῶν κολοσσῶν· τάοτα γὰρ ὧν καὶ ἡμεῖς ὡρῶμεν ὅτι ὑπὸ χρόνου τὰς χεῖρας ἀποβεβλή-
132 κασι, αἳ ἐν ποσὶ αὐτέων ἐφαίνοντο ἐοῦσαι ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμέ. ἡ δὲ βοῦς τὰ μὲν ἄλλα κατακέκρυπται φοινικέῳ εἵματι, τὸν αὐχένα δὲ καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν φαίνει κεχρυσωμένα παχέι κάρτα χρυσῷ· μεταξὺ δὲ τῶν κερέων ὁ τοῦ ἡλίου κύκλος[4] μεμιμημένος ἔπεστι χρύσεος. ἔστι δὲ ἡ βοῦς οὐκ ὀρθὴ ἀλλ' ἐν γούνασι κειμένη, μέγαθος δὲ ὅση περ μεγάλη βοῦς ζωή. ἐκφέρεται δὲ ἐκ τοῦ οἰκήματος ἀνὰ πάντα ἔτεα, ἐπεὰν τύπτωνται Αἰγύπτιοι τὸν οὐκ ὀνομαζόμενον θεὸν ὑπ' ἐμέο ἐπὶ τοιούτῳ πρήγματι.[5] τότε ὦν καὶ τὴν βοῦν ἐκφέρουσι ἐς τὸ φῶς· φασὶ γὰρ αὐτὴν δεηθῆναι τοῦ πατρὸς Μυκερίνου ἀποθνήσκουσαν ἐν τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ ἄπαξ μιν τὸν ἥλιον κατιδεῖν.[6]

133 Μετὰ δὲ τῆς θυγατρὸς τὸ πάθος δεύτερα τούτῳ τῷ βασιλέι τάδε γενέσθαι. ἐλθεῖν οἱ μαντήιον ἐκ Βουτοῦς πόλιος ὡς μέλλοι ἓξ ἔτεα μοῦνον βιοὺς τῷ ἑβδόμῳ τελευτήσειν. τὸν δὲ δεινὸν ποιησάμενον πέμψαι ἐς τὸ μαντήιον τῷ θεῷ ὀνείδισμα, ἀντιμεμφόμενον ὅτι ὁ μὲν αὐτοῦ πατὴρ καὶ πάτρως, ἀποκλήισαντες τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ θεῶν οὐ μεμνημένοι ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους φθείροντες, ἐβίωσαν χρόνον ἐπὶ πολλόν, αὐτὸς δ' εὐσεβὴς ἐὼν μέλλοι ταχέως οὕτω τελευτήσειν. ἐκ δὲ τοῦ χρηστηρίου αὐτῷ δεύτερα ἐλθεῖν λέγοντα τούτων εἵνεκα καὶ συνταχύνειν αὐτὸν τὸν βίον· οὐ γὰρ ποιῆσαί μιν τὸ χρεὸν ἦν ποιεῖν· δεῖν γὰρ Αἴγυπτον κακοῦσθαι ἐπ' ἔτεα πεντήκοντά τε καὶ ἑκατόν,[7] καὶ τοὺς μὲν δύο τοὺς πρὸ ἐκείνου γενομένους βασιλέας μαθεῖν τοῦτο, κεῖνον δὲ οὔ. τάοτα ἀκούσαντα τὸν Μυκερῖνον, ὡς κατακεκριμένων ἤδη οἱ τούτων, λύχνα ποιησάμενον πολλά, ὅκως γίνοιτο νύξ, ἀνάψαντα αὐτὰ πίνειν τε καὶ εὐπαθεῖν, οὔτε ἡμέρης οὔτε νυκτὸς ἀνιέντα,

tion of the half-caste guides. Even Herodotos saw that he was being befooled.

[4] It was intended for the moon, not the sun.

[5] When the women lamented for the death of Osiris and the search of Isis for him.

[6] The guide mistook the disk of the moon for that of the sun; hence this myth.

[7] This shows that the legend had been concocted by the dragomen, as also do the reference to oracles, and the idea of a man being able to do without sleep (cp. *Od.* x. 84). Its connection with Sais may be due to the fact that Psammetikhos II. bore the name of Men-ka-ra, and reigned six years, like the six years ascribed to Mykerinos in the myth.

ἔς τε τὰ ἕλεα καὶ τὰ ἄλσεα πλανώμενον καὶ ἵνα πυνθάνοιτο εἶναι ἐνηβητήρια ἐπιτηδεότατα. τάοτα δὲ ἐμηχανᾶτο θέλων τὸ μαντήιον ψευδόμενον ἀποδέξαι, ἵνα οἱ δυώδεκα ἔτεα ἀντὶ ἓξ ἐτέων γένηται, αἱ νύκτες ἡμέραι ποιεόμεναι.

Πυραμίδα δὲ οὗτος ἀπελίπετο πολλὸν ἐλάσσω τοῦ πατρός, 134
εἴκοσι ποδῶν καταδέουσαν κῶλον ἕκαστον τριῶν πλέθρων, ἐούσης τετραγώνου,[8] λίθου δὲ ἐς τὸ ἥμισυ Αἰθιοπικοῦ· τὴν δὴ μετεξέτεροί φασι Ἑλλήνων Ῥοδώπιος ἑταίρης γυναικὸς εἶναι, οὐκ ὀρθῶς λέγοντες.[9] οὐδὲ ὢν οὐδὲ εἰδότες μοι φαίνονται λέγειν οὗτοι ἥτις ἦν ἡ Ῥοδῶπις· οὐ γὰρ ἄν οἱ πυραμίδα ἀνέθεσαν ποιήσασθαι τοιαύτην, ἐς τὴν ταλάντων χιλιάδες ἀναρίθμητοι ὡς λόγῳ εἰπεῖν ἀναισίμωνται· πρὸς δὲ ὅτι κατὰ Ἄμασιν βασιλεύοντα ἦν ἀκμάζουσα Ῥοδῶπις, ἀλλ' οὐ κατὰ τοῦτον. ἔτεσι γὰρ κάρτα πολλοῖσι ὕστερον τούτων τῶν βασιλέων τῶν τὰς πυραμίδας ταύτας ἦν λιπομένων Ῥοδῶπις, γενεὴν μὲν ἀπὸ Θρηίκης, δούλη δὲ ἦν Ἰάδμονος τοῦ Ἡφαιστοπόλιος ἀνδρὸς Σαμίου, σύνδουλος δὲ Αἰσώπου τοῦ λογοποιοῦ.[1] καὶ γὰρ οὗτος

[8] *i.e.* 200 feet each side: Pliny is nearer the truth with his 363 Roman feet (about 350 English). The original length was 356½ feet, the perpendicular height being 219 feet, and the sloping height 279¾ feet. The Egyptian name of the Third Pyramid was *her*, "the upper." The lower part is still covered with its coating of polished granite, the edges of which are bevelled.

[9] For once Herodotos allows that the legend came from the Greeks, not from the "priests." It embodies the old Aryan nursery tale of which the story of Cinderella and her slipper is a familiar illustration. According to Strabo (xvii. p. 1146) Rhodôpis or Rhodôpê was called Dorikha by Sapphô. Manetho made the Third Pyramid the work of Nitokris, the queen of the sixth dynasty, whom he described as "rosy-cheeked," and the pyramid really seems to have been finished by another sovereign than its original builder. This fact may have started the Greek legend that it was constructed by Rhodôpis, "the rosy-cheeked." Ælian (*Var. H.* xiii. 33) makes Psammetikhos the king who married Rhodôpis, and the wife of Psammetikhos II. was a Neitakrit or Neitaker; while the Hellenic proclivities of Psammetikhos I., and the marriage of Amasis to a Greek wife, suggested the rest of the story.

[1] Hephæstopolis is not likely to have been the name of an individual, and the introduction of Æsop points to the legendary character of the whole story, which Herodotos seems to have heard in Samos. The fables ascribed to Æsop were not written down until the time of Plato (see *Wasps*, 1259, and Plat. *Phædr.* 61), but were merely repeated orally, and, like the epic literature, which was all assigned to a single Homer, were assigned to a single eponymous author. Thus the "fable of Æsop" referred to in Aristoph. *Birds*, 651, is said by the scholiast to have been composed by Arkhilokhos. The number of birthplaces claimed for Æsop, as well as the stories current about him, indicate that he was a creation of the popular mind. The fables can be traced to the old Hindu stories which were turned to a moral account by the Buddhists,

Ἰάδμονος ἐγένετο, ὡς διέδεξε τῇδε οὐκ ἥκιστα· ἐπείτε γὰρ πολλάκις κηρυσσόντων Δελφῶν ἐκ θεοπροπίου ὃς βούλοιτο ποινὴν τῆς Αἰσώπου ψυχῆς ἀνελέσθαι, ἄλλος μὲν οὐδεὶς ἐφάνη, Ἰάδμονος δὲ παιδὸς παῖς ἄλλος Ἰάδμων ἀνείλετο. οὕτω καὶ
135 Αἴσωπος Ἰάδμονος ἐγένετο.[2] Ῥοδῶπις δὲ ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἀπίκετο Ξάνθεω τοῦ Σαμίου κομίσαντός μιν, ἀπικομένη δὲ κατ' ἐργασίην ἐλύθη χρημάτων μεγάλων ὑπὸ ἀνδρὸς Μυτιληναίου Χαράξου τοῦ Σκαμανδρωνύμου παιδός, ἀδελφεοῦ δὲ Σαπφοῦς τῆς μουσοποιοῦ. οὕτω δὴ ἡ Ῥοδῶπις ἐλευθερώθη, καὶ κατέμεινέ τε ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ κάρτα ἐπαφρόδιτος γενομένη μεγάλα ἐκτήσατο χρήματα ὡς ἂν εἶναι Ῥοδώπι,[3] ἀτὰρ οὐκ ὥς γε ἐς πυραμίδα τοιαύτην ἐξικέσθαι. τῆς γὰρ τὴν δεκάτην τῶν χρημάτων ἰδέσθαι ἐστὶ ἔτι καὶ ἐς τόδε παντὶ τῷ βουλομένῳ, οὐδὲν δεῖ μεγάλα οἱ χρήματα ἀναθεῖναι. ἐπεθύμησε γὰρ Ῥοδῶπις μνημήιον ἑωυτῆς ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι καταλιπέσθαι, ποίημα ποιησαμένη τοῦτο τὸ μὴ τυγχάνοι ἄλλῳ ἐξευρημένον καὶ ἀνακείμενον ἐν ἱερῷ, τοῦτο ἀναθεῖναι ἐς Δελφοὺς μνημόσυνον ἑωυτῆς. τῆς ὦν δεκάτης τῶν χρημάτων ποιησαμένη ὀβελοὺς βουπόρους πολλοὺς σιδηρέους, ὅσον ἐνεχώρει ἡ δεκάτη οἱ, ἀπέπεμπε ἐς Δελφούς· οἱ καὶ νῦν ἔτι συννενέαται ὄπισθε μὲν τοῦ βωμοῦ τὸν Χῖοι ἀνέθησαν, ἀντίον δὲ αὐτοῦ τοῦ νηοῦ. φιλέουσι δέ κως ἐν τῇ

and which we have in the two Sanskrit collections, the Panchatantra and the Hitopadeça. The latter were translated into Persian (Pehlevi) A.D. 570, for Khosru Nushirvan, and again into Arabic by Almokaffa about A.D. 770, under the title of the "Kalila and Dimna." The Arabs ascribed the fables to the mythical sage Lokman, the contemporary of Solomon, whom the Persians regarded as an ugly black slave. The Kalila and Dimna was translated into Greek by Simeon in the eleventh century, and into Hebrew by the Rabbi Joel, the latter becoming the source of our European fables through the Latin rendering of John of Capua. A French rendering of a Persian translation of the Arabic book (made by David Sahid of Ispahan), which ascribed the fables to the "Indian sage Bilpay" or Pilpay, appeared in the seventeenth century. Αἴσωπος may be a Græcised form of a Lydo-Phrygian name. Λογοποιός is "prose-writer," λόγος being opposed to ἔπη, "verses."

[2] "Accordingly Æsop must have been Iadmôn's slave." The usual story, however, was that Æsop had been manumitted, was intimate with Krœsos, Solon, and Peisistratos, and had been sent to Delphi as the Ambassador of Krœsos (see Plut. *de S. Num. Vind.* p. 556 F). There he was thrown from the Hyampæan rock on a charge of sacrilege, according to the scholiast on Aristoph. *Wasps*, 1446-9, because he had ridiculed the Delphians for having no landed property, in revenge for which they had hidden one of the sacred vessels in his baggage.

[3] "For a Rhodôpis, that is." Ῥοδώπι is Schäfer's correction of the Ῥοδῶπιν of the MSS. Valcknaer reads Ῥοδώπιος, Reiske κατὰ Ῥοδῶπιν. The construction is the same as in ὡς εἰκάσαι, and results from the fact that the infinitive was originally the dative of a verbal noun,

Ναυκράτι ἐπαφρόδιτοι γίνεσθαι αἱ ἑταῖραι. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ αὕτη, τῆς πέρι λέγεται ὅδε ὁ λόγος, οὕτω δή τι κλεινὴ ἐγένετο ὡς καὶ οἱ πάντες Ἕλληνες Ῥοδώπιος τὸ οὔνομα ἐξέμαθον· τοῦτο δὲ ὕστερον ταύτης, τῇ οὔνομα[4] ἦν Ἀρχιδίκη, ἀοίδιμος ἀνὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐγένετο, ἧσσον δὲ τῆς ἑτέρης περιλεσχήνευτος. Χάραξος δὲ ὡς λυσάμενος Ῥοδῶπιν ἀπενόστησε ἐς Μυτιλήνην, ἐν μέλει Σαπφὼ πολλὰ κατεκερτόμησέ μιν.[5]

Ῥοδώπιος μέν νυν πέρι πέπαυμαι. μετὰ δὲ Μυκερῖνον 136
γενέσθαι Αἰγύπτου βασιλέα ἔλεγον οἱ ἱερεῖς Ἄσυχιν,[6] τὸν τὰ πρὸς ἥλιον ἀνίσχοντα ποιῆσαι τῷ Ἡφαίστῳ προπύλαια, ἐόντα πολλῷ τε κάλλιστα καὶ πολλῷ μέγιστα· ἔχει μὲν γὰρ καὶ τὰ πάντα προπύλαια τύπους τε ἐγγεγλυμμένους καὶ ἄλλην ὄψιν οἰκοδομημάτων μυρίην, ἐκεῖνα δὲ καὶ μακρῷ μάλιστα. ἐπὶ τούτου βασιλεύοντος ἔλεγον, ἀμιξίης ἐούσης πολλῆς χρημάτων, γενέσθαι νόμον Αἰγυπτίοισι, ἀποδεικνύντα ἐνέχυρον τοῦ πατρὸς τὸν νέκυν οὕτω λαμβάνειν τὸ χρέος·[7] προστεθῆναι δὲ ἔτι τούτῳ τῷ νόμῳ τόνδε, τὸν διδόντα τὸ χρέος καὶ ἁπάσης κρατεῖν τῆς τοῦ λαμβάνοντος θήκης, τῷ δὲ ὑποστιθέντι τοῦτο τὸ ἐνέχυρον τήνδε ἐπεῖναι ζημίην μὴ βουλομένῳ ἀποδοῦναι τὸ χρέος, μηδὲ αὐτῷ ἐκείνῳ τελευτήσαντι εἶναι ταφῆς κυρῆσαι μήτ' ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ πατρωίῳ τάφῳ μήτ' ἐν ἄλλῳ μηδενί, μήτε ἄλλον μηδένα τῶν ἑωυτοῦ ἀπογενόμενον θάψαι. ὑπερβαλέσθαι δὲ βουλόμενον τοῦτον τὸν βασιλέα τοὺς πρότερον ἑωυτοῦ βασιλέας γενομένους Αἰγύπτου μνημόσυνον πυραμίδα λιπέσθαι ἐκ πλίνθων ποιήσαντα,[8] ἐν τῇ γράμματα ἐν λίθῳ ἐγκεκολαμμένα τάδε λέγοντά

while ὡς was the ablative of the demonstrative ("thus").

[4] "Next after her another whose name." Naukratis shared the character of most seaport towns. Founded by the Milesians in the time of Psammetikhos I., when no foreign traders were allowed to penetrate further into the country (like the Dutch at Nagasaki in Japan), it is now represented by Desuk on the right bank of the Rosetta (Kanôpic) branch of the Nile, twenty-six miles south-east of Rosetta. Amasis deprived the Milesians of their monopoly, which they had shared with Samians and Æginetans, and granted similar trading privileges to all Greeks, so that Naukratis became the common factory of Miletos, Khios, Teos, Phôkæa, Klazomenæ, Rhodes, Halikarnassos, Knidos, Phasêlis, and Mitylênê, the temple of Apollo remaining under the superintendence of the Milesians. Porcelain and flower-wreaths were its chief manufactures.

[5] According to Athenæus (*Deipn.* xiii. p. 596), it was Rhodôpis (Dorikha) who was satirised by Sapphô.

[6] Called Sasykhês by Diod. (i. 94), who makes him precede Sesostris. He represents Ases-kaf or Shepses-kaf, the successor of Menkara, who built the pyramid called *keb*, "the cool." This must be the brick pyramid of Herodotos.

[7] This can scarcely be anything more than legend.

[8] Two brick pyramids exist at Dah-

ἐστι. "μή με κατονοσθῇς πρὸς τὰς λιθίνας πυραμίδας· προέχω γὰρ αὐτέων τοσοῦτον ὅσον ὁ Ζεὺς τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν. κοντῷ γὰρ ὑποτύπτοντες ἐς λίμνην, ὅ τι πρόσσχοιτο τοῦ πηλοῦ τῷ κοντῷ, τοῦτο συλλέγοντες πλίνθους εἴρυσαν καί με τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ ἐξεποίησαν."[9]

137 Τοῦτον μὲν τοσαῦτα ἀποδέξασθαι. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον βασιλεῦσαι ἄνδρα τυφλὸν ἐξ Ἀνύσιος πόλιος, τῷ οὔνομα Ἄνυσιν εἶναι. ἐπὶ τούτου βασιλεύοντος ἐλάσαι ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον χειρὶ πολλῇ Αἰθιοπάς τε καὶ Σαβακῶν τὸν Αἰθιόπων βασιλέα.[1] τὸν μὲν δὴ τυφλὸν τοῦτον οἴχεσθαι φεύγοντα ἐς τὰ ἕλεα,[2] τὸν δὲ Αἰθίοπα βασιλεύειν Αἰγύπτου ἐπ' ἔτεα πεντήκοντα.[3] ἐν τοῖσι αὐτὸν τάδε ἀποδέξασθαι. ὅκως τῶν τις Αἰγυπτίων ἁμάρτοι τι, κτείνειν μὲν αὐτῶν οὐδένα ἐθέλειν, τὸν δὲ κατὰ μέγαθος τοῦ ἀδικήματος ἑκάστῳ δικάζειν, ἐπιτάσσοντα χώματα χοῦν πρὸς τῇ ἑωυτῶν πόλει, ὅθεν ἕκαστος ἦν τῶν ἀδικεόντων. καὶ οὕτω ἔτι αἱ πόλιες ἐγένοντο ὑψηλότεραι· τὸ μὲν γὰρ πρῶτον ἐχώσθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν τὰς διώρυχας ὀρυξάντων ἐπὶ Σεσώστριος βασιλέος, δεύτερα δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ Αἰθίοπος καὶ κάρτα ὑψηλαὶ ἐγένοντο. ὑψηλέων δὲ καὶ ἑτερέων γενομενέων ἐν τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ πολίων, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, μάλιστα ἡ ἐν Βουβάστι πόλει ἐξεχώσθη, ἐν τῇ καὶ ἱερόν ἐστι Βουβάστιος ἀξιαπηγητότατον· μέζω μὲν γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ πολυδαπανώτερά ἐστι ἱερά, ἡδονὴ δὲ ἰδέσθαι οὐδὲν τούτου μᾶλλον. ἡ δὲ Βούβαστις κατὰ Ἑλλάδα γλῶσσαν ἐστὶ Ἄρτεμις.[4]

138 τὸ δ' ἱερὸν αὐτῆς ὧδε ἔχει. πλὴν τῆς ἐσόδου τὸ ἄλλο νῆσός

shûr, cased with limestone, another at Illahûn, and a fourth at Howâra in the Fayûm.

[9] Another "subjective" translation of the guides, which is as Greek in style and spirit as it is non-Egyptian.

[1] Ases-kaf of the fourth dynasty, and Sabako of the twenty-fifth, were separated by an interval of more than 3000 years! The Egyptian king conquered by Sabaka or Sabako was Bak-en-ranf, the Bokkhoris of the Greeks, a native of Sais, who reigned six years. See App. I. Herodotos has misunderstood his informants, or mixed his notes together, as Anysis must be the name either of a place or of a man, not of both. According to Lepsius, it was Thennêsis, the name of the island in Lake Menzaleh, called Elbô by the Greeks, where Amyrtæos took refuge, and to which, according to the popular legend, Bak-en-ranf had previously fled. Bak-en-ranf, however, was captured and burned alive by Sabaka. For the history of the Ethiopian dynasty, see App. I.

[2] See ch. 140, and preceding note.

[3] Sabaka, the So of 2 Kings xvii. 4, reigned twelve years according to Manetho and the monuments. His successor was Sabatok—Sebikhos in Manetho—who reigned, according to the latter authority, fourteen years. Then came Taharka, Manetho's Tarakos, Old Testament Tirhakah, Assyrian Tarku. Herodotos has amalgamated the three Ethiopian kings into one.

[4] See ch. 59, note 6.

ἐστι· ἐκ γὰρ τοῦ Νείλου διώρυχες ἐσέχουσι οὐ συμμίσγουσαι ἀλλήλῃσι, ἀλλ' ἄχρι τῆς ἐσόδου τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἑκατέρη ἐσέχει, ἡ μὲν τῇ περιρρέουσα ἡ δὲ τῇ, εὖρος ἐοῦσα ἑκατέρη ἑκατὸν ποδῶν, δένδρεσι κατάσκιος. τὰ δὲ προπύλαια ὕψος μὲν δέκα ὀργυιῶν ἐστί, τύποισι δὲ ἐξαπήχεσι ἐσκευάδαται ἀξίοισι λόγου. ἐὸν δ' ἐν μέσῃ τῇ πόλει τὸ ἱερὸν κατορᾶται πάντοθεν περιιόντι· ἅτε γὰρ τῆς πόλιος μὲν ἐκκεχωσμένης ὑψοῦ, τοῦ δ' ἱεροῦ οὐ κεκινημένου ὡς ἀρχῆθεν ἐποιήθη, ἔσοπτόν ἐστι. περιθεῖ δὲ αὐτὸ αἱμασιὴ ἐγγεγλυμμένη τύποισι, ἔστι δὲ ἔσωθεν ἄλσος δενδρέων μεγίστων πεφυτευμένον περὶ νηὸν μέγαν, ἐν τῷ δὴ τὤγαλμα ἔνι· εὖρος δὲ καὶ μῆκος τοῦ ἱεροῦ πάντῃ σταδίου ἐστί. κατὰ μὲν δὴ τὴν ἔσοδον ἐστρωμένη ἐστὶ ὁδὸς λίθου ἐπὶ σταδίους τρεῖς μάλιστά κῃ, διὰ τῆς ἀγορῆς φέρουσα ἐς τὸ πρὸς ἠῶ, εὖρος δὲ ὡς τεσσέρων πλέθρων· τῇ δὲ καὶ τῇ τῆς ὁδοῦ δένδρεα οὐρανομήκεα πέφυκε· φέρει δὲ ἐς Ἑρμέω ἱερόν. τὸ μὲν δὴ ἱερὸν τοῦτο οὕτω ἔχει. τέλος δὲ τῆς ἀπαλλαγῆς τοῦ Αἰθίοπος ὧδε ἔλεγον γενέσθαι. 139
ὄψιν ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ τοιήνδε ἰδόντα αὐτὸν οἴχεσθαι φεύγοντα· ἐδόκεί οἱ ἄνδρα ἐπιστάντα συμβουλεύειν τοὺς ἱερέας τοὺς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ συλλέξαντα πάντας μέσους διαταμεῖν. ἰδόντα δὲ τὴν ὄψιν ταύτην λέγειν αὐτὸν ὡς πρόφασίν οἱ δοκέοι ταύτην τοὺς θεοὺς προδεικνύναι, ἵνα ἀσεβήσας περὶ τὰ ἱερὰ κακόν τι πρὸς θεῶν ἢ πρὸς ἀνθρώπων λάβοι· οὔκων ποιήσειν τάοτα, ἀλλὰ γάρ οἱ ἐξεληλυθέναι τὸν χρόνον, ὁκόσον κεχρῆσθαι ἄρξαντα Αἰγύπτου ἐκχωρήσειν. ἐν γὰρ τῇ Αἰθιοπίῃ ἐόντι αὐτῷ τὰ μαντήια, τοῖσι χρέωνται Αἰθίοπες, ἀνεῖλε ὡς δέοι αὐτὸν Αἰγύπτου βασιλεῦσαι ἔτεα πεντήκοντα. ὡς ὦν ὁ χρόνος οὗτος ἐξήιε καὶ αὐτὸν ἡ ὄψις τοῦ ἐνυπνίου ἐπετάρασσε, ἑκὼν ἀπαλλάσσετο ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου ὁ Σαβακῶς.[5]

Ὡς δ' ἄρα οἴχεσθαι τὸν Αἰθίοπα ἐξ Αἰγύπτου, αὖτις τὸν 140
τυφλὸν ἄρχειν ἐκ τῶν ἑλέων ἀπικόμενον, ἔνθα πεντήκοντα ἔτεα νῆσον χώσας σποδῷ τε καὶ γέῃ οἴκει.[6] ὅκως γάρ οἱ φοιτᾶν σῖτον ἄγοντας Αἰγυπτίων ὡς ἑκάστοισι προστετάχθαι σιγῇ τοῦ Αἰθίοπος, ἐς τὴν δωρεὴν κελεύειν σφέας καὶ σποδὸν κομίζειν. ταύτην τὴν νῆσον οὐδεὶς πρότερον ἐδυνάσθη Ἀμυρταίου ἐξευρεῖν, ἀλλὰ ἔτεα ἐπὶ πλέω ἢ ἑπτακόσια οὐκ οἱοί τε ἦσαν αὐτὴν

[5] It need hardly be observed that the whole of this is unhistorical. Tirhakah was driven out by the Assyrian conquest of Egypt, but more than once returned with the help of the Egyptian patriots, and reinstated himself in the kingdom. See App. I. The reference to the oracles shows that the fable came not from the "priests," but from Greek guides.

[6] This is equally a fable.

ἀνευρεῖν οἱ πρότεροι γενόμενοι βασιλεῖς Ἀμυρταίου. οὔνομα δὲ ταύτῃ τῇ νήσῳ Ἐλβώ, μέγαθος δ' ἐστὶ πάντῃ δέκα σταδίων.[7]

141 Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον βασιλεῦσαι τὸν ἱερέα τοῦ Ἡφαίστου, τῷ οὔνομα εἶναι Σεθῶν·[8] τὸν ἐν ἀλογίῃσι ἔχειν παραχρησάμενον τῶν μαχίμων Αἰγυπτίων ὡς οὐδὲν δεησόμενον αὐτῶν, ἄλλα τε δὴ ἄτιμα ποιέοντα ἐς αὐτούς, καί σφεας ἀπελέσθαι τὰς ἀρούρας, τοῖσι ἐπὶ τῶν προτέρων βασιλέων δεδόσθαι ἐξαιρέτους ἑκάστῳ δυώδεκα ἀρούρας. μετὰ δὲ ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον ἐλαύνειν στρατὸν μέγαν Σαναχάριβον βασιλέα Ἀραβίων[8a] τε καὶ Ἀσσυρίων. οὔκων δὴ ἐθέλειν τοὺς μαχίμους τῶν Αἰγυπτίων βοηθεῖν· τὸν δ' ἱερέα ἐς ἀπορίην ἀπειλημένον ἐσελθόντα ἐς τὸ μέγαρον πρὸς τῶγαλμα ἀποδύρεσθαι οἷα κινδυνεύει παθεῖν· ὀλοφυρόμενον δ' ἄρα μιν ἐπελθεῖν ὕπνον, καί οἱ δόξαι ἐν τῇ ὄψει ἐπιστάντα τὸν θεὸν θαρσύνειν ὡς οὐδὲν πείσεται ἄχαρι ἀντιάζων τὸν Ἀραβίων στρατόν· αὐτὸς γάρ οἱ πέμψει τιμωρούς. τούτοισι δή μιν πίσυνον τοῖσι ἐννυπνίοισι, παραλαβόντα Αἰγυπτίων τοὺς βουλομένους οἱ ἕπεσθαι, στρατοπεδεύσασθαι ἐν Πηλουσίῳ (ταύτῃ γάρ εἰσι αἱ ἐσβολαί)· ἕπεσθαι δέ οἱ τῶν μαχίμων μὲν οὐδένα ἀνδρῶν, καπήλους δὲ καὶ χειρώνακτας καὶ ἀγοραίους ἀνθρώπους. ἐνθαῦτα

[7] See note 1 above, and iii. ch. 17. As Amyrtæos was driven into the marshes B.C. 455, while Rud-Amun (the Urdamane of the Assyrians), the son-in-law of Tirhakah, was driven out of Egypt after his temporary occupation of it by the Assyrians in B.C. 665, the arithmetic of Herodotos is considerably at fault. After Rud-Amun's death, Mi-Amun-Nut, the son of Tirhakah, again succeeded in occupying Egypt about B.C. 660, and compelling the Assyrian satraps or vassal-kings to acknowledge him. But he soon retired to Napata.

[8] Neither Egyptian nor Assyrian history know anything of this personage. Sennacherib died in B.C. 681, before the conquest of Egypt by his son and successor, Esar-haddon, and therefore long before the expulsion of the Ethiopians. The story of the destruction of the Assyrian army is an echo of the biblical account which places it in Palestine, and (in agreement with the Assyrian inscriptions) in the time of Tirhakah, when he was sole and undisputed master of the whole country. Though priests of Amun usurped the royal power, the monuments know of no priest of Ptah who did so. Sethos has been identified with Zet, whom Manetho makes the last king of the Tanitic twenty-third dynasty, reigning for thirty-one years. But the chronology makes this impossible, and Sethos is Seti, not Zet. The legend, however, is evidently Egyptian, not Greek, and the name of Sennacherib, as well as the fact of the Assyrian attack, is correct.

[8a] This is a fresh proof that we have lost little in the Assyrian history of Herodotos. The Egyptian priests called Sennacherib king of the Arabians as being an Asiatic, Arab being the Greek equivalent of the Egyptian Shasu or nomads, and some of the expounders of Manetho accordingly called the Hyksos Arabs (Joseph. *c. Ap.* i. 14). Had Herodotos known anything of Assyrian history he would not have repeated the statement.

ἀπικομένους,[9] τοῖσι ἐναντίοισι [αὐτοῖσι] ἐπιχυθέντας νυκτὸς μῦς ἀρουραίους κατὰ μὲν φαγεῖν τοὺς φαρετρεῶνας αὐτῶν κατὰ δὲ τὰ τόξα, πρὸς δὲ τῶν ἀσπίδων τὰ ὄχανα, ὥστε τῇ ὑστεραίῃ φευγόντων σφέων γυμνῶν ὅπλων πεσεῖν πολλούς. καὶ νῦν οὗτος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἕστηκε ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Ἡφαίστου λίθινος, ἔχων ἐπὶ τῆς χειρὸς μῦν, λέγων διὰ γραμμάτων τάδε. "ἐς ἐμέ τις ὁρέων εὐσεβὴς ἔστω."[1]

Ἐς μὲν τοσόνδε τοῦ λόγου Αἰγύπτιοί τε καὶ οἱ ἱερεῖς ἔλεγον, 142
ἀποδεικνύντες ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου βασιλέος ἐς τοῦ Ἡφαίστου τὸν ἱερέα τοῦτον τὸν τελευταῖον βασιλεύσαντα μίαν τε καὶ τεσσεράκοντα καὶ τριηκοσίας ἀνθρώπων γενεὰς γενομένας, καὶ ἐν ταύτῃσι ἀρχιερέας καὶ βασιλέας ἑκατέρους τοσούτους γενομένους.[2] καίτοι τριηκόσιαι μὲν ἀνδρῶν γενεαὶ δυνέαται μύρια ἔτεα· γενεαὶ γὰρ τρεῖς ἀνδρῶν ἑκατὸν ἔτεά ἐστι· μιῆς δὲ καὶ τεσσεράκοντα ἔτι τῶν ἐπιλοίπων γενεῶν, αἱ ἐπῆσαν τῇσι τριηκοσίῃσι, ἐστὶ τεσσεράκοντα καὶ τριηκόσια καὶ χίλια ἔτεα.[3] οὕτω ἐν μυρίοισί

[9] Sennacherib defeated Tirhakah at Altaku or Eltekeh. Josephus says he took Pelusion (*Antiq.* xii. 1), probably because of this passage of Herodotos. Ἀπικ. is an accusative absolute; αὐτῶν = the enemy.

[1] Here we have to do again with the Greek dragomen. The story of Sethos was attached to the statue of some deity which was supposed to hold a mouse in its hand. Mice, however, were not sacred in Egypt, nor were they used as symbols or found on the monuments. On the other hand, the Greeks were familiar with the conception of Apollo Smintheus, who was represented on coins of Alexandria Troas with a mouse in the hand, and whose statue at Khrysê by Skopas had a mouse under the foot, because mice "had gnawed the leather of the enemy's arms" (Strab. xiii. p. 416). Eustathios (*ad Il.* i. 39) says that the Trojans reverenced mice "because they gnawed the bow-strings of the enemy." The inscription is as thoroughly non-Egyptian as it is thoroughly Greek.

[2] See ch. 100. From Menes to Mœris were 330 kings; Herodotos has since named eleven others (including Sethos). No Egyptian priest, however ignorant, could have furnished him with his account of these latter, much less have supposed them to have succeeded each other. Indeed, there is clear evidence, from the way in which the story of most of the kings is attached to some monument, that their succession depended on the order of Herodotos's sight-seeing, and the place they accordingly occupied in his note-book. Consequently the statement that there were 341 kings from Menes to Sethos *was not given, as Herodotos asserts, on the authority of the Egyptian priests, or even on that of the guides, but was a calculation of his own.* This shows how cautious we must be in accepting his assertions. Of course there could not have been an exactly equal number of kings and priests for 341 generations.

[3] The arithmetic of Herodotos is at fault; the number should be 11,366⅔ years, instead of 11,340. But a generation was counted at 30 years only, not 33⅓, as Herodotos counts it here, apparently for the purpose of being able to reckon more easily; while a moment's reflection should have taught him that a king's reign is not equivalent to a generation.

τε ἔτεσι καὶ χιλίοισι καὶ τριηκοσίοισί τε καὶ τεσσεράκοντα ἔλεγον θεὸν ἀνθρωποειδέα οὐδένα γενέσθαι· οὐ μέντοι οὐδὲ πρότερον οὐδὲ ὕστερον ἐν τοῖσι ὑπολοίποισι Αἰγύπτου βασιλεῦσι γενομένοισι ἔλεγον οὐδὲν τοιοῦτο. ἐν τοίνυν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ τετράκις ἔλεγον ἐξ ἠθέων τὸν ἥλιον ἀνατεῖλαι·[4] ἔνθα τε νῦν καταδύεται, ἐνθεῦτεν δὶς ἐπαντεῖλαι, καὶ ἔνθεν νῦν ἀνατέλλει, ἐνθαῦτα δὶς καταδῦναι· καὶ οὐδὲν τῶν κατ' Αἴγυπτον ὑπὸ τάοτα ἑτεροιωθῆναι, οὔτε τὰ ἐκ τῆς γέας οὔτε τὰ ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ σφι γινόμενα, οὔτε τὰ ἀμφὶ νούσους οὔτε τὰ κατὰ τοὺς θανάτους.

143 πρότερον δὲ Ἑκαταίῳ τῷ λογοποιῷ[5] ἐν Θήβῃσι γενεηλογήσαντί τε ἑωυτὸν καὶ ἀναδήσαντι τὴν πατριὴν ἐς ἑκκαιδέκατον θεὸν ἐποίησαν οἱ ἱερεῖς τοῦ Διὸς οἷόν τι καὶ ἐμοὶ οὐ γενεηλογήσαντι ἐμεωυτόν. ἐσαγαγόντες ἐς τὸ μέγαρον ἔσω ἐὸν μέγα ἐξηρίθμεον δεικνύντες κολοσσοὺς ξυλίνους τοσούτους ὅσους περ εἶπον·[6] ἀρχιερεὺς γὰρ ἕκαστος αὐτόθι ἱστᾷ ἐπὶ τῆς ἑωυτοῦ ζόης εἰκόνα ἑωυτοῦ· ἀριθμέοντες ὦν καὶ δεικνύντες οἱ ἱερεῖς ἐμοὶ ἀπεδείκνυσαν παῖδα πατρὸς ἑωυτῶν ἕκαστον ἐόντα, ἐκ τοῦ ἄγχιστα ἀποθανόντος τῆς εἰκόνος διεξιόντες διὰ πασέων ἕως οὗ ἀπέδεξαν ἁπάσας αὐτάς. Ἑκαταίῳ δὲ γενεηλογήσαντι ἑωυτὸν καὶ ἀναδήσαντι ἐς ἑκκαιδέκατον θεὸν ἀντεγενεηλόγησαν ἐπὶ τῇ ἀριθμήσει, οὐ δεκόμενοι παρ' αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ θεοῦ γενέσθαι ἄνθρωπον· ἀντεγενεηλόγησαν δὲ ὧδε, φάμενοι ἕκαστον τῶν κολοσσῶν πίρωμιν ἐκ πιρώμιος γεγονέναι, ἐς ὃ τοὺς πέντε καὶ τεσσεράκοντα καὶ τριηκοσίους ἀπέδεξαν κολοσσοὺς[7] [πίρωμιν ἐπονομαζόμενον], καὶ

[4] "The sun had four times risen out of its usual place." Perhaps, as Mr. Poole suggests, Herodotos misunderstood the statement that the solar risings of the stars had fallen four times on those days of the vague year on which the settings fell in the time of Sethos.

[5] "Hekatæos the prose-writer." There is no disrespect implied in this title (see ch. 134, note 1). But after having been considerably indebted to him, Herodotos now mentions him for the first time, only to contrast his vanity with his own modesty, and to recount the rebuke and mortification he had received. Hekatæos of Miletos, the son of Hêgêsander, took a prominent part in the Ionic revolt (B.C. 500), and died a little after the Persian War. Before the revolt he had travelled widely and embodied his observations in two works, the geographical Γῆς περίοδος and the historical Γενεαλογίαι. His clear and mellifluous style was highly praised by Hermogenes and Strabo.—The previous chapters (especially 100 as compared with 142) indicate that the priests with whom Herodotos conversed were the priests of Ptah at Memphis, not of Amun at Thebes. But Herodotos wishes to conceal the fact that he did not ascend the Nile so high as his rival Hekatæos (see ch. 29, note 7).

[6] *i.e.* 341. The statues were probably those of deities. Note 2 above makes it doubtful whether Herodotos really saw this actual number.

[7] Herodotos and Hekatæos could not

οὔτε ἐς θεὸν οὔτε ἐς ἥρωα ἀνέδησαν αὐτούς. πίρωμις δέ ἐστι κατὰ Ἑλλάδα γλῶσσαν καλὸς κἀγαθός.[8] ἤδη ὧν τῶν αἱ εἰκόνες 144
ἦσαν, τοιούτους ἀπεδείκνυσάν σφεας πάντας ἐόντας, θεῶν δὲ πολλὸν ἀπαλλαγμένους. τὸ δὲ πρότερον τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων θεοὺς εἶναι τοὺς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἄρχοντας,[9] οἰκέοντας ἅμα τοῖσι ἀνθρώποισι, καὶ τούτων αἰεὶ ἕνα τὸν κρατέοντα εἶναι· ὕστατον δὲ αὐτῆς βασιλεῦσαι Ὧρον τὸν Ὀσίριος παῖδα, τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα Ἕλληνες ὀνομάζουσι· τοῦτον καταπαύσαντα Τυφῶνα βασιλεῦσαι ὕστατον Αἰγύπτου.[1] Ὄσιρις δέ ἐστι Διόνυσος κατὰ Ἑλλάδα γλῶσσαν. ἐν Ἕλλησι μέν νυν νεώτατοι τῶν θεῶν νομίζονται 145
εἶναι Ἡρακλῆς τε καὶ Διόνυσος καὶ Πάν, παρ' Αἰγυπτίοισι δὲ Πὰν μὲν ἀρχαιότατος καὶ τῶν ὀκτὼ τῶν πρώτων λεγομένων θεῶν,[2] Ἡρακλῆς δὲ τῶν δευτέρων τῶν δυώδεκα λεγομένων εἶναι, Διόνυσος δὲ τῶν τρίτων, οἳ ἐκ τῶν δυώδεκα θεῶν ἐγένοντο.[3] Ἡρακλεῖ μὲν δὴ ὅσα αὐτοὶ Αἰγύπτιοί φασι εἶναι ἔτεα ἐς Ἄμασιν βασιλέα, δεδήλωταί μοι πρόσθε· Πανὶ δὲ ἔτι τούτων πλέονα λέγεται εἶναι, Διονύσῳ δ' ἐλάχιστα τούτων, καὶ τούτῳ πεντακισχίλια καὶ μύρια λογίζονται εἶναι ἐς Ἄμασιν βασιλέα. καὶ τάοτα Αἰγύπτιοι ἀτρεκέως φασὶ ἐπίστασθαι, αἰεί τε λογιζόμενοι καὶ αἰεὶ ἀπογραφόμενοι τὰ ἔτεα. Διονύσῳ μέν νυν τῷ ἐκ Σεμέλης τῆς Κάδμου λεγομένῳ γενέσθαι κατὰ ἑξακόσια ἔτεα καὶ χίλια μάλιστά ἐστι ἐς ἐμέ, Ἡρακλεῖ δὲ τῷ Ἀλκμήνης κατὰ εἰνακόσια ἔτεα· Πανὶ δὲ τῷ ἐκ Πηνελόπης (ἐκ ταύτης γὰρ καὶ Ἑρμέῳ λέγεται γενέσθαι ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων ὁ Πάν) ἐλάσσω ἔτεά ἐστι τῶν Τρωικῶν, κατὰ ὀκτακόσια μάλιστα ἐς ἐμέ.[4] τούτων 146

have seen the same collection of statues, although Herodotos wishes to produce the impression that they did so, since Hekatæos saw the memorials of 345 "generations"; whereas Herodotos saw only 341, although he was in Egypt two generations later than Hekatæos, and should therefore have seen 347.

[8] "Gentleman"; *pi romi*, "the man," was applied to the native Egyptian as opposed to slaves and foreigners. Mention is made of Dioskurides, the son of Pirômis, in the Halikarnassian inscription published by Newton (*Essays on Art and Archæology*). Pirômis was probably related to one of the Karian mercenaries in Egypt. *Romi*, however, is not found before the Persian period; the old Egyptian equivalent being *not*.

[9] For the dynasties of gods and demigods, see ch. 43, note 6.

[1] For the Osiris myth, see App. I. Typhon is Set or Sutekh, originally the god of war and strangers, who, with his brother Horus, made up the Rehehui or hostile twins, and in the later period of Egyptian history ceased to be worshipped. Typhon was not the last of the divine dynasty, as he was followed by Horus.

[2] See ch. 43, note 9; ch. 46, note 5.

[3] See ch. 43, note 6.

[4] See ch. 53, note 5. The fall of Troy was placed B.C. 1335 by Duris (ap. Clem. Alex. *Str.* i. p. 337), 1270 by the author of the Life of Homer, 1260 by

ὧν ἀμφοτέρων πάρεστι [πέρι ἔσται] χρᾶσθαι τοῖσί τις πείσεται λεγομένοισι μᾶλλον· ἐμοὶ δ' ὧν ἡ περὶ αὐτῶν γνώμη ἀποδέδεκται. εἰ μὲν γὰρ φανεροί τε ἐγένοντο καὶ κατεγήρασαν καὶ οὗτοι ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι, κατά περ Ἡρακλῆς ὁ ἐξ Ἀμφιτρύωνος γενόμενος, καὶ δὴ καὶ Διόνυσος ὁ ἐκ Σεμέλης καὶ Πὰν ὁ ἐκ Πηνελόπης γενόμενος, ἔφη ἄν τις καὶ τούτους ἄλλους ἄνδρας γενομένους ἔχειν τὰ ἐκείνων οὐνόματα τῶν προγεγονότων θεῶν. νῦν δὲ Διόνυσόν τε λέγουσι οἱ Ἕλληνες ὡς αὐτίκα γενόμενον ἐς τὸν μηρὸν ἐνερράψατο Ζεὺς καὶ ἤνεικε ἐς Νύσαν τὴν ὑπὲρ Αἰγύπτου ἐοῦσαν ἐν τῇ Αἰθιοπίῃ,[5] καὶ Πανός γε πέρι οὐκ ἔχουσι εἰπεῖν ὅκῃ ἐτράπετο γενόμενος. δῆλά μοι ὦν γέγονε ὅτι ὕστερον ἐπύθοντο οἱ Ἕλληνες τούτων τὰ οὐνόματα ἢ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν. ἀπ' οὗ δὲ ἐπύθοντο χρόνου, ἀπὸ τούτου γενεηλογέουσι αὐτῶν τὴν γένεσιν.

147 Τάοτα μέν νυν αὐτοὶ Αἰγύπτιοι λέγουσι· ὅσα δὲ οἵ τε ἄλλοι ἄνθρωποι καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι λέγουσι ὁμολογέοντες τοῖσι ἄλλοισι κατὰ ταύτην τὴν χώρην γενέσθαι, τάοτ' ἤδη φράσω· προσέσται δέ τι αὐτοῖσι καὶ τῆς ἐμῆς ὄψιος.

Ἐλευθερωθέντες Αἰγύπτιοι μετὰ τὸν ἱερέα τοῦ Ἡφαίστου βασιλεύσαντα (οὐδένα γὰρ χρόνον οἷοί τε ἦσαν ἄνευ βασιλέος διαιτᾶσθαι) ἐστήσαντο δυώδεκα βασιλέας, ἐς δυώδεκα μοίρας δασάμενοι Αἴγυπτον πᾶσαν.[6] οὗτοι ἐπιγαμίας ποιησάμενοι ἐβασίλευον νόμοισι τοῖσιδε χρεώμενοι, μήτε καταιρεῖν ἀλλήλους μήτε πλέον τι δίζησθαι ἔχειν τὸν ἕτερον τοῦ ἑτέρου, εἶναί τε φίλους τὰ μάλιστα· τῶνδε δὲ εἵνεκα τοὺς νόμους τούτους ἐποιέοντο, ἰσχυρῶς περιστέλλοντες. ἐκέχρηστό σφι[7] κατ' ἀρχὰς αὐτίκα ἐνισταμένοισι ἐς τὰς τυραννίδας τὸν χαλκέῃ φιάλῃ σπείσαντα αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Ἡφαίστου, τοῦτον ἀπάσης βασιλεύσειν Αἰγύπτου· ἐς γὰρ δὴ τὰ πάντα ἱερὰ συνελέγοντο.

Herodotos and Thukydides, 1209 by the Parian marble, 1183 by Eratosthenes, 1171 by Sosibios, 1169 by Ephoros, and 1149 by Clemens.

[5] This myth grew out of the name of Dionysos (perhaps the Vedic *dyunishe*, "day and night"—Max Müller). Nysa was usually placed in India (Pomp. Mela, iii. 7; Plin. *N. H.* vi. 21), but there were several cities of the name in Asia. Herodotos (followed by Diodoros) places it in Ethiopia, in order to identify Dionysos with Osiris.

[6] We learn from the Assyrian inscriptions that the Assyrians divided Egypt among twenty satraps or vassal-kings, of whom one of the chief was Necho of Sais, the father of Psammetikhos. The number twelve comes from the twelve courts of the Labyrinth, which Herodotos erroneously connected with this period of Egyptian history. "The Egyptians being made free" means free from monarchical or priestly rule, like a Greek republic.

[7] The allusion to the oracle shows the Greek source of the story.

καὶ δή σφι μνημόσυνα ἔδοξε λιπέσθαι κοινῇ, δόξαν δέ σφι 148
ἐποιήσαντο λαβύρινθον, ὀλίγον ὑπὲρ τῆς λίμνης τῆς Μοίριος
κατὰ Κροκοδείλων καλεομένην πόλιν[8] μάλιστά κῃ κείμενον· τὸν
ἐγὼ ἤδη εἶδον λόγου μέζω. εἰ γάρ τις τὰ ἐξ Ἑλλήνων τείχεά
τε καὶ ἔργων ἀπόδεξιν συλλογίσαιτο, ἐλάσσονος πόνου τε ἂν καὶ
δαπάνης φανείη ἐόντα τοῦ λαβυρίνθου τούτου. καίτοι ἀξιόλογός
γε καὶ ὁ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ἐστὶ νηὸς καὶ ὁ ἐν Σάμῳ. ἦσαν μέν νυν καὶ
αἱ πυραμίδες λόγου μέζονες, καὶ πολλῶν ἑκάστη αὐτέων Ἑλλη-
νικῶν ἔργων καὶ μεγάλων ἀνταξίη· ὁ δὲ δὴ λαβύρινθος καὶ τὰς
πυραμίδας ὑπερβάλλει. τοῦ γὰρ δυώδεκα μέν εἰσι αὐλαὶ κατά-
στεγοι, ἀντίπυλοι ἀλλήλῃσι, ἓξ μὲν πρὸς βορέω ἓξ δὲ πρὸς νότον
τετραμμέναι, συνεχεῖς· τοῖχος δὲ ἔξωθεν ὁ αὐτός σφεας περιέργει.
οἰκήματα δ' ἔνεστι διπλᾶ, τὰ μὲν ὑπόγεα τὰ δὲ μετέωρα ἐπ'
ἐκείνοισι, τρισχίλια ἀριθμόν, πεντακοσίων καὶ χιλίων ἑκάτερα.
τὰ μέν νυν μετέωρα τῶν οἰκημάτων αὐτοί τε ὠρέομεν διεξιόντες
καὶ αὐτοὶ θεησάμενοι λέγομεν, τὰ δὲ αὐτῶν ὑπόγεα λόγοισι
ἐπυνθανόμεθα· οἱ γὰρ ἐπεστεῶτες τῶν Αἰγυπτίων δεικνύναι
αὐτὰ οὐδαμῶς ἤθελον, φάμενοι θήκας αὐτόθι εἶναι τῶν τε ἀρχὴν
τὸν λαβύρινθον τοῦτον οἰκοδομησαμένων βασιλέων καὶ τῶν
ἱερῶν κροκοδείλων. οὕτω τῶν μὲν κάτω πέρι οἰκημάτων ἀκοῇ
παραλαβόντες λέγομεν, τὰ δὲ ἄνω μέζονα ἀνθρωπηίων ἔργων
αὐτοὶ ὠρέομεν· αἵ τε γὰρ ἔξοδοι διὰ τῶν στεγέων καὶ οἱ ἑλιγμοὶ
διὰ τῶν αὐλέων ἐόντες ποικιλώτατοι θῶυμα μυρίον παρείχοντο
ἐξ αὐλῆς τε ἐς τὰ οἰκήματα διεξιοῦσι καὶ ἐκ τῶν οἰκημάτων ἐς
παστάδας, ἐς στέγας τε ἄλλας ἐκ τῶν παστάδων καὶ ἐς αὐλὰς
ἄλλας ἐκ τῶν οἰκημάτων. ὀροφὴ δὲ πάντων τούτων λιθίνη κατά
περ οἱ τοῖχοι, οἱ δὲ τοῖχοι τύπων ἐγγεγλυμμένων πλέοι, αὐλὴ
δὲ ἑκάστη περίστυλος λίθου λευκοῦ ἁρμοσμένου τὰ μάλιστα.
τῆς δὲ γωνίης τελευτῶντος τοῦ λαβυρίνθου ἔχεται πυραμὶς
τεσσερακοντόργυιος, ἐν τῇ ζῷα μεγάλα ἐγγέγλυπται· ὁδὸς δ'
ἐς αὐτὴν ὑπὸ γῆν πεποίηται.

[8] The lake was called Arsinoê, from the wife and sister of Ptolemy Philadelphos (in old Egyptian, *Shet*). Lake Mœris, which is dried up, has been shown by Mr. Cope Whitehouse to have extended from the Wadi Moieh to the Fayûm (*Proc. Soc. Bib. Arch.*, June 1882). The pyramid in it is that of El-Lahûn. The remains of the Labyrinth have been placed near the pyramid of Hawâra. It must have had the shape of a horse-shoe, occupying an area of 8800 yards, with a large inner court of about 60 acres. Brugsch explains the name as *elpa-ro-hunt*, "temple of the mouth of the lake." Inscriptions show that it was built by Amen-em-hat III. of the twelfth dynasty, so that Diodoros is nearer the truth than Herodotos in saying that it was built by King Mendes. Strabo made the number of courts twenty-seven (xvii. p. 811).

149 Τοῦ δὲ λαβυρίνθου τούτου ἐόντος τοιούτου, θῶυμα ἔτι μέζον παρέχεται ἡ Μοίριος καλεομένη λίμνη, παρ' ἣν ὁ λαβύρινθος οὗτος οἰκοδόμηται· τῆς τὸ περίμετρον τῆς περιόδου εἰσὶ στάδιοι ἑξακόσιοι καὶ τρισχίλιοι, σχοίνων ἑξήκοντα ἐόντων, ἴσοι καὶ αὐτῆς Αἰγύπτου τὸ παρὰ θάλασσαν. κεῖται δὲ μακρὴ ἡ λίμνη πρὸς βορέην τε καὶ νότον, ἐοῦσα βάθος, τῇ βαθυτάτη αὐτὴ ἐωυτῆς, πεντηκοντόργυιος. ὅτι δὲ χειροποίητός ἐστι καὶ ὀρυκτή, αὐτὴ δηλοῖ· ἐν γὰρ μέσῃ τῇ λίμνῃ μάλιστά κῃ ἑστᾶσι δύο πυραμίδες,[9] τοῦ ὕδατος ὑπερέχουσαι πεντήκοντα ὀργυιὰς ἑκατέρη, καὶ τὸ κατ' ὕδατος οἰκοδόμηται ἕτερον τοσοῦτον, καὶ ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρῃσι ἕπεστι κολοσσὸς λίθινος κατήμενος ἐν θρόνῳ. οὕτω αἱ μὲν πυραμίδες εἰσὶ ἑκατὸν ὀργυιῶν, αἱ δ' ἑκατὸν ὀργυιαὶ δίκαιαί εἰσι στάδιον ἐξάπλεθρον,[1] ἐξαπέδου τε τῆς ὀργυιῆς μετρεομένης καὶ τετραπήχεος, τῶν ποδῶν μὲν τετραπαλάστων ἐόντων, τοῦ δὲ πήχεος ἑξαπαλάστου. τὸ δὲ ὕδωρ τὸ ἐν τῇ λίμνῃ αὐθιγενὲς μὲν οὐκ ἔστι (ἄνυδρος γὰρ δὴ δεινῶς ἐστι ἡ ταύτῃ), ἐκ τοῦ Νείλου δὲ κατὰ διώρυχα ἐσῆκται.[2] καὶ ἓξ μὲν μῆνας ἔσω ῥεῖ ἐς τὴν λίμνην, ἓξ δὲ μῆνας ἔξω ἐς τὸν Νεῖλον αὖτις. καὶ ἐπεὰν μὲν ἐκρῇ ἔξω, ἡ δὲ τότε τοὺς ἓξ μῆνας ἐς τὸ βασιλήιον καταβάλλει ἐπ' ἡμέρην ἑκάστην τάλαντον ἀργυρίου ἐκ τῶν ἰχθύων, ἐπεὰν δὲ ἐσίῃ τὸ
150 ὕδωρ ἐν αὐτήν, εἴκοσι μνέας. ἔλεγον δὲ οἱ ἐπιχώριοι καὶ ὡς ἐς τὴν Σύρτιν τὴν ἐς Λιβύην ἐκδιδοῖ ἡ λίμνη αὕτη ὑπὸ γῆν,[3] τετραμμένη τὸ πρὸς ἑσπέρην ἐς τὴν μεσόγεαν παρὰ τὸ ὄρος τὸ ὑπὲρ Μέμφιος. ἐπείτε δὲ τοῦ ὀρύγματος τούτου οὐκ ὤρεον τὸν χοῦν οὐδαμοῦ ἐόντα, ἐπιμελὲς γὰρ δή μοι ἦν, εἰρόμην τοὺς ἄγχιστα οἰκέοντας τῆς λίμνης ὅκου εἴη ὁ χοῦς ὁ ἐξορυχθείς. οἱ δὲ ἔφρασάν μοι ἵνα ἐξεφορήθη, καὶ εὐπετέως ἔπειθον· ἤδεα γὰρ λόγῳ καὶ ἐν Νίνῳ τῇ Ἀσσυρίων πόλει γενόμενον ἕτερον τοιοῦτον. τὰ γὰρ Σαρδαναπάλλου[4] τοῦ Νίνου βασιλέος ἐόντα μεγάλα

[9] Perhaps the ruined monuments called *Kursi Far'un* ("Pharaoh's throne") at Beyahmu, four miles north of Medinet el-Fayum.

[1] The stade of six plethra may be the Egyptian *atur*, a certain distance performed by a boat on the river. See ch. 168, note 2.

[2] Probably the Bahr Yusuf. The lock-gates were at El-Lahun (Egyptian *Ro-hun*, "mouth of the lake"), each opening of which, according to Diod., cost fifty talents (about £11,250).

[3] Perhaps his informants meant the natural lake, now Birket el-Kurûn, the western boundary of the Fayûm.

[4] This is evidently not the Assur-banipal of history, but the wealthy and luxurious Sardanapalos of Greek romance. Λόγῳ, in the preceding sentence, means "a passage," quoted from a λόγιος, or "prose-writer." Herodotos uses the word in the same sense of his own writings (*e.g.* ii. 38, v. 36). As Nineveh was in ruins in the time of Herodotos, he could not have learned

χρήματα καὶ φυλασσόμενα ἐν θησαυροῖσι καταγέοισι ἐπενόησαν κλῶπες ἐκφορῆσαι. ἐκ δὴ ὧν τῶν σφετέρων οἰκίων ἀρξάμενοι οἱ κλῶπες ὑπὸ γῆν σταθμεόμενοι ἐς τὰ βασιλήια οἰκία ὤρυσσον, τὸν δὲ χοῦν τὸν ἐκφορεόμενον ἐκ τοῦ ὀρύγματος, ὅκως γένοιτο νύξ, ἐς τὸν Τίγρην ποταμὸν παραρρέοντα τὴν Νίνον ἐξεφόρεον, ἐς ὃ κατεργάσαντο ὅ τι ἐβούλοντο. τοιοῦτον ἕτερον ἤκουσα καὶ τὸ τῆς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ λίμνης ὄρυγμα γενέσθαι, πλὴν οὐ νυκτὸς ἀλλὰ μετ' ἡμέρην ποιεόμενον· ὀρύσσοντας γὰρ τὸν χοῦν τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους ἐς τὸν Νεῖλον φορεῖν· ὁ δὲ ὑπολαμβάνων ἔμελλε διαχεῖν. ἡ μέν νυν λίμνη αὕτη οὕτω λέγεται ὀρυχθῆναι.

Τῶν δὲ δυώδεκα βασιλέων δικαιοσύνῃ χρεωμένων, ἀνὰ χρόνον 151
ὡς ἔθυσαν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Ἡφαίστου, τῇ ὑστάτῃ τῆς ὀρτῆς μελλόντων κατασπείσειν ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς ἐξήνεικέ σφι φιάλας χρυσέας, τῇσί περ ἐώθεσαν σπένδειν, ἀμαρτὼν τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ, ἔνδεκα δυώδεκα ἐοῦσι. ἐνθαῦτα ὡς οὐκ εἶχε φιάλην ὁ ἔσχατος ἑστεὼς αὐτῶν Ψαμμήτιχος, περιελόμενος τὴν κυνέην ἐοῦσαν χαλκέην[5] ὑπέσχε τε καὶ ἔσπενδε. κυνέας δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ἅπαντες ἐφόρεόν τε βασιλεῖς καὶ ἐτύγχανον τότε ἔχοντες. Ψαμμήτιχος μέν νυν οὐδενὶ δολερῷ νόῳ χρεώμενος ὑπέσχε τὴν κυνέην· οἱ δὲ ἐν φρενὶ λαβόντες τό τε ποιηθὲν ἐκ Ψαμμητίχου καὶ τὸ χρηστήριον ὅ τι ἐκέχρηστό σφι, τὸν χαλκέῃ σπείσαντα αὐτῶν φιάλῃ τοῦτον βασιλέα ἔσεσθαι μοῦνον Αἰγύπτου, ἀναμνησθέντες τοῦ χρησμοῦ κτεῖναι μὲν οὐκ ἐδικαίωσαν Ψαμμήτιχον, ὡς ἀνεύρισκον βασανίζοντες ἐξ οὐδεμιῆς προνοίης αὐτὸν ποιήσαντα, ἐς δὲ τὰ ἕλεα ἔδοξέ σφι διῶξαι ψιλώσαντας τὰ πλεῖστα τῆς δυνάμιος, ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἑλέων ὁρμεόμενον μὴ ἐπιμίσγεσθαι τῇ ἄλλῃ Αἰγύπτῳ. τὸν δὲ Ψαμμήτιχον τοῦτον πρότερον φεύγοντα 152
τὸν Αἰθίοπα Σαβακῶν, ὅς οἱ τὸν πατέρα Νεκῶν ἀπέκτεινε, τοῦτον φεύγοντα τότε ἐς Συρίην, ὡς ἀπαλλάχθη ἐκ τῆς ὄψιος τοῦ ὀνείρου ὁ Αἰθίοψ, κατήγαγον Αἰγυπτίων οὗτοι οἳ ἐκ νομοῦ τοῦ Σαΐτεώ εἰσι.[6] μετὰ δὲ βασιλεύοντα τὸ δεύτερον πρὸς τῶν ἕνδεκα

the story from information on the spot.

[5] This is inconsistent with ch. 152, where we are told that the Egyptians were surprised to see men in bronze armour. Bronze armour, however, was worn by the Egyptians at least as early as the time of Ramses III., though the helmets were usually of quilted stuffs.

[6] All this is unhistorical. Esar-haddon, after his conquest of Egypt, appointed Necho vassal-king of Sais and Memphis. Shortly after the beginning of Assur-bani-pal's reign (B.C. 669) Necho was found conspiring with Tirhakah, and sent in chains to Nineveh. He was, however, soon pardoned and reinstated, and his son Psammetikhos, who received the Assyrian name of Neboshasban, was made king of Athribis.

βασιλέων καταλαμβάνει μιν[7] διὰ τὴν κυνέην φεύγειν ἐς τὰ ἕλεα. ἐπιστάμενος ὦν ὡς περιυβρισμένος εἴη πρὸς αὐτῶν, ἐπενόει τίσασθαι τοὺς διώξαντας. πέμψαντι δέ οἱ ἐς Βουτοῦν πόλιν ἐς τὸ χρηστήριον τῆς Λητοῦς, ἔνθα δὴ Αἰγυπτίοισί ἐστι μαντήιον ἀψευδέστατον, ἦλθε χρησμὸς ὡς τίσις ἥξει ἀπὸ θαλάσσης χαλκέων ἀνδρῶν ἐπιφανέντων. καὶ τῷ μὲν δὴ ἀπιστίη μεγάλη ὑπεκέχυτο χαλκέους οἱ ἄνδρας ἥξειν ἐπικούρους. χρόνου δὲ οὐ πολλοῦ διελθόντος ἀναγκαίη κατέλαβε Ἴωνάς τε καὶ Κᾶρας ἄνδρας κατὰ λιήην ἐκπλώσαντας ἀπενειχθῆναι ἐς Αἴγυπτον,[8] ἐκβάντας δὲ ἐς γῆν καὶ ὁπλισθέντας χαλκῷ ἀγγέλλει τῶν τις Αἰγυπτίων ἐς τὰ ἕλεα ἀπικόμενος τῷ Ψαμμητίχῳ, ὡς οὐκ ἰδὼν πρότερον χαλκῷ ἄνδρας ὁπλισθέντας, ὡς χάλκεοι ἄνδρες ἀπιγμένοι ἀπὸ θαλάσσης λεηλατέουσι τὸ πεδίον. ὁ δὲ μαθὼν τὸ χρηστήριον ἐπιτελεόμενον φίλα τε τοῖσι Ἴωσι καὶ Καρσὶ ποιεῖται καί σφεας μεγάλα ὑπισχνεόμενος πείθει μετ' ἑωυτοῦ γενέσθαι. ὡς δὲ ἔπεισε, οὕτω ἅμα τοῖσι μετ' ἑωυτοῦ βουλομένοισι Αἰγυπτίοισι καὶ τοῖσι ἐπικούροισι καταιρεῖ τοὺς βασιλέας.

153 κρατήσας δὲ Αἰγύπτου πάσης ὁ Ψαμμήτιχος ἐποίησε τῷ Ἡφαίστῳ προπύλαια ἐν Μέμφι τὰ πρὸς νότον ἄνεμον τετραμμένα, αὐλήν τε τῷ Ἄπι, ἐν τῇ τρέφεται ἐπεὰν φανῇ ὁ Ἄπις, οἰκοδόμησε ἐναντίον τῶν προπυλαίων, πᾶσάν τε περίστυλον ἐοῦσαν καὶ τύπων πλέην· ἀντὶ δὲ κιόνων ὑπεστᾶσι κολοσσοὶ δυωδεκαπήχεις τῇ αὐλῇ. ὁ δὲ Ἄπις κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλήνων γλῶσσαν ἐστὶ

Necho shortly afterwards died (B.C. 664), and when the Assyrian empire broke into revolt at the instigation of the Viceroy of Babylonia, Psammetikhos procured help from Gyges of Lydia, and managed to shake off the Assyrian yoke, put down his rivals, and become sole and independent monarch of Egypt. Possibly he may have fled from his government at the time of the raid of Mi-Amun-nut (see ch. 140, note 7), but the story of his retreat in the marshes is clearly borrowed from the myth of Horus.

[7] "And afterwards, for a second time, it befalls him during his reign at the hands of."

[8] We learn from the inscriptions of Assur-bani-pal that they had been sent expressly by Gyges to Psammetikhos, to assist him in his revolt against Assyria. Gyges may have been of Karian descent, the name of his father Daskylos being Karian. Thirteen (still undeciphered) Karian inscriptions have been found at Abu-Simbel, Abydos, Memphis, and Zagazig, besides one in Karia, among the ruins of Kryassos. According to Polyænos, Temanthês, king of Egypt, had been warned by an oracle against cocks, and Psammetikhos therefore took the Karians into pay on account of the crests on their helmets, which were like the crests of cocks, and of which he had heard from his friend, the Karian Pigrês. After dethroning and killing Temanthês, he gave the Karians the quarter of Memphis, called Karomemphis. This is clearly another version of the legend given by Herodotos.

Ἔπαφος.[9] τοῖσι δὲ Ἴωσι καὶ τοῖσι Καρσὶ τοῖσι συγκατερ- 154
γασαμένοισι αὐτῷ ὁ Ψαμμήτιχος δίδωσι χώρους ἐνοικῆσαι
ἀντίους ἀλλήλων, τοῦ Νείλου τὸ μέσον ἔχοντος· τοῖσι οὐνόματα
ἐτέθη Στρατόπεδα. τούτους τε δή σφι τοὺς χώρους δίδωσι καὶ
τὰ ἄλλα τὰ ὑπέσχετο πάντα ἀπέδωκε. καὶ δὴ καὶ παῖδας
παρέβαλε αὐτοῖσι Αἰγυπτίους τὴν Ἑλλάδα γλῶσσαν ἐκδιδά-
σκεσθαι· ἀπὸ δὲ τούτων ἐκμαθόντων τὴν γλῶσσαν οἱ νῦν
ἑρμηνεῖς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ γεγόνασι. οἱ δὲ Ἴωνές τε καὶ οἱ Κᾶρες
τούτους τοὺς χώρους οἴκησαν χρόνον ἐπὶ πολλόν· εἰσὶ δὲ οὗτοι
οἱ χῶροι πρὸς θαλάσσης ὀλίγον ἔνερθε Βουβάστιος πόλιος, ἐπὶ
τῷ Πηλουσίῳ καλεομένῳ στόματι τοῦ Νείλου. τούτους μὲν δὴ
χρόνῳ ὕστερον βασιλεὺς Ἄμασις ἐξαναστήσας ἐνθεῦτεν κατοί-
κισε ἐς Μέμφιν, φυλακὴν ἑωυτοῦ ποιεόμενος πρὸς Αἰγυπτίων.
τούτων δὲ οἰκισθέντων ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, οἱ Ἕλληνες οὕτω ἐπιμισγό-
μενοι τούτοισι τὰ περὶ Αἴγυπτον γινόμενα ἀπὸ Ψαμμητίχου
βασιλέος ἀρξάμενοι πάντα καὶ τὰ ὕστερον ἐπιστάμεθα ἀτρεκέως·
πρῶτοι γὰρ οὗτοι ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἀλλόγλωσσοι κατοικίσθησαν.[9a]
ἐξ ὧν δὲ ἐξανέστησαν χώρων, ἐν τούτοισι δὲ οἵ τε ὁλκοὶ τῶν
νεῶν καὶ τὰ ἐρείπια τῶν οἰκημάτων τὸ μέχρι ἐμέο ἦσαν.

Ψαμμήτιχος μέν νυν οὕτω ἔσχε Αἴγυπτον. τοῦ δὲ χρη- 155
στηρίου τοῦ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ πολλὰ ἐπεμνήσθην ἤδη, καὶ δὴ λόγον
περὶ αὐτοῦ ὡς ἀξίου ἐόντος ποιήσομαι. τὸ γὰρ χρηστήριον
τοῦτο τὸ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἔστι μὲν Λητοῦς ἱερόν, ἐν πόλει δὲ μεγάλῃ
ἱδρυμένον κατὰ τὸ Σεβεννυτικὸν καλεόμενον στόμα τοῦ Νείλου,
ἀναπλέοντι ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἄνω. οὔνομα δὲ τῇ πόλει ταύτῃ ὅκου

[9] The black bull Apis (Egyptian Hapi) was the offspring of a white cow by a moonbeam, and was sacred to Ptah, whose "second life" or incarnation he was. He symbolised the generative and creative power of the god, and was therefore the son of the moon, which seems to refashion itself day by day (see ch. 41, note 6). The Apis period was lunar, containing 309 mean synodic months, or nearly twenty-five Egyptian years. The Serapeum discovered by Mariette at Sakkârah, enclosed the huge granite sarcophagi and mummies of the sacred bulls, upon the entombment of one of whom the chief priest in the reign of Ptolemy Lagûs (according to Diod.) spent not only all the money in the treasury of the temple, but fifty talents of silver (about £11,700) as well. The votive tablets dedicated to each bull within seventy days of the animal's death state the days, months, and years of a king's reign on which it was born, enthroned, and buried, and are therefore of great chronological value. Apis was identified with Epaphos because of the similarity of name. In the tablets of the Serapeum he is called Apis-Osiris or Asar-Hapi (Serapis).

[9a] This was not the case. To say nothing of the Semitic settlers in the Delta or of the Hyksos, Lybians and allied tribes had been established in Egypt and had served both as a royal bodyguard and as a police since the fourteenth century B.C.

τὸ χρηστήριόν ἐστι Βουτώ, ὡς καὶ πρότερον ὠνόμασταί μοι. ἱερὸν δέ ἐστι ἐν τῇ Βουτοῖ ταύτῃ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος. καὶ ὅ γε νηὸς τῆς Λητοῦς, ἐν τῷ δὴ τὸ χρηστήριον ἔνι, αὐτός τε τυγχάνει ἐὼν μέγας καὶ τὰ προπύλαια ἔχει ἐς ὕψος δέκα ὀργυιῶν. τὸ δέ μοι τῶν φανερῶν ἦν θῶυμα μέγιστον παρεχόμενον, φράσω. ἔστι ἐν τῷ τεμένει τούτῳ Λητοῦς νηὸς ἐξ ἑνὸς λίθου πεποιημένος ἔς τε ὕψος καὶ ἐς μῆκος,[1] καὶ τοῖχος ἕκαστος τούτοισι ἴσος· τεσσεράκοντα πηχέων τούτων ἕκαστόν ἐστι. τὸ δὲ καταστέγασμα τῆς ὀροφῆς ἄλλος ἐπικεῖται λίθος, ἔχων τὴν
156 παρωροφίδα τετράπηχυν. οὕτω μέν νυν ὁ νηὸς τῶν φανερῶν μοι τῶν περὶ τοῦτο τὸ ἱερὸν ἐστὶ θωυμαστότατον, τῶν δὲ δευτέρων νῆσος ἡ Χέμμις καλεομένη. ἔστι μὲν ἐν λίμνῃ βαθέῃ καὶ πλατέῃ κειμένη παρὰ τὸ ἐν Βουτοῖ ἱερόν, λέγεται δὲ ὑπ' Αἰγυπτίων εἶναι αὕτη ἡ νῆσος πλωτή. αὐτὸς μὲν ἔγωγε οὔτε πλέουσαν οὔτε κινηθεῖσαν εἶδον, τέθηπα δὲ ἀκούων εἰ νῆσος ἀληθέως ἐστὶ πλωτή.[2] ἐν δὲ ὧν ταύτῃ νηός τε Ἀπόλλωνος μέγας ἔνι καὶ βωμοὶ τριφάσιοι ἐνιδρύαται, ἐμπεφύκασι δ' ἐν αὐτῇ φοίνικες συχνοὶ καὶ ἄλλα δένδρεα καὶ καρποφόρα καὶ ἄφορα πολλά. λόγον δὲ τόνδε ἐπιλέγοντες οἱ Αἰγύπτιοί φασι εἶναι αὐτὴν πλωτήν, ὡς ἐν τῇ νήσῳ ταύτῃ οὐκ ἐούσῃ πρότερον πλωτῇ Λητὼ ἐοῦσα τῶν ὀκτὼ θεῶν τῶν πρώτων γενομένων, οἰκέουσα δὲ ἐν Βουτοῖ πόλει, ἵνα δή οἱ τὸ χρηστήριον τοῦτό ἐστι, Ἀπόλλωνα παρ' Ἴσιος παρακαταθήκην δεξαμένη διέσωσε κατακρύψασα ἐν τῇ νῦν πλωτῇ λεγομένῃ νήσῳ, ὅτε τὸ πᾶν διζήμενος ὁ Τυφῶν ἐπῆλθε, θέλων ἐξευρεῖν τοῦ Ὀσίριος τὸν παῖδα. Ἀπόλλωνα δὲ καὶ Ἄρτεμιν Διονύσου καὶ Ἴσιος λέγουσι εἶναι παῖδας, Λητοῦν δὲ τροφὸν αὐτοῖσι καὶ σώτειραν γενέσθαι. Αἰγυπτιστὶ δὲ Ἀπόλλων μὲν Ὧρος, Δημήτηρ δὲ Ἴσις, Ἄρτεμις δέ Βούβαστις. ἐκ τούτου δὲ τοῦ λόγου καὶ οὐδενὸς ἄλλου Αἰσχύλος ὁ Εὐφορίωνος ἥρπασε τὸ ἐγὼ φράσω, μοῦνος δὴ ποιητέων τῶν προγενομένων· ἐποίησε γὰρ Ἄρτεμιν εἶναι θυγατέρα Δήμητρος.[3] τὴν δὲ νῆσον διὰ τοῦτο γενέσθαι πλωτήν. τάοτα μὲν οὕτω λέγουσι.

157 Ψαμμήτιχος δὲ ἐβασίλευσε Αἰγύπτου τέσσερα καὶ πεντή-

[1] A similar shrine, though of smaller size, hewn out of a single block of granite, exists in the inner chamber of the temple of Edfu, where it was placed by Nektanebo I. See ch. 175.

[2] Hekataeos (*Fr.* 284) had described this floating island, which he called Khembis; and as Herodotos confesses that he did not himself see it move, the account must have come from him. Hence, no doubt, the scepticism of Herodotos.

[3] Comp. Paus. viii. 37, 3. The tragedy of Æskhylos is now lost.

κοντα ἔτεα,[4] τῶν τὰ ἐνὸς δέοντα τριήκοντα Ἄζωτον τῆς Συρίης μεγάλην πόλιν προσκατήμενος ἐπολιόρκει,[5] ἐς ὃ ἐξεῖλε. αὕτη δὲ ἡ Ἄζωτος ἀπασέων πολίων ἐπὶ πλεῖστον χρόνον πολιορκεομένη ἀντέσχε τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν.

Ψαμμητίχου δὲ Νεκὼς παῖς ἐγένετο καὶ ἐβασίλευσε Αἰ- 158
γύπτου, ὃς τῇ διώρυχι ἐπεχείρησε πρῶτος τῇ ἐς τὴν Ἐρυθρὴν θάλασσαν φερούσῃ, τὴν Δαρεῖος ὁ Πέρσης δεύτερα διώρυξε·[6] τῆς μῆκός ἐστι πλόος ἡμέραι τέσσερες, εὖρος δὲ ὠρύχθη ὥστε τριήρεας δύο πλεῖν ὁμοῦ ἐλαστρεομένας. ἤκται δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ Νείλου τὸ ὕδωρ ἐς αὐτήν, ἤκται δὲ κατύπερθε ὀλίγον Βουβάστιος πόλιος παρὰ Πάτουμον τὴν Ἀραβίην πόλιν,[7] ἐσέχει δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἐρυθρὴν θάλασσαν. ὀρώρυκται δὲ πρῶτον μὲν τοῦ πεδίου τοῦ Αἰγυπτίου τὰ πρὸς Ἀραβίην ἔχοντα, ἔχεται δὲ κατύπερθε τοῦ πεδίου τὸ κατὰ Μέμφιν τεῖνον ὄρος, ἐν τῷ αἱ λιθοτομίαι ἔνεισι· τοῦ ὦν δὴ ὄρεος τούτου παρὰ τὴν ὑπωρέην ἤκται ἡ διῶρυξ ἀπ' ἑσπέρης μακρὴ πρὸς τὴν ἠῶ, καὶ ἔπειτα τείνει ἐς διασφάγας, φέρουσα ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄρεος πρὸς μεσαμβρίην τε καὶ νότον ἄνεμον ἐς τὸν κόλπον τὸν Ἀράβιον. τῇ δὲ ἐλάχιστόν ἐστι καὶ συντομώτατον ἐκ τῆς βορηίης θαλάσσης ὑπερβῆναι ἐς τὴν νοτίην καὶ Ἐρυθρὴν τὴν αὐτὴν ταύτην καλεομένην, ἀπὸ τοῦ Κασίου ὄρεος τοῦ οὐρίζοντος Αἴγυπτόν τε καὶ Συρίην, ἀπὸ τούτου εἰσὶ στάδιοι ἀπαρτὶ χίλιοι[8] ἐς τὸν Ἀράβιον κόλπον. τοῦτου μὲν τὸ συντομώτατον, ἡ δὲ διῶρυξ πολλῷ μακροτέρη, ὅσῳ σκολιωτέρη ἐστί· τὴν ἐπὶ Νεκῶ βασιλέος ὀρύσσοντες Αἰγυπτίων ἀπώλοντο δυώδεκα μυριάδες.[9] Νεκὼς μέν νυν μεταξὺ ὀρύσσων ἐπαύσατο

[4] According to Wiedemann B.C. 664-604. He counted his reign from the death of his father, not from the date of his revolt against the Assyrians.

[5] The length assigned to the siege of Ashdod is absurd. The decay of the Assyrian power tempted the new dynasty to seek to re-establish the old empire of Egypt in Asia. For commercial reasons the subjugation of Phœnicia and Cyprus was important.

[6] The monuments show that the canal was first dug by Ramses II. Three monuments of Darius Hystaspis were found during the construction of the Suez Canal at Serapeum, Shalûf, and a point nearer Suez. The canal was known as the "amnis Ptolemæus" or Τραϊανὸς ποταμός, though the latter name properly applied to the branch canal which left the Nile near Old Cairo.

[7] Egyptian Pa-tum ("city of the sun-god"), the Pithom of Ex. i. 11, built for Ramses II. by the Hebrews. It lay midway between Pelusium and Tanis (San), and was the capital of the district of which, according to classical writers, Herakleopolis Parva was the chief town. Dr. Birch identifies it with Heroopolis. Herodotos calls it an Arabian city, because it lay on the Arabian side of Egypt.

[8] *i.e.* 114 miles. The real distance is about 90 miles, while the shortest distance from the Mediterranean to the Red Sea is 76 miles.

[9] Clearly exaggerated. Many must

μαντηίου ἐμποδίου γενομένου τοιοῦδε, τῷ βαρβάρῳ αὐτὸν προεργάζεσθαι. βαρβάρους δὲ πάντας οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι καλέουσι τοὺς
159 μὴ σφίσι ὁμογλώσσους.[1] παυσάμενος δὲ τῆς διώρυχος ὁ Νεκὼς ἐτράπετο πρὸς στρατηίας, καὶ τριήρεις αἱ μὲν ἐπὶ[2] τῇ βορηίῃ θαλάσσῃ ἐποιήθησαν, αἱ δ' ἐν τῷ Ἀραβίῳ κόλπῳ ἐπὶ τῇ Ἐρυθρῇ θαλάσσῃ, τῶν ἔτι οἱ ὁλκοὶ ἐπίδηλοι. καὶ ταύτῃσί τε ἐχρᾶτο ἐν τῷ δέοντι καὶ Σύροισι πεζῇ ὁ Νεκὼς συμβαλὼν ἐν Μαγδώλῳ ἐνίκησε,[3] μετὰ δὲ τὴν μάχην Κάδυτιν πόλιν τῆς Συρίης ἐοῦσαν[4] μεγάλην εἷλε. ἐν τῇ δὲ ἐσθῆτι ἔτυχε τάοτα κατεργασάμενος, ἀνέθηκε τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι πέμψας ἐς Βραγχίδας τὰς Μιλησίων. μετὰ δέ, ἐκκαίδεκα ἔτεα τὰ πάντα ἄρξας,[5] τελευτᾷ, τῷ παιδὶ Ψάμμι[6] παραδοὺς τὴν ἀρχήν.

160 Ἐπὶ τοῦτον δὴ τὸν Ψάμμιν βασιλεύοντα Αἰγύπτου ἀπίκοντο Ἠλείων ἄγγελοι,[7] αὐχέοντες δικαιότατα καὶ κάλλιστα τιθέναι τὸν ἐν Ὀλυμπίῃ ἀγῶνα πάντων ἀνθρώπων, καὶ δοκέοντες παρὰ τάοτα οὐδ' ἂν τοὺς σοφωτάτους ἀνθρώπων Αἰγυπτίους οὐδὲν ἐπεξευρεῖν. ὡς δὲ ἀπικόμενοι ἐς τὴν Αἴγυπτον οἱ Ἠλεῖοι ἔλεγον τῶν εἵνεκα ἀπίκοντο, ἐνθαῦτα ὁ βασιλεὺς οὗτος συγκαλεῖται Αἰγυπτίων τοὺς λεγομένους εἶναι σοφωτάτους. συνελθόντες δὲ οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι ἐπυνθάνοντο τῶν Ἠλείων λεγόντων ἅπαντα τὰ κατήκει σφέας ποιεῖν περὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα· ἀπηγησάμενοι δὲ τὰ πάντα ἔφασαν ἥκειν ἐπιμαθησόμενοι εἴ τι ἔχοιεν Αἰγύπτιοι τούτων δικαιότερον ἐπεξευρεῖν. οἱ δὲ βουλευσάμενοι ἐπειρώτεον τοὺς Ἠλείους εἴ σφι οἱ πολιῆται ἐναγωνίζονται. οἱ δὲ ἔφασαν καὶ σφέων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων ὁμοίως τῷ βουλομένῳ ἐξεῖναι ἀγωνίζεσθαι. οἱ δὲ Αἰγύπτιοι ἔφασάν σφεας οὕτω τιθέντας παντὸς τοῦ δικαίου ἡμαρτηκέναι. οὐδεμίαν γὰρ εἶναι

necessarily have died in the natural course of things during the long continuance of the excavations.

[1] Like the Greeks. See *Il.* ii. 867, and Herodotos viii. 20, ix. 43.

[2] "For."

[3] The Syrians are the Jews. Herodotos refers to the battle at Megiddo, where Josiah lost his life (2d Kings xxiii. 29), but has confounded Megiddo with Migdol, "the fortress." The Egyptian Migdol was 2½ Roman miles south-west of Pelusium on the sea-coast, where Mr. Chester has found its ruins, called Tel el-Hîr (*Quarterly Statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund*, July 1880, p. 148). Another Migdol was on the borders of the Sea of Galilee.

[4] It is plain from iii. 5 that this is Gaza, Khazitu in the Assyrian inscriptions.

[5] Wiedemann, B.C. 610-594. Herodotos knows nothing of Necho's defeat at Carchemish by Nebuchadrezzar, and the consequent loss of Asia.

[6] Psammetikhos II. (Psamtik) on the monuments, Psammuthis or Psammatikhos in Manetho. Maspero thinks there was a shortened popular form, Psamit', whence Psammis.

[7] The story is told of Amasis by Diodoros; of one of the seven wise men by Plutarch.

μηχανὴν ὅκως οὐ τῷ ἀστῷ ἀγωνιζομένῳ προσθήσονται, ἀδικέοντες τὸν ξεῖνον. ἀλλ' εἰ δὴ βούλονται δικαίως τιθέναι καὶ τούτου εἵνεκα ἀπικοίατο ἐς Αἴγυπτον, ξείνοισι ἀγωνιστῇσι ἐκέλευον τὸν ἀγῶνα τιθέναι, Ἠλείων δὲ μηδενὶ εἶναι ἀγωνίζεσθαι. τάοτα μὲν Αἰγύπτιοι Ἠλείοισι ὑπεθήκαντο.

Ψάμμιος δὲ ἓξ ἔτεα μοῦνον[8] βασιλεύσαντος Αἰγύπτου καὶ 161
στρατευσαμένου ἐς Αἰθιοπίην[9] καὶ μεταυτίκα τελευτήσαντος ἐξεδέξατο Ἀπρίης[1] ὁ Ψάμμιος· ὃς μετὰ Ψαμμήτιχον τὸν ἑωυτοῦ προπάτορα ἐγένετο εὐδαιμονέστατος τῶν πρότερον βασιλέων, ἐπ' ἔτεα πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι ἄρξας,[2] ἐν τοῖσι ἐπί τε Σιδῶνα στρατὸν ἤλασε καὶ ἐναυμάχησε τῷ Τυρίῳ. ἐπεὶ δέ οἱ ἔδει κακῶς γενέσθαι,[3] ἐγίνετο ἀπὸ προφάσιος τὴν ἐγὼ μεζόνως μὲν ἐν τοῖσι Λιβυκοῖσι λόγοισι ἀπηγήσομαι,[4] μετρίως δ' ἐν τῷ παρεόντι. ἀποπέμψας γὰρ στράτευμα ὁ Ἀπρίης μέγα ἐπὶ Κυρηναίους μεγαλωστὶ προσέπταισε, Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ τάοτα ἐπιμεμφόμενοι ἀπέστησαν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, δοκέοντες τὸν Ἀπρίην ἐκ προνοίης αὐτοὺς ἀποπέμψαι ἐς φαινόμενον κακόν, ἵνα δή σφεων φθορὴ γένηται, αὐτὸς δὲ τῶν λοιπῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἀσφαλέστερον ἄρχοι. τάοτα δὲ δεινὰ ποιεόμενοι οὗτοί τε οἱ ἀπονοστήσαντες καὶ οἱ τῶν ἀπολομένων φίλοι ἀπέστησαν ἐκ τῆς ἰθέης. πυθόμενος δὲ Ἀπρίης 162
τάοτα πέμπει ἐπ' αὐτοὺς Ἄμασιν καταπαύσοντα λόγοισι. ὁ δὲ ἐπείτε ἀπικόμενος κατελάμβανε τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους, τάοτα μὴ ποιεῖν λέγοντος αὐτοῦ τῶν τις Αἰγυπτίων ὄπισθε στὰς περιέθηκέ οἱ κυνέην, καὶ περιτιθεὶς ἔφη ἐπὶ βασιληίῃ περιτιθέναι. καὶ τῷ οὔ κως ἀεκούσιον ἐγίνετο τὸ ποιεόμενον, ὡς διεδείκνυε. ἐπείτε γὰρ ἐστήσαντό μιν βασιλέα τῶν Αἰγυπτίων οἱ ἀπεστεῶτες, παρεσκευάζετο ὡς ἐλῶν[5] ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀπρίην. πυθόμενος δὲ τάοτα ὁ Ἀπρίης ἔπεμπε ἐπ' Ἄμασιν ἄνδρα δόκιμον τῶν περὶ ἑωυτὸν Αἰγυπτίων, τῷ οὔνομα ἦν Πατάρβημις, ἐντειλάμενος αὐτῷ

[8] More exactly 5½, B.C. 594-589.

[9] See ch. 30, note 9. A stêlê (A90) in the Louvre states that Hor, the governor of the south, completed the subjugation of Kush in the first year of Apries. It would therefore seem that Psammetikhos did not himself conduct the expedition.

[1] Egyptian Uhapra; Manetho's Uaphrês, the Hophra of the Old Testament. His mother was Nitôkris, daughter of Necho.

[2] Manetho says nineteen, which is shown to be right by the monuments. See ch. 170, note 5.

[3] "And when the fated time of misfortune came to him." Notice Herodotos's fatalism, and cp. iv. 79, i. 8, ii. 55.

[4] See iv. 159. The fact that "the Libyan history" forms part of the general work of Herodotos throws light on "the Assyrian history." That also must have been equally intended to form part of the general work, and the fact that it does not do so implies that it was never written.

[5] "About to march."

ζῶντα Ἄμασιν ἀγαγεῖν παρ' ἑωυτόν. ὡς δὲ ἀπικόμενος τὸν Ἄμασιν ἐκάλει ὁ Πατάρβημις, ὁ Ἄμασις (ἔτυχε γὰρ ἐπ' ἵππου κατήμενος) ἐπαείρας ἀπεμάτισε, καὶ τοῦτό μιν ἐκέλευε Ἀπρίῃ ἀπάγειν. ὅμως δὲ αὐτὸν ἀξιοῦν τὸν Πατάρβημιν βασιλέος μεταπεμπομένου ἰέναι πρὸς αὐτόν· τόν δὲ αὐτῷ ὑποκρίνεσθαι ὡς τάοτα πάλαι παρεσκευάζετο ποιεῖν, καὶ αὐτῷ οὐ μέμψεσθαι Ἀπρίην· παρέσεσθαι γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ ἄλλους ἄξειν.[6] τὸν δὲ Πατάρβημιν ἔκ τε τῶν λεγομένων οὐκ ἀγνοεῖν τὴν διάνοιαν, καὶ παρασκευαζόμενον ὀρέοντα σπουδῇ ἀπιέναι, βουλόμενον τὴν ταχίστην βασιλέι δηλῶσαι τὰ πρησσόμενα. ὡς δὲ ἀπικέσθαι αὐτὸν πρὸς τὸν Ἀπρίην οὐκ ἄγοντα τὸν Ἄμασιν, οὐδένα λόγον ἑωυτῷ δόντα ἀλλὰ περιθύμως ἔχοντα περιταμεῖν προστάξαι αὐτοῦ τά τε ὦτα καὶ τὴν ῥῖνα. ἰδόμενοι δ' οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων, οἳ ἔτι τὰ ἐκείνου ἐφρόνεον, ἄνδρα τὸν δοκιμώτατον ἑωυτῶν οὕτω αἰσχρῶς λύμῃ διακείμενον, οὐδένα δὴ χρόνον ἐπισχόντες ἀπιστέατο πρὸς τοὺς ἑτέρους καὶ ἐδίδοσαν σφέας
163 αὐτοὺς Ἀμάσι. πυθόμενος δὲ καὶ τάοτα ὁ Ἀπρίης ὥπλιζε τοὺς ἐπικούρους καὶ ἤλαυνε ἐπὶ τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους· εἶχε δὲ περὶ ἑωυτὸν Καράς τε καὶ Ἴωνας ἄνδρας ἐπικούρους τρισμυρίους·[7] ἦν δέ οἱ τὰ βασιλήια ἐν Σάι πόλει, μεγάλα ἐόντα καὶ ἀξιοθέητα. καὶ οἵ τε περὶ τὸν Ἀπρίην ἐπὶ τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους ἦισαν καὶ οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἄμασιν ἐπὶ τοὺς ξείνους· ἔν τε δὴ Μωμέμφι πόλει[8] ἐγένοντο ἀμφότεροι καὶ πειρήσεσθαι ἔμελλον ἀλλήλων.

164 Ἔστι δὲ Αἰγυπτίων ἑπτὰ γένεα,[9] καὶ τούτων οἱ μὲν ἱερεῖς

[6] Cp. i. 127. The similarity of the answers of Kyros and Apries shows that Herodotos considered them what a successful rebel ought to say.

[7] We may infer from this that the real cause of the revolt was the favour shown to the foreign mercenaries. Comp. the story of the Asmakh or deserters. It has been ingeniously suggested that the overthrow of Apries was brought about by the invasion of Nebuchadrezzar, which a cuneiform inscription states took place in the latter's thirty-seventh year. But this fell in B.C. 567, and Nebuchadrezzar mentions that his opponent was Amasis, and not Apries. According to an Egyptian inscription, the Babylonians first met the Egyptian forces under Hor at Syêne, and were defeated and driven back by them. Joseph. (*Antiq.* x. 9, 7) declares that Nebuchadrezzar put the Egyptian king to death, and appointed another in his place.

[8] Below the modern *Algam*, on the edge of the desert, and near the mouth of the Lykos Canal. Now Menûf.

[9] These castes had no real existence. Children were not obliged to follow the professions of their fathers. The mention of interpreters shows that the society described is later than the time of Psammetikhos; while swineherds are included who could have been as little as the interpreters native Egyptians, to whom swine were an abomination. On the other hand, important professions and trades, such as those of medical m[illegible], scribes, and agriculturists, are wholly forgotten. Plato, Diodoros, and Strabo,

οἱ δὲ μάχιμοι κεκλέαται, οἱ δὲ βουκόλοι, οἱ δὲ συβῶται, οἱ δὲ κάπηλοι, οἱ δὲ ἑρμηνεῖς, οἱ δὲ κυβερνῆται. γένεα μὲν Αἰγυπτίων τοσαῦτά ἐστι, οὐνόματα δέ σφι κεῖται ἀπὸ τῶν τεχνέων. οἱ δὲ μάχιμοι αὐτῶν καλέονται μὲν Καλασίριες[1] τε καὶ Ἑρμοτύβιες, ἐκ νομῶν δὲ τῶνδε εἰσί· κατὰ γὰρ δὴ νομοὺς Αἴγυπτος ἅπασα διαραίρηται. Ἑρμοτυβίων μὲν οἵδε εἰσὶ νομοί,[2] Βουσιρίτης, 165
Σαΐτης, Χεμμίτης, Παπρημίτης, νῆσος ἡ Προσωπῖτις καλεομένη, Ναθῶ τὸ ἥμισυ.[3] ἐκ μὲν τούτων τῶν νομῶν Ἑρμοτύβιές εἰσι, γενόμενοι, ὅτε ἐπὶ πλείστους ἐγένοντο, ἑκκαίδεκα μυριάδες. καὶ τούτων βανανσίης οὐδεὶς δεδάηκε οὐδέν, ἀλλ' ἀνέωνται ἐς τὸ μάχιμον. Καλασιρίων δὲ οἵδε ἄλλοι νομοί εἰσι, Θηβαῖος, 166
Βουβαστίτης, Ἀφθίτης, Τανίτης, Μενδήσιος, Σεβεννύτης,[4] Ἀθριβίτης,[5] Φαρβαιθίτης, Θμουῖτης,[6] Ὀνουφίτης,[7] Ἀνύτιος,[8] Μυεκφορίτης·[9] οὗτος ὁ νομὸς ἐν νήσῳ οἰκεῖ ἀντίον Βουβάστιος πόλιος. οὗτοι δὲ οἱ νομοὶ Καλασιρίων εἰσί, γενόμενοι, ὅτε ἐπὶ πλείστους ἐγένοντο, πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι μυριάδες ἀνδρῶν. οὐδὲ τούτοισι ἔξεστι τέχνην ἐπασκῆσαι οὐδεμίαν, ἀλλὰ τὰ ἐς πόλεμον ἐπασκέουσι μοῦνα, παῖς παρὰ πατρὸς ἐκδεκόμενος. εἰ μέν νυν καὶ 167
τοῦτο παρ' Αἰγυπτίων μεμαθήκασι οἱ Ἕλληνες, οὐκ ἔχω ἀτρεκέως κρῖναι, ὁρέων καὶ Θρήικας καὶ Σκύθας καὶ Πέρσας καὶ Λυδοὺς καὶ σχεδὸν πάντας τοὺς βαρβάρους ἀποτιμοτέρους τῶν ἄλλων ἡγημένους πολιητέων τοὺς τὰς τέχνας μανθάνοντας καὶ τοὺς ἐκγόνους τούτων, τοὺς δὲ ἀπαλλαγμένους τῶν χειρωναξιῶν γενναίους νομιζομένους εἶναι, καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς ἐς τὸν πόλεμον ἀνειμένους· μεμαθήκασι δ' ὦν τοῦτο πάντες οἱ Ἕλληνες καὶ μάλιστα Λακεδαιμόνιοι. ἥκιστα δὲ Κορίνθιοι ὄνονται τοὺς χειροτέχνας.[1] γέρεα δέ σφι ἦν τάδε ἐξαιρημένα μούνοισι 168

repeat the error of Herodotos, though they are not agreed as to what the different castes were.

[1] Egyptian *Kelâshir*, "armed with leather," from the garment mentioned in ch. 81. The word is found in a papyrus of the Roman period. Hermotybis has not been identified.

[2] For the nomes, see App. I.

[3] Between the Sebennytic arm of the Nile and the Thermuthiac, which ran east of Xois (N.E. of Sais).

[4] Egyptian Teb-en-nuter (cuneiform Zabnuti), now Semennûd, on the Damietta line.

[5] Marked by the mounds of Kôm el-Atrîb, a little to the north-east of Benha, to the north of Cairo.

[6] Marked by the granite monolith of Tel Etmei, a little south of the Mendesian branch of the Nile.

[7] Perhaps Benûb, on the Sebennytic branch.

[8] Perhaps Bebeit, about six miles below Semennûd.

[9] An island between the Tanitic and Pelusiac mouths of the Nile. The accuracy of this list may be questioned, as only two nomes of Upper Egypt (the Thebaic and Khemmitic) are mentioned.

[1] The notion that trade is *βάναυσος* (Arist. *Pol.* i. 5) is natural in every

Αἰγυπτίων πάρεξ τῶν ἱερέων, ἄρουραι ἐξαίρετοι δυώδεκα ἑκάστῳ ἀτελεῖς. ἡ δὲ ἄρουρα ἑκατὸν πηχέων ἐστὶ Αἰγυπτίων πάντῃ,[2] ὁ δὲ Αἰγύπτιος πῆχυς τυγχάνει ἴσος ἐὼν τῷ Σαμίῳ. τάοτα μὲν δὴ τοῖσι ἅπασι ἦν ἐξαραιρημένα, τάδε δὲ ἐν περιτροπῇ ἐκαρποῦντο καὶ οὐδαμὰ ὠυτοί. Καλασιρίων χίλιοι καὶ Ἑρμοτυβίων[3] ἐδορυφόρεον ἐνιαυτὸν ἕκαστοι τὸν βασιλέα· τούτοισι ὧν τάδε πάρεξ τῶν ἀρουρέων ἄλλα ἐδίδοτο ἐπ' ἡμέρῃ ἑκάστῃ, ὀπτοῦ σίτου σταθμὸς πέντε μνέαι ἑκάστῳ, κρεῶν βοέων δύο μνέαι, οἴνου τέσσερες ἀρυστῆρες. τάοτα τοῖσι αἰεὶ δορυφορέουσι ἐδίδοτο.

169 Ἐπείτε δὲ συνιόντες ὅ τε Ἀπρίης ἄγων τοὺς ἐπικούρους καὶ ὁ Ἄμασις πάντας Αἰγυπτίους ἀπίκοντο ἐς Μώμεμφιν πόλιν, συνέβαλον· καὶ ἐμαχέσαντο μὲν εὖ οἱ ξεῖνοι, πλήθει δὲ πολλῷ ἐλάσσονες ἐόντες κατὰ τοῦτο ἐσσώθησαν. Ἀπρίῳ δὲ λέγεται εἶναι ἥδε διάνοια, μηδ' ἂν θεόν μιν μηδένα δύνασθαι παῦσαι τῆς βασιληίης·[4] οὕτω ἀσφαλέως ἑωυτῷ ἱδρῦσθαι ἐδόκει. καὶ δὴ τότε συμβαλὼν ἐσσώθη καὶ ζωγρηθεὶς ἀπήχθη ἐς Σάιν πόλιν, ἐς τὰ ἑωυτοῦ οἰκία πρότερον ἐόντα, τότε δὲ Ἀμάσιος ἤδη βασιλήια. ἐνθαῦτα δὲ τέως μὲν ἐτρέφετο ἐν τοῖσι βασιληίοισι, καί μιν Ἄμασις εὖ περιεῖπε·[5] τέλος δὲ μεμφομένων Αἰγυπτίων ὡς οὐ ποιέοι δίκαια τρέφων τὸν σφίσι τε καὶ ἑωυτῷ ἔχθιστον, οὕτω

state in which the military feeling is strong. In Athens, where the democracy could be led by Kleôn the leather-seller, and Hyperbolos the lamp-maker, it influenced public life considerably less than at Korinth.

[2] About 22,500 square feet. Consequently 12 aruræ were 9 acres. The Egyptian royal cubit was a little more than 20½ inches, the ordinary Greek cubit being 18¼ inches. There were, however, several kinds of cubits in Egypt. Besides the *suten mâ* or royal cubit of 7 palms (*i.e.* 28 digits), there were the lesser cubit (*mâ nets*) of 6 palms, and the cubit of 5 palms. Each cubit was dedicated to a god. The *t'er* was 4 palms, the *remen da* or greater spithame 3½ palms, the *remen nets* 3 palms, the *tut sen* or "two hands" 2 palms, the *khep* or "foot" 1½ palm, the palm or *s'ap* containing 4 *teb* or digits, a digit being probably 0·7366 inch. In the geometric papyrus the *ar* seems to be equivalent to the Greek *skhœnos*, the *kha* or pole being the orgyia of 6 feet. See ch. 149, note 2.

[3] Reading Ἑρμοτυβίων ἄλλοι with two MSS., we should have to translate "as many of the H."; but it is difficult to extract such a sense out of the pronoun. It is therefore better to understand Herodotos to mean that a thousand soldiers in all acted as bodyguard, Kalesirians and Hermotybians being on duty in alternate years.

[4] Comp. Ezek. xxix. 3, 8, 9.

[5] Wiedemann supposes that Apries survived for six years (B.C. 570-564), hence the twenty-five years of Herodotos (see ch. 161). But it is not likely that he would have remained a prisoner when Amasis was defeated by Nebuchadrezzar, and all Egypt overrun by the Babylonians (see ch. 163, note 7).

δὴ παραδιδοῖ τὸν Ἀπρίην τοῖσι Αἰγυπτίοισι. οἱ δέ μιν ἀπέπνιξαν καὶ ἔπειτα ἔθαψαν ἐν τῇσι πατρωίῃσι ταφῇσι· αἱ δέ εἰσι ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῆς Ἀθηναίης, ἀγχοτάτω τοῦ μεγάρου, ἐσιόντι ἀριστερῆς χειρός. ἔθαψαν δὲ Σαΐται πάντας τοὺς ἐκ νομοῦ τούτου γενομένους βασιλέας ἔσω ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ. καὶ γὰρ τὸ τοῦ Ἀμάσιος σῆμα ἐκαστέρω μέν ἐστι τοῦ μεγάρου ἢ τὸ τοῦ Ἀπρίω καὶ τῶν τούτου προπατόρων, ἔστι μέντοι καὶ τοῦτο ἐν τῇ αὐλῇ τοῦ ἱεροῦ, παστὰς λιθίνη μεγάλη καὶ ἠσκημένη στύλοισί τε φοινικας τὰ δένδρεα μεμιμημένοισι[6] καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ δαπάνῃ. ἔσω δὲ ἐν τῇ παστάδι διξὰ θυρώματα ἔστηκε, ἐν δὲ τοῖσι θυρώμασι ἡ θήκη ἐστί. εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ αἱ ταφαὶ τοῦ οὐκ ὅσιον ποιέομαι ἐπὶ τοιούτῳ 170
πρήγματι ἐξαγορεύειν τὸ οὔνομα[7] ἐν Σάι, ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῆς Ἀθηναίης, ὄπισθε τοῦ νηοῦ, παντὸς τοῦ τῆς Ἀθηναίης ἐχόμεναι τοίχου. καὶ ἐν τῷ τεμένει ὀβελοὶ ἑστᾶσι μεγάλοι λίθινοι, λίμνη[8] τε ἐστὶ ἐχομένη λιθίνῃ κρηπῖδι κεκοσμημένη καὶ ἐργασμένη εὖ κύκλῳ καὶ μέγαθος, ὡς ἐμοὶ ἐδόκει, ὅση περ ἡ ἐν Δήλῳ ἡ τροχοειδὴς καλεομένη.[9] ἐν δὲ τῇ λίμνῃ ταύτῃ τὰ δεικηλα τῶν 171
παθέων αὐτοῦ[1] νυκτὸς ποιέουσι, τὰ καλέουσι μυστήρια Αἰγύπτιοι. περὶ μέν νυν τούτων εἰδότι μοι ἐπὶ πλέον ὡς ἕκαστα αὐτῶν ἔχει, εὔστομα κείσθω. καὶ τῆς Δήμητρος τελετῆς πέρι, τὴν οἱ Ἕλληνες θεσμοφόρια[2] καλέουσι, καὶ ταύτης μοι πέρι εὔστομα κείσθω, πλὴν ὅσον αὐτῆς ὁσίη ἐστὶ λέγειν. αἱ Δαναοῦ θυγατέρες

[6] This is Phœnician rather than Egyptian work, and indicates that the Egyptian wars in Phœnicia had brought Phœnician artists into Egypt.

[7] Osiris, see ch. 3, note 9. Yet elsewhere Herodotos has no scruples about mentioning Osiris under his Greek title, Dionysos!

[8] The lake still exists near Sa el-Hager, north of a huge brick wall which encloses an open space and is seventy feet thick. The lake has been made irregular in shape by the fallen masses of rubbish.

[9] Cp. Theogn. 7, Kallim. *Hymn. ad Del.* 261. M. Homolle's excavations in Delos have shown that the lake was an oval, 289 feet long by 200, in a rectangular enclosure, with a granite wall running round it 4 feet high. The conduit by which it was fed is at the north-east corner. Upon it floated the sacred swans, and hard by were the sacred palm-tree, the *κεράτινος βωμός*, where the ancient dance, the *γέρανος*, was performed, and the *κακὸς βωμός*, round which sailors were whipped with their hands tied behind their backs, while they chewed the leaves of the sacred olive.

[1] Osiris, see note 7 above. For the Osiris myth, see App. I., and comp. the lamentations for the death of Tammuz, or Adônis, the sun-god, whose legend was ultimately derived from the Accadians of Babylonia.

[2] The Thesmophoria were observed at Athens in honour of Dêmêter Thesmophoros by women clad in white, who went to Eleusis on the 11th of Pyanepsion (the day of the Anodos), the festival beginning on the 14th. The 16th was a fast, and the 17th the last day of the feast, during which the sacrifices called Diôgma or Apodiôgma, and Zemia, were performed. For a similar feast at

ἦσαν αἱ τὴν τελετὴν ταύτην ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ἐξαγαγοῦσαι καὶ διδάξασαι τὰς Πελασγιώτιδας γυναῖκας· μετὰ δὲ ἐξαναστάσης [πάσης] Πελοποννήσου ὑπὸ Δωριῶν ἐξαπώλετο ἡ τελετή, οἱ δὲ ὑπολειφθέντες Πελοποννησίων καὶ οὐκ ἐξαναστάντες Ἀρκάδες[3] διέσωζον αὐτὴν μοῦνοι.

172 Ἀπρίῳ δὲ ὧδε καταραιρημένου ἐβασίλευσε Ἄμασις. νομοῦ μὲν Σαΐτεω ἐών, ἐκ τῆς δὲ ἦν πόλιος, οὔνομά οἱ ἐστὶ Σιούφ.[4] τὰ μὲν δὴ πρῶτα κατώνοντο τὸν Ἄμασιν Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ ἐν οὐδεμιῇ μοίρῃ μεγάλῃ ἦγον[5] ἅτε δὴ δημότην τὸ πρὶν ἐόντα καὶ οἰκίης οὐκ ἐπιφανέος· μετὰ δὲ σοφίῃ αὐτοὺς ὁ Ἄμασις, οὐκ ἀγνω-

Ephesos, see Herodotos, vi. 16; and at Thebes, Xen. *Hell.* v. 2, 29.

[3] Cp. Schol. on Aristoph. *Clouds*, 398; (the Arkadians claimed to be προσέληνοι). The human sacrifices offered on the summit of Mount Lykæos indicate the existence of a non-Aryan population in Arkadia.

[4] Probably Seffeh, north of Sais. Brugsch identifies it with the Egyptian Sotep.

[5] "Held him in no great esteem." The low birth of Amasis (Egyptian Aahmes) is inconsistent with his rank as general and friend of Apries, and his marriage with Ankh-nes-nofer-ap-ra, the latter's sister. But it allowed the Greeks to indulge in their passion for inventing stories about persons in authority. Amasis lost the favour of the priests by handing over to the foreigners some of their best lands at Memphis, Bubastis, and Heliopolis, as we learn from a "demotic chronicle," deciphered by M. Révillout (*Revue égyptologique*, 1880). Instead of listening to their demands for justice, and allowing the case to be tried by the supreme court of thirty judges from the sanctuaries of Thebes, Memphis, and Heliopolis, the king caused it to be decided against them by the council of state. The taxes levied by Amasis on the priesthood were renewed by Dareios in the third year of his reign. Hence the hatred of the priestly compilers of the "chronicle" to Amasis, whom they accuse of getting drunk in the morning (cp. Herodotos in this ch.) on Kelebi wine, and so forgetting the affairs of state. The "chronicle" also states that after his death Kambyses was received "because of his generosity of heart." He "gave up Egypt to his satrap in the year 3," and expelled the "strangers" from the temple of Neith at Sais, restoring to the priests what Amasis had taken from them. This seems to have been in great measure due to Uŕa-Hor-en-pi-res or Uŕa-Hor-res-nt, high priest of Neith, who was a friend of Kambysês, and initiated the latter into the mysteries of the Egyptian goddess. The Persian king had so great an affection for him as to take him with him out of Egypt when he left it, and the Egyptian priest only returned to Sais on a confidential mission from Dareios when the latter was in "Aram." Uŕa-Hor-en-pi-res speaks of restoring property and fortune to his countrymen in the reign of Dareios, "during the great calamity which took place over the whole earth." This must refer to the general insurrection which broke out after the death of the pseudo-Bardes (Gomates), in which Egypt also shared, as we learn from an inscription found on the line of the Suez Canal, in which Dareios says, "I am a Persian; with (the aid of) Persia I conquered Egypt." Tapert, the mother of Amasis, was related to Apries (see Révillout in the *Rev. égyptologique*, 1881, pp. 96-98).

μοσύνῃ προσηγάγετο. ἦν οἱ ἄλλα τε ἀγαθὰ μυρία, ἐν δὲ καὶ ποδανιπτὴρ χρύσεος, ἐν τῷ αὐτός τε ὁ Ἄμασις καὶ οἱ δαιτυμόνες οἱ πάντες τοὺς πόδας ἑκάστοτε ἐναπενίζοντο. τοῦτον κατ' ὧν κόψας ἄγαλμα δαίμονος ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἐποιήσατο, καὶ ἵδρυσε τῆς πόλιος ὅκου ἦν ἐπιτηδεότατον· οἱ δὲ Αἰγύπτιοι φοιτέοντες πρὸς τὤγαλμα ἐσέβοντο μεγάλως. μαθὼν δὲ ὁ Ἄμασις τὸ ἐκ τῶν ἀστῶν ποιεόμενον, συγκαλέσας Αἰγυπτίους ἐξέφηνε φὰς ἐκ τοῦ ποδανιπτῆρος τὤγαλμα γεγονέναι, ἐς τὸν πρότερον μὲν τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους ἐνεμεῖν τε καὶ ἐνουρεῖν καὶ πόδας ἐναπονίζεσθαι, τότε δὲ μεγάλως σέβεσθαι. ἤδη ὦν ἔφη λέγων ὁμοίως αὐτὸς τῷ ποδανιπτῆρι πεπρηγέναι· εἰ γὰρ πρότερον εἶναι δημότης, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ παρεόντι εἶναι αὐτῶν βασιλεύς· καὶ τιμᾶν τε καὶ προμηθεῖσθαι ἑωυτοῦ ἐκέλευε. τοιούτῳ μὲν τρόπῳ προσηγάγετο 173
τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους ὥστε δικαιοῦν δουλεύειν, ἐχρᾶτο δὲ καταστάσει πρηγμάτων τοιῇδε. τὸ μὲν ὄρθριον μέχρι ὅτου πληθούσης ἀγορῆς[6] προθύμως ἔπρησσε τὰ προσφερόμενα πρήγματα, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου ἔπινέ τε καὶ κατέσκωπτε τοὺς συμπότας καὶ ἦν μάταιός τε καὶ παιγνιήμων. ἀχθεσθέντες δὲ τούτοισι οἱ φίλοι αὐτοῦ ἐνουθέτεον αὐτὸν τοιάδε λέγοντες. "ὦ βασιλεῦ, οὐκ ὀρθῶς σεωυτοῦ προέστηκας, ἐς τὸ ἄγαν φαῦλον προάγων σεωυτόν. σὲ γὰρ χρῆν ἐν θρόνῳ σεμνῷ σεμνὸν θωκέοντα δι' ἡμέρης πρήσσειν τὰ πρήγματα, καὶ οὕτω Αἰγύπτιοί τ' ἂν ἠπιστέατο ὡς ὑπ' ἀνδρὸς μεγάλου ἄρχονται, καὶ ἄμεινον σὺ ἂν ἤκουες· νῦν δὲ ποιεῖς οὐδαμῶς βασιλικά." ὁ δ' ἀμείβετο τοῖσιδε αὐτούς. "τὰ τόξα οἱ ἐκτημένοι, ἐπεὰν μὲν δέωνται χρᾶσθαι, ἐντανύουσι· εἰ γὰρ δὴ τὸν πάντα χρόνον ἐντεταμένα εἴη, ἐκραγείη ἄν, ὥστε ἐς τὸ δέον οὐκ ἂν ἔχοιεν αὐτοῖσι χρᾶσθαι. οὕτω δὴ καὶ ἀνθρώπου κατάστασις. εἰ ἐθέλοι κατεσπουδάσθαι αἰεὶ μηδὲ ἐς παιγνίην τὸ μέρος ἑωυτὸν ἀνιέναι, λάθοι ἂν ἤτοι μανεὶς ἢ ὅ γε ἀπόπληκτος γενόμενος· τὰ ἐγὼ ἐπιστάμενος μέρος ἑκατέρῳ νέμω." τάοτα μὲν τοὺς φίλους ἀμείψατο. λέγεται δὲ ὁ Ἄμασις, καὶ ὅτε ἦν 174
ἰδιώτης, ὡς φιλοπότης ἦν καὶ φιλοσκώμμων καὶ οὐδαμῶς κατεσπουδασμένος ἀνήρ· ὅκως δέ μιν ἐπιλείποι πίνοντά τε καὶ εὐπαθέοντα τὰ ἐπιτήδεα, κλέπτεσκε ἂν περιιών· οἱ δ' ἄν μιν φάμενοι ἔχειν τὰ σφέτερα χρήματα ἀρνεόμενον ἄγεσκον ἐπὶ μαντήιον, ὅκου ἑκάστοισι εἴη. πολλὰ μὲν δὴ καὶ ἠλίσκετο ὑπὸ τῶν μαντηίων, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἀπέφευγε. ἐπείτε δὲ καὶ ἐβασίλευσε,

[6] Cf. Xen. *Anab.* i. 8, 1; ii. 1, 7; Plat. *Gorg.* 469 D. It means the third hour (nine o'clock). See iii. 104, note 1, and iv. 181.

ἐποίησε τοιάδε. ὅσοι μὲν αὐτὸν τῶν θεῶν ἀπέλυσαν μὴ φῶρα εἶναι, τούτων μὲν τῶν ἱερῶν οὔτε ἐπεμέλετο οὔτε ἐς ἐπισκευὴν ἐδίδου οὐδέν, οὐδὲ φοιτέων ἔθυε ὡς οὐδενὸς ἐοῦσι ἀξίοισι ψευδέα τε μαντήια ἐκτημένοισι· ὅσοι δέ μιν κατέδησαν φῶρα εἶναι, τούτων δὲ ὡς ἀληθέων θεῶν ἐόντων καὶ ἀψευδέα μαντήια παρεχο-
175 μένων τὰ μάλιστα ἐπεμέλετο. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἐν Σάι τῇ Ἀθηναίῃ προπύλαια θωυμάσιά οἱ ἐξεποίησε, πολλὸν πάντας ὑπερβαλόμενος τῷ τε ὕψει καὶ τῷ μεγάθει, ὅσων τε τὸ μέγαθος λίθων ἐστὶ καὶ οἱοίων τεῶν· τοῦτο δὲ κολοσσοὺς μέγαλους καὶ ἀνδρόσφιγγας[7] περιμήκεας ἀνέθηκε, λίθους τε ἄλλους ἐς ἐπισκευὴν ὑπερφυέας τὸ μέγαθος ἐκόμισε. ἠγάγετο δὲ τούτων τοὺς μὲν ἐκ τῶν κατὰ Μέμφιν ἐουσέων λιθοτομιῶν, τοὺς δὲ ὑπερμεγάθεας ἐξ Ἐλεφαντίνης πόλιος πλόον καὶ εἴκοσι ἡμερέων ἀπεχούσης ἀπὸ Σάιος. τὸ δὲ οὐκ ἥκιστα αὐτῶν ἀλλὰ μάλιστα θωυμάζω, ἔστι τόδε. οἴκημα μουνόλιθον[8] ἐκόμισε ἐξ Ἐλεφαντίνης πόλιος, καὶ τοῦτο ἐκόμιζον μὲν ἐπ' ἔτεα τρία, δισχίλιοι δέ οἱ προσετετάχατο ἄνδρες ἀγωγεῖς, καὶ οὗτοι ἅπαντες ἦσαν κυβερνῆται. τῆς δὲ στέγης ταύτης τὸ μὲν μῆκος ἔξωθέν ἐστι εἰς τε καὶ εἴκοσι πήχεις, εὖρος δὲ τεσσερεσκαίδεκα, ὕψος δὲ ὀκτώ. τάοτα μὲν τὰ μέτρα ἔξωθεν τῆς στέγης τῆς μουνολίθου ἐστί, ἀτὰρ ἔσωθεν τὸ μῆκος ὀκτωκαίδεκα πηχέων καὶ πυγόνος . . . , τὸ δὲ ὕψος πέντε πηχέων ἐστί. αὕτη τοῦ ἱεροῦ κεῖται παρὰ τὴν ἔσοδον· ἔσω γάρ μιν ἐς τὸ ἱερόν φασι τῶνδε εἵνεκα οὐκ ἐσελκύσαι. τὸν ἀρχιτέκτονα αὐτῆς ἑλκομένης τῆς στέγης ἀναστενάξαι, οἷά τε χρόνου ἐγγεγονότος πολλοῦ καὶ ἀχθόμενον τῷ ἔργῳ, τὸν δὲ Ἄμασιν ἐνθυμιστὸν ποιησάμενον οὐκ ἐᾶν ἔτι προσωτέρω ἑλκύσαι. ἤδη δέ τινες λέγουσι ὡς ἄνθρωπος διεφθάρη ὑπ' αὐτῆς τῶν τις αὐτὴν
176 μοχλευόντων, καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου οὐκ ἐσελκυσθῆναι. ἀνέθηκε δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖσι ἄλλοισι ἱεροῖσι ὁ Ἄμασις πᾶσι τοῖσι ἑλλογίμοισι ἔργα τὸ μέγαθος ἀξιοθέητα, ἐν δὲ καὶ ἐν Μέμφι τὸν ὕπτιον κείμενον κολοσσὸν τοῦ Ἡφαιστείου ἔμπροσθε,[9] τοῦ πόδες πέντε

[7] *i.e.* sphinxes with human heads, not the heads of rams or hawks. The avenue leading to the entrance of a temple was generally lined with a double row of sphinxes (as at Karnak). The sphinx (Egyptian *hu* or *akar*) symbolised the god Harmakhis, and, if the great sphinx of Gizeh is older than Menes, (see App. I.) was of vast antiquity. The sphinx of Greek art, which united the head of a woman with the body of a lion, was an enfeebled copy of the Egyptian original, its wings being derived from Phœnician art. The Greek name, which means "the strangler," was derived from the myth of the she-monster sprung from Ekhidna and her son Orthros, the dawn.

[8] See ch. 156, note 1.

[9] As statues were intended to stand upright, the colossos referred to by Herodotos was probably one of those

καὶ ἑβδομήκοντά εἰσι τὸ μῆκος· ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ βάθρῳ ἑστᾶσι τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἑόντος λίθου δύο κολοσσοί, εἴκοσι ποδῶν τὸ μέγαθος ἑὼν ἑκάτερος, ὁ μὲν ἔνδεν ὁ δ' ἔνθεν τοῦ μεγάλου. ἔστι δὲ λίθινος ἕτερος τοσοῦτος καὶ ἐν Σάι, κείμενος κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον τῷ ἐν Μέμφι. τῇ Ἴσι τε τὸ ἐν Μέμφι ἱερὸν Ἄμασίς ἐστι ὁ ἐξοικοδομήσας, ἑὸν μέγα τε καὶ ἀξιοθεητότατον.

177 Ἐπ' Ἀμάσιος δὲ βασιλέος λέγεται Αἴγυπτος μάλιστα δὴ τότε εὐδαιμονῆσαι καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τῇ χώρῃ γινόμενα καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς χώρης τοῖσι ἀνθρώποισι, καὶ πόλιας ἐν αὐτῇ γενέσθαι τὰς ἁπάσας τότε δισμυρίας τὰς οἰκεομένας. νόμον τε Αἰγυπτίοισι τόνδε Ἄμασίς ἐστι ὁ καταστήσας, ἀποδεικνύναι ἔτεος ἑκάστου τῷ νομάρχῃ πάντα τινὰ Αἰγυπτίων ὅθεν βιοῦται·[1] μὴ δὲ ποιέοντα τάοτα μηδὲ ἀποφαίνοντα δικαίην ζόην ἰθύνεσθαι θανάτῳ. Σόλων δὲ ὁ Ἀθηναῖος λαβὼν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου τοῦτον τὸν νόμον Ἀθηναίοισι ἔθετο· τῷ ἐκεῖνοι ἐς αἰεὶ χρέωνται ἐόντι ἀμώμῳ νόμῳ. φιλέλλην δὲ γενόμενος[2] ὁ Ἄμασις ἄλλα τε ἐς 178 Ἑλλήνων μετεξετέρους ἀπεδέξατο, καὶ δὴ καὶ τοῖσι ἀπικνεομένοισι ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἔδωκε Ναύκρατιν πόλιν[3] ἐνοικῆσαι· τοῖσι δὲ μὴ βουλομένοισι αὐτῶν οἰκεῖν, αὐτοῦ δὲ ναυτιλλομένοισι ἔδωκε χώρους ἐνιδρύσασθαι βωμοὺς καὶ τεμένεα θεοῖσι. τὸ μέν νυν μέγιστον αὐτῶν τέμενος καὶ ὀνομαστότατον ἐὸν καὶ χρησιμώτατον, καλεόμενον δὲ Ἑλλήνιον, αἵδε πόλιές εἰσι αἱ ἱδρυμέναι κοινῇ, Ἰώνων μὲν Χίος καὶ Τέως καὶ Φώκαια καὶ Κλαζομεναί, Δωριῶν δὲ Ῥόδος καὶ Κνίδος καὶ Ἁλικαρνησσὸς καὶ Φάσηλις, Αἰολέων δὲ ἡ Μυτιληναίων μούνη. τουτέων μέν ἐστι τοῦτο τὸ τέμενος, καὶ προστάτας τοῦ ἐμπορίου αὗται αἱ πόλιές εἰσι αἱ παρέχουσαι· ὅσαι δὲ ἄλλαι πόλιες μεταποιέονται, οὐδέν σφι μετεὸν μεταποιέονται.[4] χωρὶς δὲ Αἰγινῆται ἐπὶ ἑωυτῶν ἱδρύ-

set up by Ramses II., and subsequently overthrown. See ch. 110, note 1.

[1] Already, under the eighteenth dynasty, bodies of men are represented presenting themselves for registration. According to Plut. (*Sol.* 17), Solon repealed Drakon's law, which condemned to death the man who was convicted of idleness. Vagabondage was punished in England under the Tudors with flogging, imprisonment, and even death. Theophrastos ascribed the law to Peisistratos (Plut. *Sol.* 31).

[2] The past participle implies that Amasis had not at first been favourably disposed towards the Greeks who had supported Apries. When he was once secure, however, the mercenaries were too powerful not to be courted.

[3] See ch. 135, note 4.

[4] "All the other states which claim a share, claim what in no way belongs to them." We may compare the Hanseatic League of the Middle Ages. Phaselis, also called Pityussa, lay on the east coast of Lykia at the foot of Mount Takhtalü. Its ruins are now known as Tekrova, where the ancient theatre,

σαντο τέμενος Διός, καὶ ἄλλο Σάμιοι Ἥρης καὶ Μιλήσιοι Ἀπόλ-
179 λωνος. ἦν δὲ τὸ παλαιὸν μούνη Ναύκρατις ἐμπόριον καὶ ἄλλο οὐδὲν Αἰγύπτου. εἰ δέ τις ἐς τῶν τι ἄλλο στομάτων τοῦ Νείλου ἀπίκοιτο, χρῆν ὀμόσαι μὴ μὲν ἑκόντα ἐλθεῖν, ἀπομόσαντα δὲ τῇ νηὶ αὐτῇ πλεῖν ἐς τὸ Κανωβικόν· ἢ εἰ μή γε οἷά τε εἴη πρὸς ἀνέμους ἀντίους πλεῖν, τὰ φορτία ἔδει περιάγειν ἐν βάρισι περὶ τὸ Δέλτα, μέχρι οὗ ἀπίκοιτο ἐς Ναύκρατιν. οὕτω μὲν δὴ
180 Ναύκρατις ἐτετίμητο. Ἀμφικτυόνων δὲ μισθωσάντων τὸν ἐν Δελφοῖσι νῦν ἐόντα νηὸν τριηκοσίων ταλάντων ἐξεργάσασθαι (ὁ γὰρ πρότερον ἐὼν αὐτόθι αὐτομάτως κατεκάη[5]), τοὺς Δελφοὺς δὴ ἐπέβαλλε τεταρτημόριον τοῦ μισθώματος παρασχεῖν. πλανώμενοι δὲ οἱ Δελφοὶ περὶ τὰς πόλιας ἐδωτίναζον, ποιέοντες δὲ τοῦτο οὐκ ἐλάχιστον ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ἠνείκαντο· Ἄμασις μὲν γάρ σφι ἔδωκε χίλια στυπτηρίης[6] τάλαντα, οἱ δὲ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ
181 οἰκέοντες Ἕλληνες εἴκοσι μνέας.[7] Κυρηναίοισι δὲ Ἄμασις φιλότητά τε καὶ συμμαχίην συνεθήκατο. ἐδικαίωσε δὲ καὶ γῆμαι αὐτόθεν, εἴτ' ἐπιθυμήσας Ἑλληνίδος γυναικὸς εἴτε καὶ ἄλλως φιλότητος Κυρηναίων εἵνεκα· γαμεῖ δὲ ὧν, οἱ μὲν λέγουσι Βάττου οἱ δ' Ἀρκεσίλεω[8] θυγατέρα, οἱ δὲ Κριτοβούλου ἀνδρὸς τῶν ἀστῶν δοκίμου, τῇ οὔνομα ἦν Λαδίκη· τῇ ἐπείτε συγκλίνοιτο ὁ Ἄμασις, μίσγεσθαι οὐκ οἷός τε ἐγίνετο· τῇσι δὲ ἄλλῃσι γυναιξὶ ἐχρᾶτο. ἐπείτε δὲ πολλὸν τοῦτο ἐγίνετο, εἶπε ὁ Ἄμασις πρὸς τὴν Λαδίκην ταύτην καλεομένην "ὦ γύναι, κατά με ἐφάρμαξας, καὶ ἔστι τοι οὐδεμία μηχανὴ μὴ οὐκ ἀπολωλέναι κάκιστα γυναικῶν πασέων." ἡ δὲ Λαδίκη, ἐπείτε οἱ ἀρνεομένῃ οὐδὲν ἐγίνετο πρηΰτερος ὁ Ἄμασις, εὔχεται ἐν τῷ νόῳ τῇ

stadium, and temples may all be traced.

[5] B.C. 548. For the rebuilding of the temple by the Alkmæonids, see bk. v. 62. The Amphiktyons or "dwellers around" were the Thessalians, Bœotians, Dorians, Ionians, Perrhæbians, Magnêtes, Lokrians, Œteans, Akhæans, Phokians, Dolopes, and Malians—though the list is differently given by Æskhinês, Harpokratiôn, and Pausanias—who in prehistoric times formed a federal league, and met twice a year (autumn and spring) at Thermopylæ, their central sanctuary, and (later) at Delphi. Subsequently they became merely the superintendents of the Delphic temple, and later still of the Pythian games. By αὐτομάτως Herodotos intends to contradict the statement that the temple had been purposely burnt (see Schol. Pind. *Pyth.* vii. 9).

[6] Alum is still found at Sheb, south of the Great Oasis, and in the Oasis itself.

[7] £81. The Greek merchants seem to have thought that the munificence of the Egyptian king relieved them from diminishing their incomes for the sake of the great national sanctuary.

[8] One MS. reads τοῦ Ἀρκ. "son of Ark." Battos had been made king after the murder of Laarkhos by Eryxô and Polyarkhos. See bk. iv. ch. 160, *sq.*

Ἀφροδίτῃ, ἣν οἱ ὑπ' ἐκείνην τὴν νύκτα μιχθῆ ὁ Ἄμασις, τοῦτο γάρ οἱ κακοῦ εἶναι μῆχος, ἄγαλμά οἱ ἀποπέμψειν ἐς Κυρήνην. μετὰ δὲ τὴν εὐχὴν αὐτίκα οἱ ἐμίχθη ὁ Ἄμασις. καὶ τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν ἤδη, ὁκότε ἔλθοι Ἄμασις πρὸς αὐτήν, ἐμίσγετο, καὶ κάρτα μιν ἔστερξε μετὰ τοῦτο. ἡ δὲ Λαδίκη ἀπέδωκε τὴν εὐχὴν τῇ θεῷ· ποιησαμένη γὰρ ἄγαλμα ἀπέπεμψε ἐς Κυρήνην, τὸ ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἦν σόον, ἔξω τετραμμένον τοῦ Κυρηναίων ἄστεος. ταύτην τὴν Λαδίκην, ὡς ἐπεκράτησε Καμβύσης Αἰγύπτου καὶ ἐπύθετο αὐτῆς ἥτις εἴη, ἀπέπεμψε ἀσινέα ἐς Κυρήνην.

Ἀνέθηκε δὲ καὶ ἀναθήματα ὁ Ἄμασις ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, 182
τοῦτο μὲν ἐς Κυρήνην ἄγαλμα ἐπίχρυσον Ἀθηναίης καὶ εἰκόνα ἑωυτοῦ γραφῇ εἰκασμένην,[9] τοῦτο δὲ τῇ ἐν Λίνδῳ Ἀθηναίῃ δύο τε ἀγάλματα λίθινα καὶ θώρηκα λίνεον ἀξιοθέητον,[1] τοῦτο δ' ἐς Σάμον τῇ Ἥρῃ εἰκόνας ἑωυτοῦ διφασίας ξυλίνας, αἳ ἐν τῷ νηῷ τῷ μεγάλῳ ἱδρύατο ἔτι καὶ τὸ μέχρι ἐμέο, ὄπισθε τῶν θυρέων. ἐς μέν νυν Σάμον ἀνέθηκε κατὰ ξεινίην τὴν ἑωυτοῦ τε καὶ Πολυκράτεος τοῦ Αἰάκεος,[2] ἐς δὲ Λίνδον ξεινίης μὲν οὐδεμιῆς εἵνεκεν, ὅτι δὲ τὸ ἱερὸν τὸ ἐν Λίνδῳ τὸ τῆς Ἀθηναίης λέγεται τὰς Δαναοῦ θυγατέρας ἱδρύσασθαι προσσχούσας, ὅτε ἀπεδίδρησκον τοὺς Αἰγύπτου παῖδας. τάοτα μὲν ἀνέθηκε ὁ Ἄμασις, εἶλε δὲ Κύπρον πρῶτος ἀνθρώπων καὶ κατεστρέψατο ἐς φόρου ἀπαγωγήν.[3]

[9] Portraits painted on wood were at least as old as the twelfth dynasty.

[1] See Plin. *N. H.* xix. 22, who says the corselet had 365 threads.

[2] See bk. iii. 39-43.

[3] Kypros (Chittim in the Old Testament, from the Phœnician town of Kition) is called in Assyrian the island of Yavnan or Yanan (Hebrew Javan), "the Ionians." It was colonised by the Phœnicians at an early period, then by the Greeks, Phœnicians and Greeks continuing to share the island between them. Sargon I. of Babylonia (B.C. 2000) penetrated as far as it, and Sargon II. set up a stêlê at Larnaka (now at Berlin). The tributary kings of Kypros are enumerated by Esar-haddon and Assur-bani-pal. The Phœnician colonies had previously been subject to Tyre; and if Asebi means Kypros, the island had been conquered by Thothmes III. Amasis was consequently not the first to compel it to pay tribute.

BOOK III.

1 Ἐπὶ τοῦτον δὴ τὸν Ἄμασιν Καμβύσης ὁ Κύρου ἐστρατεύετο, ἄγων καὶ ἄλλους τῶν ἦρχε καὶ Ἑλλήνων Ἰωνάς τε καὶ Αἰολέας, δι' αἰτίην τοιήνδε.[1] πέμψας Καμβύσης ἐς Αἴγυπτον κήρυκα αἰτέει Ἄμασιν θυγατέρα, αἰτέει δὲ ἐκ βουλῆς ἀνδρὸς Αἰγυπτίου, ὃς μεμφόμενος Ἄμασιν ἔπρηξε τάδε ὅτι μιν ἐξ ἁπάντων τῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἰητρῶν ἀποσπάσας ἀπὸ γυναικός τε καὶ τέκνων ἔκδοτον ἐποίησε ἐς Πέρσας, ὅτε Κῦρος πέμψας παρὰ Ἄμασιν αἰτέει ἰητρὸν ὀφθαλμῶν,[2] ὃς εἴη ἄριστος τῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ. τάδε δὴ ἐπιμεμφόμενος ὁ Αἰγύπτιος ἐνῆγε τῇ συμβουλῇ κελεύων αἰτεῖν τὸν Καμβύσεα Ἄμασιν θυγατέρα, ἵνα ἢ δοὺς ἀνιῷτο ἢ μὴ δοὺς Καμβύσῃ ἀπέχθοιτο. ὁ δὲ Ἄμασις τῇ δυνάμει τῶν Περσέων ἀχθόμενος καὶ ἀρρωδέων οὐκ εἶχε οὔτε δοῦναι οὔτε ἀρνήσασθαι· εὖ γὰρ ἠπίστατο ὅτι οὐκ ὡς γυναῖκά μιν ἔμελλε Καμβύσης ἕξειν ἀλλ' ὡς παλλακήν. τάδε δὴ ἐκλογιζόμενος ἐποίησε τάδε. ἦν Ἀπρίῳ τοῦ προτέρου βασιλέος θυγάτηρ κάρτα μεγάλη τε καὶ εὐειδὴς μούνη τοῦ οἴκου λελειμμένη, οὔνομα δέ οἱ ἦν Νίτητις.[3] ταύτην δὴ τὴν παῖδα ὁ Ἄμασις κοσμήσας ἐσθῆτί τε καὶ χρυσῷ ἀποπέμπει ἐς Πέρσας ὡς ἑωυτοῦ θυγατέρα. μετὰ δὲ χρόνον ὡς μιν ἠσπάζετο πατρόθεν ὀνομάζων, λέγει πρὸς αὐτὸν ἡ παῖς "ὦ βασιλεῦ, διαβεβλημένος ὑπὸ Ἀμάσιος οὐ μανθάνεις, ὃς ἐμὲ σοὶ κόσμῳ ἀσκήσας ἀπέπεμψε ὡς ἑωυτοῦ θυγατέρα διδούς, ἐοῦσαν τῇ ἀληθείῃ Ἀπρίω, τὸν ἐκεῖνος ἐόντα ἑωυτοῦ δεσπότεα μετ'

[1] The pretext of the invasion was no doubt the alliance between Egypt and Lydia (i. 77). Egypt had furnished Krœsos with some of his best troops, if we may trust Xenophon's *Kyropædia* (vi. 2, 10; vii. 1, 30-45), which is, however, a doubtful authority. As long as Egypt remained independent, Persia had a dangerous neighbour, and Kyros had restored the Jews to their native country to act as a garrison against it. The alliance between Lydia and Egypt was as old as the time of Gygês and Psammetikhos.

[2] See ii. 84, and iii. 129.

[3] Nitêtis would have been over forty years of age when Kambysês came to the throne!

Αἰγυπτίων ἐπαναστὰς ἐφόνευσε." τοῦτο δὴ τὸ ἔπος καὶ αὕτη ἡ αἰτίη ἐγγενομένη ἤγαγε Καμβύσεα τὸν Κύρου μεγάλως θυμωθέντα ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον. οὕτω μέν νυν λέγουσι Πέρσαι. Αἰγύπτιοι 2 δὲ οἰκηιοῦνται Καμβύσεα,[4] φάμενοί μιν ἐκ ταύτης δὴ τῆς Ἀπρίω θυγατρὸς γενέσθαι· Κῦρον γὰρ εἶναι τὸν πέμψαντα παρὰ Ἄμασιν ἐπὶ τὴν θυγατέρα, ἀλλ' οὐ Καμβύσεα. λέγοντες δὲ τάδε οὐκ ὀρθῶς λέγουσι. οὐ μὲν οὐδὲ λέληθε αὐτούς (εἰ γάρ τινες καὶ ἄλλοι, τὰ Περσέων νόμιμα ἐπιστέαται καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι) ὅτι πρῶτα μὲν μόθον οὔ σφι νόμος ἐστὶ βασιλεῦσαι γνησίου παρεόντος, αὖτις δὲ ὅτι Κασσανδάνης τῆς Φαρνάσπεω θυγατρὸς ἦν παῖς Καμβύσης,[5] ἀνδρὸς Ἀχαιμενίδεω, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκ τῆς Αἰγυπτίης. ἀλλὰ παρατράπουσι τὸν λόγον προσποιεόμενοι τῇ Κύρου οἰκίῃ συγγενεῖς εἶναι. καὶ τάδε μὲν ὧδε ἔχει. λέγεται δὲ καὶ ὅδε 3 λόγος, ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐ πιθανός, ὡς τῶν Περσίδων γυναικῶν ἐσελθοῦσά τις παρὰ τὰς Κύρου γυναῖκας, ὡς εἶδε τῇ Κασσανδάνῃ παρεστεῶτα τέκνα εὐειδέα τε καὶ μεγάλα, πολλῷ ἐχρᾶτο τῷ ἐπαίνῳ ὑπερθωυμάζουσα, ἡ δὲ Κασσανδάνη ἐοῦσα τοῦ Κύρου γυνὴ εἶπε τάδε. "τοιῶνδε μέντοι ἐμὲ παίδων μητέρα ἐοῦσαν Κῦρος ἐν ἀτιμίῃ ἔχει, τὴν δὲ ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου ἐπίκτητον ἐν τιμῇ τίθεται." τὴν μὲν ἀχθομένην τῇ Νιτήτι εἰπεῖν τάδε, τῶν δέ οἱ παίδων τὸν πρεσβύτερον εἰπεῖν Καμβύσεα "τοιγάρ τοι ὦ μῆτερ, ἐπεὰν ἐγὼ γένωμαι ἀνήρ, Αἰγύπτου τὰ μὲν ἄνω κάτω θήσω, τὰ δὲ κάτω ἄνω." τάδε εἰπεῖν αὐτὸν ἔτεα ὡς δέκα κου γεγονότα, καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας ἐν θώυματι γενέσθαι· τὸν δὲ διαμνημονεύοντα οὕτω δή, ἐπείτε ἀνδρώθη καὶ ἔσχε τὴν βασιληίην, ποιήσασθαι τὴν ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον στρατηίην.

Συνήνεικε δὲ καὶ ἄλλο τι τοιόνδε πρῆγμα γενέσθαι ἐς τὴν 4 ἐπιστράτευσιν ταύτην. ἦν τῶν ἐπικούρων Ἀμάσιος ἀνὴρ γένος μὲν Ἁλικαρνησσεύς,[6] οὔνομα δέ οἱ Φάνης, καὶ γνώμην ἱκανὸς καὶ τὰ πολεμικὰ ἄλκιμος. οὗτος ὁ Φάνης μεμφόμενός κού τι Ἀμάσι ἐκδιδρήσκει πλοίῳ ἐξ Αἰγύπτου, βουλόμενος Καμβύσῃ ἐλθεῖν ἐς λόγους. οἷα δὲ ἐόντα αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖσι ἐπικούροισι λόγου οὐ σμικροῦ ἐπιστάμενόν τε τὰ περὶ Αἴγυπτον ἀτρεκέστατα, μεταδιώκει ὁ Ἄμασις σπουδὴν ποιεόμενος ἑλεῖν, μεταδιώκει δὲ τῶν εὐνούχων τὸν πιστότατον ἀποστείλας τριήρει κατ' αὐτόν, ὃς αἱρεῖ μιν ἐν Λυκίῃ, ἑλὼν δὲ οὐκ ἀνήγαγε ἐς Αἴγυπτον· σοφίῃ γάρ μιν περιῆλθε ὁ Φάνης· καταμεθύσας γὰρ τοὺς φυλάκους

[4] This "appropriation" of Kambysês was in full accordance with eastern vanity. See Athen. 560 E.

[5] According to Ktêsias, his mother was Amytis, daughter of Astyagês.

[6] As a Halikarnassian, Phanês, though

ἀπαλλάσσετο ἐς Πέρσας. ὁρμημένῳ δὲ στρατεύεσθαι Καμβύσῃ ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον καὶ ἀπορέοντι τὴν ἔλασιν, ὅκως τὴν ἄνυδρον διεκπερᾷ, ἐπελθὼν φράζει μὲν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ Ἀμάσιος πρήγματα, ἐξηγεῖται δὲ καὶ τὴν ἔλασιν, ὧδε παραινέων, πέμψαντα παρὰ τὸν Ἀραβίων βασιλέα[7] δεῖσθαι τὴν διέξοδόν οἱ ἀσφαλέα παρασχεῖν. μούνῃ δὲ ταύτῃ εἰσὶ φανεραὶ ἐσβολαὶ ἐς Αἴγυπτον. ἀπὸ γὰρ Φοινίκης μέχρι οὔρων τῶν Καδύτιος πόλιος,[8] ἐστὶ Σύρων τῶν Παλαιστίνων καλεομένων· ἀπὸ δὲ Καδύτιος ἐούσης πόλιος, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, Σαρδίων οὐ πολλῷ ἐλάσσονος, ἀπὸ ταύτης τὰ ἐμπόρια τὰ ἐπὶ θαλάσσης μέχρι Ἰηνύσου πόλιος[9] ἐστὶ τοῦ Ἀραβίου, ἀπὸ δὲ Ἰηνύσου αὖτις Σύρων μέχρι Σερβωνίδος λίμνης,[1] παρ' ἣν δὴ τὸ Κάσιον ὄρος τείνει ἐς θάλασσαν· ἀπὸ δὲ Σερβωνίδος λίμνης, ἐν τῇ δὴ λόγος τὸν Τυφῶ κεκρύφθαι,[2] ἀπὸ ταύτης ἤδη Αἴγυπτος. τὸ δὴ μεταξὺ Ἰηνύσου πόλιος καὶ Κασίου τε ὄρεος καὶ τῆς Σερβωνίδος λίμνης, ἐὸν τοῦτο οὐκ ὀλίγον χωρίον ἀλλὰ ὅσον τε ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ὁδόν, ἄνυδρόν ἐστι δεινῶς. τὸ δὲ ὀλίγοι τῶν ἐς Αἴγυπτον ναυτιλλομένων ἐννενώκασι, τοῦτο ἔρχομαι φράσων. ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος πάσης καὶ πρὸς ἐκ Φοινίκης κέραμος ἐσάγεται πλήρης οἴνου δὶς τοῦ ἔτεος ἑκάστου, καὶ ἓν κεράμιον οἰνηρὸν ἀριθμῷ κεινὸν οὐκ ἔστι ὡς λόγῳ εἰπεῖν ἰδέσθαι. κοῦ δῆτα, εἴποι τις ἄν, τάοτα ἀναισιμοῦται; ἐγὼ καὶ τοῦτο φράσω. δεῖ τὸν μὲν δήμαρχον ἕκαστον ἐκ τῆς ἑωυτοῦ πόλιος συλλέξαντα πάντα τὸν κέραμον ἄγειν ἐς Μέμφιν, τοὺς δὲ ἐκ Μέμφιος ἐς τάοτα δὴ τὰ ἄνυδρα τῆς Συρίης κομίζειν πλήσαντας ὕδατος. οὕτω ὁ ἐπιφοιτέων κέραμος καὶ ἐξαιρεόμενος ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἐπὶ τὸν παλαιὸν κομίζεται ἐς Συρίην.[3]

a Greek, was probably reckoned rather among the Karian than the Ionian mercenaries. Herodotos no doubt obtained this story of his countrymen from trustworthy sources.

[7] The Arabians had no king, as Herodotos imagines. Some desert sheikh must be meant. Cp. ii. 141, note 8.

[8] Gaza, see ii. 159, note 4. Palestine is the country of the "Philistines," who came, according to the Old Testament, from "the coastland of Caphtor," *i.e.* Keft-ur, "Greater Phœnicia" or the Delta. Some of the Phœnicians settled here were planted by Ramses II. in the five southern cities of Judæa as garrisons, and, under the name of Pulusata, the Pilisti of the Assyrian inscriptions, henceforth appear in Egyptian history.

[9] Not identified. It was three days' journey (about sixty miles) east of Mount Kasios (see ii. 6, note 6). Titus took three days to march from Mount Kasios to Rhinokolura (El-Arish) (Joseph. *B. J.* iv. 11). Ostrakinê, "potsherd-town," (see next ch.) was two days from Kasios, Pelusion one day.

[1] See ii. 6, note 6.

[2] Seb, when he fled from the vengeance of Horus.

[3] It is difficult to understand how Herodotos could have written down so absurd a tale. How were the imported

οὕτω μέν νυν Πέρσαι εἰσὶ οἱ τὴν ἐσβολὴν ταύτην παρασκευά- 7
σαντες ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον, κατὰ δὴ τὰ εἰρημένα σάξαντες ὕδατι,[4]
ἐπείτε τάχιστα παρέλαβον Αἴγυπτον. τότε δὲ οὐκ ἐόντος κω
ὕδατος ἐτοίμου, Καμβύσης πυθόμενος τοῦ Ἁλικαρνησσέος ξείνου,
πέμψας παρὰ τὸν Ἀράβιον ἀγγέλους καὶ δεηθεὶς τῆς ἀσφαλείης
ἔτυχε, πίστεις δούς τε καὶ δεξάμενος παρ' αὐτοῦ. σέβονται δὲ 8
Ἀράβιοι πίστεις ἀνθρώπων ὁμοια τοῖσι μάλιστα, ποιέονται δὲ
αὐτὰς τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. τῶν βουλομένων τὰ πιστὰ ποιεῖσθαι
ἄλλος ἀνὴρ ἀμφοτέρων αὐτῶν ἐν μέσῳ[5] ἑστεὼς λίθῳ ὀξέι τὸ ἔσω
τῶν χειρῶν παρὰ τοὺς δακτύλους τοὺς μεγάλους ἐπιτάμνει τῶν
ποιεομένων τὰς πίστεις, καὶ ἔπειτα λαβὼν ἐκ τοῦ ἱματίου
ἑκατέρου κροκύδα ἀλείφει τῷ αἵματι ἐν μέσῳ κειμένους λίθους
ἑπτά·[6] τοῦτο δὲ ποιῶν ἐπικαλεῖ τε τὸν Διόνυσον καὶ τὴν
Οὐρανίην. ἐπιτελέσαντος δὲ τούτου τάδε, ὁ τὰς πίστεις
ποιησάμενος τοῖσι φίλοισι παρεγγυᾷ τὸν ξεῖνον ἢ καὶ τὸν ἀστόν,
ἢν πρὸς ἀστὸν ποιῆται· οἱ δὲ φίλοι καὶ αὐτοὶ τὰς πίστεις
δικαιεῦσι σέβεσθαι. Διόνυσον δὲ θεῶν μοῦνον καὶ τὴν Οὐρανίην
ἡγέονται εἶναι, καὶ τῶν τριχῶν τὴν κουρὴν κείρεσθαί φασι κατά
περ αὐτὸν τὸν Διόνυσον κεκάρθαι· κείρονται δὲ περιτρόχαλα,
ὑποξυρῶντες τοὺς κροτάφους. ὀνομάζουσι δὲ τὸν μὲν Διόνυσον
Ὀροτάλ, τὴν δὲ Οὐρανίην Ἀλιλάτ.[7]

jars to be distinguished from the myriads of jars (including wine-jars) made in the country? And why should they alone be carried to the desert? How could all the jars in the country, from the Mediterranean to Assuan, be collected at Memphis? The whole population would have had to be on the tramp for the purpose. Fragments of wine-jars, however, with resinous sediment at the bottom, have been found plentifully in Egypt. The language of Herodotos may imply that he regarded the whole story as a joke: "So Mr. jar, after making a pilgrimage to Egypt, and being discharged there, returns to Syria to rejoin his old friends."

[4] "Having loaded it (*i.e.* τὴν ἐσβολήν, 'the pass') with water." Cp. vii. 62, 70, 73, 86.

[5] The Arabs still make a third man witness to an oath. See i. 74, note 1.

[6] Seven was the sacred Semitic number (as among the Babylonians, the Phœnicians, and the Hebrews), seven being the number of the planets, and of the days of the week which the Accadians had named from the planets. The week itself was the fourth part of the old lunar month. Heaps of stones were set up (as they still are in the East) to record oaths and other events, inscribed stelæ afterwards taking their place among the cultured Babylonians and Assyrians; see Gen. xxxi. 46-49; Josh. iv. 3-9. So in the great Chaldean epic, Izdubar or Gibirra sets up a Beth-el (or βαίτυλος, "house-of-god").

[7] Most MSS. read Ὀροταλτ, from the jingle with Ἀλιλάτ. Movers explains Orotal as *ôrath el*, "fire of god"; but this is not only philologically doubtful, on account of the short initial vowel, but does not suit the identification with Dionysos. Blau compares 'Urundal or Ghurundal, an idol mentioned by Ibn

9 Ἐπεὶ ὦν τὴν πίστιν τοῖσι ἀγγέλοισι τοῖσι παρὰ Καμβύσεω ἀπιγμένοισι ἐποιήσατο ὁ Ἀράβιος, ἐμηχανᾶτο τοιάδε. ἀσκοὺς καμήλων πλήσας ὕδατος ἐπέσαξε ἐπὶ τὰς ζωὰς τῶν καμήλων πάσας, τοῦτο δὲ ποιήσας ἤλασε ἐς τὴν ἄνυδρον καὶ ὑπέμενε ἐνθαῦτα τὸν Καμβύσεω στρατόν. οὗτος μὲν ὁ πιθανώτερος τῶν λόγων εἴρηται· δεῖ δὲ καὶ τὸν ἧσσον πιθανόν, ἐπεί γε δὴ λέγεται, ῥηθῆναι. ποταμός ἐστι μέγας ἐν τῇ Ἀραβίῃ τῷ οὔνομα Κόρυς,[8] ἐκδιδοῖ δὲ οὗτος ἐς τὴν Ἐρυθρὴν καλεομένην θάλασσαν. ἀπὸ τούτου δὴ ὦν τοῦ ποταμοῦ λέγεται τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Ἀραβίων, ῥαψάμενον ὠμοβοέων καὶ [τῶν] ἄλλων δερμάτων ὀχετὸν μήκει ἐξικνεόμενόν ἐς τὴν ἄνυδρον, ἀγαγεῖν διὰ δὴ τούτων τὸ ὕδωρ, ἐν δὲ τῇ ἀνύδρῳ μεγάλας δεξαμενὰς ὀρύξασθαι, ἵνα δεκόμεναι τὸ ὕδωρ σώζωσι. ὁδὸς δ' ἐστί δυώδεκα ἡμερέων ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐς ταύτην τὴν ἄνυδρον. ἄγειν δέ μιν δι' ὀχετῶν τριῶν ἐς τριξὰ χωρία.

10 Ἐν δὲ τῷ Πηλουσίῳ καλεομένῳ στόματι τοῦ Νείλου ἐστρατοπεδεύετο Ψαμμήνιτος[9] ὁ Ἀμάσιος παῖς ὑπομένων Καμβύσεα. Ἄμασιν γὰρ οὐ κατέλαβε ζῶντα Καμβύσης ἐλάσας ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον, ἀλλὰ βασιλεύσας ὁ Ἄμασις τέσσερα καὶ τεσσεράκοντα ἔτεα ἀπέθανε, ἐν τοῖσι οὐδέν οἱ μέγα ἀνάρσιον πρῆγμα συνηνείχθη· ἀποθανὼν δὲ καὶ ταριχευθεὶς ἐτάφη ἐν τῇσι ταφῇσι τῇσι ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ,[1] τὰς αὐτὸς οἰκοδομήσατο. ἐπὶ Ψαμμηνίτου δὲ τοῦ Ἀμάσιος βασιλεύοντος Αἰγύπτου φάσμα Αἰγυπτίοισι μέγιστον δὴ ἐγένετο. ὕσθησαν γὰρ Θῆβαι αἱ Αἰγύπτιαι, οὔτε πρότερον οὐδαμὰ ὑσθεῖσαι οὔτε ὕστερον τὸ μέχρι ἐμέο, ὡς λέγουσι αὐτοὶ Θηβαῖοι·

11 οὐ γὰρ δὴ ὕεται τὰ ἄνω τῆς Αἰγύπτου τὸ παράπαν.[2] ἀλλὰ καὶ τότε ὕσθησαν αἱ Θῆβαι ψακάδι. οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ἐπείτε διεξελάσαντες τὴν ἄνυδρον ἵζοντο πέλας τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ὡς συμβαλέοντες, ἐνθαῦτα οἱ ἐπίκουροι οἱ τοῦ Αἰγυπτίου, ἐόντες ἄνδρες Ἕλληνές τε καὶ Κᾶρες, μεμφόμενοι τῷ Φάνῃ ὅτι στρατὸν ἤγαγε

Aiyas. For Alilat, see i. 131, note 5.—Περιτρόχαλα κείρεσθαι, "to have the hair clipt round." The tonsure was properly called σκάφιον. Khœrilos (*Fr.* 41) called a Syrian or Arabian tribe τροχοκουράδες; cp. Lev. xix. 27; Jer. ix. 25. Περιτ. is a neuter plural used adverbially, like δῆλα, i. 4; ἀδύνατα, i. 94; βιώσιμα, iii. 109; δίκαια, v. 31; ἐπίσκοπα, iii. 35; ἐπίκουρα, i. 216; οἷατε, i. 194; ὅμοια, iii. 8; ἀκουστέα, iii. 61.

[8] Perhaps the diminutive torrent of the Koreh mentioned by Abulfeda. There is no large river in this part of Arabia.

[9] Psamtik (Psammetikhos) III. of the monuments, Psammekherites of Manetho. Maspero thinks that Psammênitos represents a popular form of the king's name, Psammit'-si-neith ("son of Neith"), see ch. 159, note 6.

[1] Of Neith at Sais.

[2] An error; see ii. 14, 8. This statement is a fresh indication that Herodotos never visited Upper Egypt.

ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον ἀλλόθροον, μηχανέονται πρῆγμα ἐς αὐτὸν τοιόνδε. ἦσαν τῷ Φάνῃ παῖδες ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ καταλελειμμένοι· τοὺς ἀγαγόντες ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ ἐς ὄψιν τοῦ πατρὸς κρητῆρα ἐν μέσῳ ἔστησαν ἀμφοτέρων τῶν στρατοπέδων, μετὰ δὲ ἀγινέοντες κατὰ ἕνα ἕκαστον τῶν παίδων ἔσφαζον ἐς τὸν κρητῆρα· διὰ πάντων δὲ διεξελθόντες τῶν παίδων οἴνόν τε καὶ ὕδωρ ἐσεφόρεον ἐς αὐτόν, ἐμπιόντες δὲ τοῦ αἵματος πάντες ἐπίκουροι οὕτω δὴ συνέβαλον. μάχης δὲ γενομένης καρτερῆς καὶ πεσόντων ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων τῶν στρατοπέδων πλήθει πολλῶν ἐτράποντο οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι.

Θῶυμα δὲ μέγα εἶδον πυθόμενος παρὰ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων· τῶν 12
γὰρ ὀστέων περικεχυμένων χωρὶς ἑκατέρων τῶν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ ταύτῃ πεσόντων (χωρὶς μὲν γὰρ τῶν Περσέων ἐκεῖτο τὰ ὀστέα, ὡς ἐχωρίσθη κατ' ἀρχάς, ἑτέρωθι δὲ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων), αἱ μὲν τῶν Περσέων κεφαλαὶ εἰσι ἀσθενεῖς οὕτω ὥστε, εἰ θέλεις ψήφῳ μούνῃ βαλεῖν, διατετρανεῖς, αἱ δὲ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων οὕτω δή τι ἰσχυραί, μόγις ἂν λίθῳ παίσας διαρρήξειας. αἴτιον δὲ τούτου τόδε ἔλεγον, καὶ ἐμέ γ' εὐπετέως ἔπειθον, ὅτι Αἰγύπτιοι μὲν αὐτίκα ἀπὸ παιδίων ἀρξάμενοι ξυρέονται τὰς κεφαλὰς καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον παχύνεται τὸ ὀστέον. τὠυτὸ δὲ τοῦτο καὶ τοῦ μὴ φαλακροῦσθαι αἴτιόν ἐστι· Αἰγυπτίων γὰρ ἄν τις ἐλαχίστους ἴδοιτο φαλακροὺς πάντων ἀνθρώπων. τούτοισι μὲν δὴ τοῦτό ἐστι αἴτιον ἰσχυρὰς φορεῖν τὰς κεφαλάς, τοῖσι δὲ Πέρσῃσι ὅτι ἀσθενέας φορέουσι τὰς κεφαλὰς αἴτιον τόδε. σκιητροφέουσι ἐξ ἀρχῆς πίλους τιάρας φορέοντες.[3] τάοτα μέν νυν τοιαῦτα· εἶδον δέ καὶ ἄλλα ὅμοια τούτοισι ἐν Παπρήμι[4] τῶν ἅμα Ἀχαιμένει τῷ Δαρείου διαφθαρέντων ὑπὸ Ἰνάρω τοῦ Λίβυος.[5]

Οἱ δὲ Αἰγύπτιοι ἐκ τῆς μάχης ὡς ἐτράποντο, ἔφευγον οὐδενὶ 13
κόσμῳ· κατειληθέντων δὲ ἐς Μέμφιν, ἔπεμπε ἀνὰ ποταμὸν Καμβύσης νέα Μυτιληναίην κήρυκα ἄγουσαν ἄνδρα Πέρσην, ἐς

[3] "They keep themselves shaded from the first by wearing turbans for caps." πῖλος is a skull-cap or fez; the τιάρα (τιήρης masculine in Herodotos, a Persian word) was a turban, which the king alone wore upright, with white and blue fillets. The Greeks rarely wore any head-covering except the πέτασος when travelling.

[4] See ii. 63, note 4.

[5] See Herodotos vii. 7, and Thukyd. i. 104, 109. Inarôs, son of Psammetikhos, revolted in B.C. 460, with the help of the Athenian fleet of 200 sail, which besieged the citadel of Memphis. In B.C. 455 the Phœnician fleet of Artaxerxes destroyed the Athenian ships, together with a reinforcement of fifty triremes, Inarôs being taken and crucified. Akhæmenes, the brother of Xerxes, is probably the Kyros of the tomb at Murghâb (see i. 209, note 3). He had been satrap of Egypt twenty-four years.

ὁμολογίην προκαλεόμενος Αἰγυπτίους. οἱ δὲ ἐπείτε τὴν νέα εἶδον ἐσελθοῦσαν ἐς τὴν Μέμφιν, ἐκχυθέντες ἀλεῖς ἐκ τοῦ τείχεος τήν τε νέα διέφθειραν καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας κρεουργηδὸν διασπάσαντες ἐφόρεον ἐς τὸ τεῖχος. καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι μὲν μετὰ τοῦτο πολιορκεόμενοι χρόνῳ παρέστησαν, οἱ δὲ προσεχεῖς Λίβυες δείσαντες τὰ περὶ τὴν Αἴγυπτον γεγονότα παρέδοσαν σφέας αὐτοὺς ἀμαχητὶ καὶ φόρον τε ἐτάξαντο καὶ δῶρα ἔπεμπον. ὡς δὲ Κυρηναῖοι καὶ Βαρκαῖοι δείσαντες ὁμοίως ἃ καὶ οἱ Λίβυες τοιαῦτα ἐποίησαν. Καμβύσης δὲ τὰ μὲν παρὰ Λιβύων ἐλθόντα δῶρα φιλοφρόνως ἐδέξατο· τὰ δὲ παρὰ Κυρηναίων ἀπικόμενα μεμφθείς, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, ὅτι ἦν ὀλίγα· ἔπεμψαν γὰρ δὴ πεντακοσίας μνέας ἀργυρίου[6] οἱ Κυρηναῖοι· ταύτας δρασσόμενος αὐτοχειρίῃ διέσπειρε τῇ στρατιῇ.

14 Ἡμέρῃ δὲ δεκάτῃ ἀπ' ἧς παρέλαβε τὸ τεῖχος τὸ ἐν Μέμφι Καμβύσης, κατίσας ἐς τὸ προάστειον ἐπὶ λύμῃ τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Αἰγυπτίων Ψαμμήνιτον, βασιλεύσαντα μῆνας ἕξ, τοῦτον κατίσας σὺν ἄλλοισι Αἰγυπτίοισι διεπειρᾶτο αὐτοῦ τῆς ψυχῆς ποιῶν τοιάδε. στείλας αὐτοῦ τὴν θυγατέρα ἐσθῆτι δουληίῃ ἐξέπεμπε ἐπ' ὕδωρ ἔχουσαν ὑδρήιον, συνέπεμπε δὲ καὶ ἄλλας παρθένους ἀπολέξας ἀνδρῶν τῶν πρώτων, ὁμοίως ἐσταλμένας τῇ τοῦ βασιλέος. ὡς δὲ βοῇ τε καὶ κλαυθμῷ παρήισαν αἱ παρθένοι παρὰ τοὺς πατέρας, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι πάντες ἀνεβόων τε καὶ ἀντέκλαιον ὁρέοντες τὰ τέκνα κεκακωμένα, ὁ δὲ Ψαμμήνιτος προϊδὼν καὶ μαθὼν ἔκυψε ἐς τὴν γῆν. παρελθουσέων δὲ τῶν ὑδροφόρων, δεύτερά οἱ τὸν παῖδα ἔπεμπε μετ' ἄλλων Αἰγυπτίων δισχιλίων τὴν αὐτὴν ἡλικίην ἐχόντων, τούς τε αὐχένας κάλῳ δεδεμένους καὶ τὰ στόματα ἐγκεχαλινωμένους· ἤγοντο δὲ ποινὴν τίσοντες Μυτιληναίων τοῖσι ἐν Μέμφι ἀπολομένοισι σὺν τῇ νηί. τάοτα γὰρ ἐδίκασαν οἱ βασιλήιοι δικασταί, ὑπὲρ ἀνδρὸς ἑκάστου δέκα Αἰγυπτίων τῶν πρώτων ἀνταπόλλυσθαι. ὁ δὲ ἰδὼν παρεξιόντας καὶ μαθὼν τὸν παῖδα ἡγεόμενον ἐπὶ θάνατον, τῶν ἄλλων Αἰγυπτίων τῶν περικατημένων αὐτὸν κλαιόντων καὶ δεινὰ ποιεόντων, τὠυτὸ ἐποίησε τὸ καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ θυγατρί. παρελθόντων δὲ καὶ τούτων, συνήνεικε ὥστε τῶν συμποτέων οἱ ἄνδρα ἀπηλικέστερον, ἐκπεπτωκότα ἐκ τῶν ἐόντων ἔχοντά τε οὐδὲν εἰ μὴ ὅσα πτωχὸς καὶ προσαιτέοντα τὴν στρατιήν, παριέναι Ψαμμήνιτόν τε τὸν Ἀμάσιος καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῷ προαστείῳ κατημένους Αἰγυπτίων. ὁ δὲ Ψαμμήνιτος ὡς εἶδε, ἀνακλαύσας μέγα καὶ

[6] About £2030. Arkesilaos III. was king of Kyrênê; see iv. 165.

καλέσας ὀνομαστὶ τὸν ἑταῖρον ἐπλήξατο τὴν κεφαλήν. ἦσαν δ' ἄρα αὐτοῦ φύλακοι, οἳ τὸ ποιεόμενον πᾶν ἐξ ἐκείνου ἐπ' ἑκάστῃ ἐξόδῳ Καμβύσῃ ἐσήμαινον. θωυμάσας δὲ ὁ Καμβύσης τὰ ποιεόμενα, πέμψας ἄγγελον εἰρώτα αὐτὸν λέγων τάδε. "δεσπότης σε Καμβύσης, Ψαμμήνιτε, εἰρωτᾷ δι' ὅ τι δὴ τὴν μὲν θυγατέρα ὀρέων κεκακωμένην καὶ τὸν παῖδα ἐπὶ θάνατον στείχοντα οὔτε ἀνέβωσας οὔτε ἀπέκλαυσας, τὸν δὲ πτωχὸν οὐδὲν σοὶ προσήκοντα, ὡς ἄλλων πυνθάνεται, ἐτίμησας." ὁ μὲν δὴ τάοτα ἐπειρώτα, ὁ δ' ἀμείβετο τοῖσιδε. "ὦ παῖ Κύρου, τὰ μὲν οἰκήια ἦν μέζω κακὰ ἢ ὥστε ἀνακλαίειν, τὸ δὲ τοῦ ἑταίρου πένθος ἄξιον ἦν δακρύων, ὃς ἐκ πολλῶν τε καὶ εὐδαιμόνων ἐκπεσὼν ἐς πτωχηίην ἀπῖκται ἐπὶ γήραος οὐδῷ." καὶ τάοτα ὡς . . . ἀπενειχθέντα ὑπὸ τούτου, εὖ δοκεῖν σφι εἰρῆσθαι. ὡς δὲ λέγεται[7] ὑπ' Αἰγυπτίων, δακρύειν μὲν Κροῖσον (ἐτετεύχει γὰρ καὶ οὗτος ἐπισπόμενος Καμβύσῃ ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον), δακρύειν δὲ Περσέων τοὺς παρεόντας· αὐτῷ τε Καμβύσῃ ἐσελθεῖν οἰκτόν τινα, καὶ αὐτίκα κελεύειν τόν τέ οἱ παῖδα ἐκ τῶν ἀπολλυμένων σώζειν καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ προαστείου ἀναστήσαντας ἄγειν παρ' ἑωυτόν.[8] τὸν μὲν 15
δὴ παῖδα εὗρον αὐτοῦ οἱ μετιόντες οὐκέτι περιεόντα ἀλλὰ πρῶτον κατακοπέντα, αὐτὸν δὲ Ψαμμήνιτον ἀναστήσαντες ἦγον παρὰ Καμβύσεα· ἔνθα τοῦ λοιποῦ διατᾶτο ἔχων οὐδὲν βίαιον. εἰ δὲ καὶ ἠπιστήθη μὴ πολυπρηγμονεῖν,[9] ἀπέλαβε ἂν Αἴγυπτον ὥστε ἐπιτροπεύειν αὐτῆς, ἐπεὶ τιμᾶν ἐώθασι Πέρσαι τῶν βασιλέων τοὺς παῖδας· τῶν, εἰ καί σφεων ἀποστέωσι, ὅμως τοῖσί γε παισὶ αὐτῶν ἀποδιδοῦσι τὴν ἀρχήν. πολλοῖσι μέν νυν καὶ ἄλλοισι ἐστὶ σταθμώσασθαι ὅτι τοῦτο οὕτω νενομίκασι ποιεῖν, ἐν δὲ καὶ τῷ τε Ἰνάρῳ παιδὶ Θαννύρᾳ, ὃς ἀπέλαβε τὴν οἱ ὁ πατὴρ εἶχε ἀρχήν, καὶ τῷ Ἀμυρταίου Παυσίρι·[1] καὶ γὰρ οὗτος ἀπέλαβε

[7] Tournier (*Rev. de Philologie*, 1877) would read καὶ ταῦτα ὡς ἀπενειχθέντα ὑπὸ τούτου εὖ δοκέειν σφι εἰρῆσθαι ὡς λέγεται. Stein would supply ἤκουσαν οἱ περὶ Καμβύσεα.

[8] This seems a "moral tale," like that told of Krœsos after the capture of Sardes, and Krœsos himself is naturally introduced into it. We learn from the Egyptian monuments that Kambyses really flattered the prejudices of the Egyptians, confirming the officials in their places, and conforming to the religion of the country (see App. V.)

[9] "If he had known (ἐπίσταμαι) how to refrain from meddling." Cp. vii. 29.

[1] This Amyrtæos seems to have been the associate of Inarôs mentioned by Ktêsias. As Psammetikhos is the Egyptian king who holds out against the Persians in B.C. 445, and sent corn to Athens (Philokhoros, p. 90, ed. Müll.), the father of Pausiris cannot have been the founder of the twenty-eighth dynasty, whose reign is placed by Wiedemann B.C. 415-409. Pausiris will have been satrap between B.C. 455 and 445.

τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς ἀρχήν. καίτοι Ἰνάρω γε καὶ Ἀμυρταίου οὐδαμοί κω Πέρσας κακὰ πλέω ἐργάσαντο. νῦν δὲ μηχανεόμενος κακὰ ὁ Ψαμμήνιτος ἔλαβε τὸν μισθόν· ἀπιστὰς γὰρ Αἰγυπτίους ἦλω· ἐπείτε δὲ ἐπάιστος ἐγένετο ὑπὸ Καμβύσεω, αἷμα ταύρου πιὼν[2] ἀπέθανε παραχρῆμα. οὕτω δὴ οὗτος ἐτελεύτησε.

16 Καμβύσης δὲ ἐκ Μέμφιος ἀπίκετο ἐς Σάιν πόλιν, βουλόμενος ποιῆσαι τὰ δὴ καὶ ἐποίησε. ἐπείτε γὰρ ἐσῆλθε ἐς τὰ τοῦ Ἀμάσιος οἰκία, αὐτίκα ἐκέλευε ἐκ τῆς ταφῆς τὸν Ἀμάσιος νέκυν ἐκφέρειν ἔξω· ὡς δὲ τάοτα ἐπιτελέα ἐγένετο, μαστιγοῦν ἐκέλευε καὶ τὰς τρίχας ἀποτίλλειν[3] καὶ κεντοῦν τε καὶ τἆλλα πάντα λυμαίνεσθαι. ἐπείτε δὲ καὶ τάοτα ἔκαμον ποιέοντες (ὁ γὰρ δὴ νεκρὸς ἅτε τεταριχευμένος ἀντεῖχέ τε καὶ οὐδὲν διεχεῖτο), ἐκέλευσέ μιν ὁ Καμβύσης κατακαῦσαι, ἐντελλόμενος οὐκ ὅσια. Πέρσαι γὰρ θεὸν νομίζουσι εἶναι πῦρ. τὸ ὦν κατακαίειν γε τοὺς νεκροὺς οὐδαμῶς ἐν νόμῳ οὐδετέροισί ἐστι, Πέρσῃσι μὲν δι' ὅ περ εἴρηται, θεῷ οὐ δίκαιον εἶναι λέγοντες νέμειν νεκρὸν ἀνθρώπου·[4] Αἰγυπτίοισι δὲ νενόμισται πῦρ θηρίον εἶναι ἔμψυχον, πάντα δὲ αὐτὸ κατεσθίειν τά περ ἂν λάβῃ, πλησθὲν δὲ αὐτὸ τῆς βορῆς συναποθνήσκειν τῷ κατεσθιομένῳ. οὔκων θηρίοισι νόμος οὐδαμῶς σφι ἐστὶ τὸν νέκυν διδόναι· καὶ διὰ τάοτα ταριχεύουσι, ἵνα μὴ κείμενος ὑπὸ εὐλέων καταβρωθῇ.[5] οὕτω οὐδετέροισι νομιζόμενα ἐνετέλλετο ποιεῖν ὁ Καμβύσης. ὡς μέντοι Αἰγύπτιοι λέγουσι, οὐκ Ἄμασις ἦν ὁ τάοτα παθών, ἀλλὰ ἄλλος τις τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἔχων τὴν αὐτὴν ἡλικίην Ἀμάσι, τῷ λυμαινόμενοι Πέρσαι ἐδόκεον Ἀμάσι λυμαίνεσθαι. λέγουσι γὰρ ὡς πυθόμενος ἐκ μαντηίου ὁ Ἄμασις τὰ περὶ ἑωυτὸν ἀποθανόντα μέλλοντα γίνεσθαι, οὕτω δὴ ἀκεόμενος τὰ ἐπιφερόμενα τὸν μὲν ἄνθρωπον τοῦτον τὸν μαστιγωθέντα ἀποθανόντα ἔθαψε ἐπὶ τῇσι

[2] This casts doubt on the story. That bull's blood was poisonous was a common superstition among the ancients. So Midas of Phrygia (Euseb. *Chr.* ii. p. 324), Themistoklês (Arist. *Eq.* 84), and Smerdis (Ktêsias, *Pers. Ex.* 10), were all said to have died of it. According to Ktêsias, Psammênitos was carried captive to Susa.

[3] Herodotos forgets that an Egyptian king's corpse was entirely shaved! The story must be of Greek origin. Amasis, moreover, was buried in the temple of Neith, not in the palace.

[4] Kambysês, we now know, was not a Zoroastrian. See App. V.

[5] The real reason for embalming was the belief in the resurrection of the body, to which the soul would eventually return. Mohammedans have a strong prejudice against cremation, and Christian feeling on the subject goes back to the early centuries, when miracles were supposed to interfere to prevent a martyr from being consumed by fire, though not from being subsequently beheaded or stabbed to death.—Τὴν αὐτὴν ἡλικίην below is rather "the same age"

θύρῃσι ἐντὸς τῆς ἑωυτοῦ θήκης, ἑωυτὸν δὲ ἐνετείλατο τῷ παιδὶ ἐν μυχῷ τῆς θήκης ὡς μάλιστα θεῖναι. αἱ μέν νυν ἐκ τοῦ Ἀμάσιος ἐντολαὶ αὗται αἱ ἐς τὴν ταφήν τε καὶ τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἔχουσαι οὔ μοι δοκέουσι ἀρχὴν γενέσθαι, ἄλλως δ' αὐτὰ Αἰγύπτιοι σεμνοῦν.

Μετὰ δὲ τάοτα ὁ Καμβύσης ἐβουλεύσατο τριφασίας στρα- 17
τηίας, ἐπί τε Καρχηδονίους καὶ ἐπὶ Ἀμμωνίους καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς μακροβίους Αἰθίοπας,[6] οἰκημένους δὲ Λιβύης ἐπὶ τῇ νοτίῃ θαλάσσῃ· βουλευομένῳ δέ οἱ ἔδοξε ἐπὶ μὲν Καρχηδονίους τὸν ναυτικὸν στρατὸν ἀποστέλλειν, ἐπὶ δὲ Ἀμμωνίους τοῦ πεζοῦ ἀποκρίναντα, ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς Αἰθίοπας κατόπτας πρῶτον, ὀψομένους τε τὴν ἐν τούτοισι τοῖσι Αἰθίοψι λεγομένην εἶναι ἡλίου τράπεζαν εἰ ἔστι ἀληθέως, καὶ πρὸς ταύτῃ τὰ ἄλλα κατοψομένους, δῶρα δὲ τῷ λόγῳ φέροντας τῷ βασιλέι αὐτῶν. ἡ δὲ τράπεζα τοῦ ἡλίου τοιήδε τις λέγεται εἶναι. λειμών ἐστι ἐν τῷ προαστείῳ 18
ἐπίπλεος κρεῶν ἑφθῶν πάντων τῶν τετραπόδων· ἐς τὸν τὰς μὲν νύκτας ἐπιτηδεύοντας τιθέναι τὰ κρέα τοὺς ἐν τέλει ἑκάστους ἐόντας τῶν ἀστῶν, τὰς δὲ ἡμέρας δαίνυσθαι προσιόντα τὸν βουλόμενον. φάναι δὲ τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους τάοτα τὴν γῆν αὐτὴν ἀναδιδόναι ἑκάστοτε. ἡ μὲν δὴ τράπεζα τοῦ ἡλίου καλεομένη 19
λέγεται εἶναι τοιήδε.[7] Καμβύσῃ δὲ ὡς ἔδοξε πέμπειν τοὺς κατασκόπους, αὐτίκα μετεπέμπετο ἐξ Ἐλεφαντίνης πόλιος τῶν Ἰχθυοφάγων ἀνδρῶν τοὺς ἐπισταμένους τὴν Αἰθιοπίδα γλῶσσαν.[8] ἐν ᾧ δὲ τούτους μετήισαν, ἐν τούτῳ ἐκέλευε ἐπὶ τὴν Καρχηδόνα πλεῖν τὸν ναυτικὸν στρατόν. Φοίνικες δὲ οὐκ ἔφασαν ποιήσειν τάοτα· ὁρκίοισι γὰρ μεγάλοισι ἐνδεδέσθαι, καὶ οὐκ ἂν ποιεῖν ὅσια ἐπὶ τοὺς παῖδας τοὺς ἑωυτῶν στρατευόμενοι. Φοινίκων δὲ οὐ βουλομένων οἱ λοιποὶ οὐκ ἀξιόμαχοι ἐγίνοντο.[9] Καρχη-

than "the same height," as Hesykhios makes it.

[6] The long-lived Ethiopians, placed by Ephoros in the extremity of the south, probably belonged to mythical geography. The Southern Sea was the sea supposed to wash the southern coast of Africa along the line of the equator.

[7] Pausanias (vi. 26, p. 518) very justly regards the table of the sun as a myth. Heeren ingeniously suggests that the legend arose out of the practice of dumb trading. But dumb trade is not carried on with cooked meats. Comp. *Il.* i. 423, xxiii. 205; *Od.* i. 22. After the toils of the day the sun sank at night behind the ocean on whose shores the Ethiopians dwelt, to enjoy there with the other gods the offerings made to him.

[8] The Ichthyophagi were placed by Eratosthenês and Artemidôros (Strab. xvi. p. 1093) at the entrance of the Red Sea, near Cape Dirê (now Ras el-Bîr). Herodotos must mean that some of them happened to be living in Elephantinê, or that they first entered Egypt at Elephantinê, and were thence fetched to the court.

[9] Carthage or "new-town" (see i. 166, note 5) was founded by the Tyrians

δόνιοι μέν νυν οὕτω δουλοσύνην διέφυγον πρὸς Περσέων· Καμβύσης γὰρ βίην οὐκ ἐδικαίου προσφέρειν Φοίνιξι, ὅτι σφέας τε αὐτοὺς ἐδεδώκεσαν Πέρσῃσι καὶ πᾶς ἐκ Φοινίκων ἤρτητο ὁ ναυτικὸς στρατός. δόντες δὲ καὶ Κύπριοι σφέας αὐτοὺς Πέρσῃσι[1]
20 ἐστρατεύοντο ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον. ἐπείτε δὲ τῷ Καμβύσῃ ἐκ τῆς Ἐλεφαντίνης ἀπίκοντο οἱ Ἰχθυοφάγοι, ἔπεμπε αὐτοὺς ἐς τοὺς Αἰθίοπας ἐντειλάμενος τά λέγειν χρῆν καὶ δῶρα φέροντας πορφύρεόν τε εἶμα καὶ χρύσεον στρεπτὸν περιαυχένιον καὶ ψέλια καὶ μύρου ἀλάβαστρον καὶ φοινικηίου οἴνου κάδον. οἱ δὲ Αἰθίοπες οὗτοι, ἐς τοὺς ἀπέπεμπε ὁ Καμβύσης, λέγονται εἶναι μέγιστοι καὶ κάλλιστοι ἀνθρώπων πάντων.[2] νόμοισι δὲ καὶ ἄλλοισι χρᾶσθαι αὐτούς φασι κεχωρισμένοισι τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων καὶ δὴ καὶ κατὰ τὴν βασιληίην τοιῷδε. τὸν ἂν τῶν ἀστῶν κρίνωσι μέγιστόν τε εἶναι καὶ κατὰ τὸ μέγαθος ἔχειν τὴν
21 ἰσχύν, τοῦτον ἀξιοῦσι βασιλεύειν. ἐς τούτους δὴ ὧν τοὺς ἄνδρας ὡς ἀπίκοντο οἱ Ἰχθυοφάγοι, διδόντες τὰ δῶρα τῷ βασιλέι αὐτῶν ἔλεγον τάδε. "βασιλεὺς ὁ Περσέων Καμβύσης, βουλόμενος φίλος καὶ ξεῖνός τοι γενέσθαι, ἡμέας τε ἀπέπεμψε ἐς λόγους τοι ἐλθεῖν κελεύων καὶ δῶρα τάοτά τοι διδοῖ τοῖσι καὶ αὐτὸς μάλιστα ἥδεται χρεώμενος." ὁ δὲ Αἰθίοψ μαθὼν ὅτι κατόπται ἥκοιεν, λέγει πρὸς αὐτοὺς τοιάδε. "οὔτε ὁ Περσέων βασιλεὺς δῶρα ὑμέας ἔπεμψε φέροντας προτιμῶν πολλοῦ ἐμοὶ ξεῖνος γενέσθαι, οὔτε ὑμεῖς λέγετε ἀληθέα (ἥκετε γὰρ κατόπται τῆς ἐμῆς ἀρχῆς), οὔτε ἐκεῖνος ἀνήρ ἐστι δίκαιος· εἰ γὰρ ἦν δίκαιος, οὔτ' ἂν ἐπεθύμησε χώρης ἄλλης ἢ τῆς ἑωυτοῦ, οὔτ' ἂν ἐς δουλοσύνην ἀνθρώπους ἦγε ὑπ' ὧν μηδὲν ἠδίκηται. νῦν δὲ αὐτῷ τόξον[3] τόδε διδόντες τάδε ἔπεα λέγετε. βασιλεὺς ὁ

some centuries after Utica (*'Atika*), or "Old town," whose building is made coeval with that of Megara (B.C. 1130) by Vell. Paterc. (i. 2). The foundation of Carthage was ascribed to Elissa, the sister of the Tyrian king Pygmalion, and wife of Sicharbaal (B.C. 846), whom later mythology confounded with the goddess Dido (Astartê), "the beloved," the sister of Anna, "grace." Herodotos seems to have considered Kambysês the conqueror of Phœnicia (ch. 34, προσεκτῆσθαι τὴν θάλασσαν). Utica is sometimes written Itykê, in which case it may be *Atak*, "a settlement." Arist. (*de Mir. Ausc.* 146) states that according to the Phœnicians, Itykê was built 287 years before Carthage; Pliny (*N. H.* xvi. 79) places its foundation 1178 years before his own time.

[1] The Kypriotes naturally bore a grudge against their recent masters, the Egyptians.

[2] Cf. Is. xviii. 2 (amended translation, "tall [Sept. μετέωρον] and smooth"). The men belonging to several Nubian tribes at the present day are tall, and, although quite black, exceedingly handsome. See ch. 114.

[3] The legend seems to have been sug-

Αἰθιόπων συμβουλεύει τῷ Περσέων βασιλέι, ἐπεὰν οὕτω εὐπετέως ἕλκωσι τὰ τόξα Πέρσαι ἐόντα μεγάθει τοσαῦτα, τότε ἐπ' Αἰθίοπας τοὺς μακροβίους πλήθει ὑπερβαλλόμενον στρατεύεσθαι· μέχρι δὲ τούτου θεοῖσι εἰδέναι χάριν, οἳ οὐκ ἐπὶ νόον τράπουσι Αἰθιόπων παισὶ γῆν ἄλλην προσκτᾶσθαι τῇ ἑωυτῶν." τάοτα δὲ 22
εἶπας καὶ ἀνεὶς τὸ τόξον παρέδωκε τοῖσι ἥκουσι. λαβὼν δὲ τὸ εἷμα τὸ πορφύρεον εἰρώτα ὅ τι εἴη καὶ ὅκως πεποιημένον· εἰπόντων δὲ τῶν Ἰχθυοφάγων τὴν ἀληθείην περὶ τῆς πορφύρης καὶ τῆς βαφῆς, δολεροὺς μὲν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἔφη εἶναι, δολερὰ δὲ αὐτῶν τὰ εἵματα. δεύτερα δὲ τὸν χρυσὸν εἰρώτα τὸν στρεπτὸν τὸν περιαυχένιον καὶ τὰ ψέλια· ἐξηγεομένων δὲ τῶν Ἰχθυοφάγων τὸν κόσμον αὐτοῦ γελάσας ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ νομίσας εἶναί σφεα πέδας εἶπε ὡς παρ' ἑωυτοῖσι εἰσὶ ῥωμαλεώτεραι τουτέων πέδαι. τρίτον δὲ εἰρώτα τὸ μύρον· εἰπόντων δὲ τῆς ποιήσιος πέρι καὶ ἀλείψιος, τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον τὸν καὶ περὶ τοῦ εἵματος εἶπε. ὡς δὲ ἐς τὸν οἶνον ἀπίκετο καὶ ἐπύθετο αὐτοῦ τὴν ποίησιν, ὑπερησθεὶς τῷ πόματι ἐπείρετο ὅ τι τε σιτεῖται ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ χρόνον ὁκόσον μακρότατον ἀνὴρ Πέρσης ζώει. οἱ δὲ σιτεῖσθαι μὲν τὸν ἄρτον εἶπον, ἐξηγησάμενοι τῶν πυρῶν τὴν φύσιν, ὀγδώκοντα δὲ ἔτεα ζόης πλήρωμα ἀνδρὶ μακρότατον προκεῖσθαι. πρὸς τάοτα ὁ Αἰθίοψ ἔφη οὐδὲν θωυμάζειν εἰ σιτεόμενοι κόπρον ἔτεα ὀλίγα ζώουσι· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν τοσαῦτα δύνασθαι ζώειν σφέας, εἰ μὴ τῷ πόματι ἀνέφερον, φράζων τοῖσι Ἰχθυοφάγοισι τὸν οἶνον· τούτῳ γὰρ ἑωυτοὺς ὑπὸ Περσέων ἐσσοῦσθαι. ἀντειρομένων δὲ τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Ἰχθυοφάγων τῆς 23
ζόης καὶ διαίτης πέρι, ἔτεα μὲν ἐς εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν[4] τοὺς πολλοὺς αὐτῶν ἀπικνεῖσθαι, ὑπερβάλλειν δέ τινας καὶ τάοτα, σίτησιν δὲ εἶναι κρέα [τε] ἑφθὰ καὶ πόμα γάλα. θῶυμα δὲ ποιεομένων τῶν κατασκόπων περὶ τῶν ἐτέων, ἐπὶ κρήνην σφι ἡγήσασθαι, ἀπ' ἧς λουόμενοι λιπαρώτεροι ἐγίνοντο, κατά περ εἰ ἐλαίου εἴη· ὄζειν δὲ ἀπ' αὐτῆς ὡς εἰ ἴων.[5] ἀσθενὲς δὲ τὸ ὕδωρ τῆς κρήνης ταύτης οὕτω δή τι ἔλεγον εἶναι οἱ κατάσκοποι ὥστε μηδὲν οἷόν τ' εἶναι ἐπ' αὐτοῦ ἐπιπλεῖν, μήτε ξύλον μήτε τῶν

gested by the hieroglyph of an unstrung bow, pronounced *kens*, and denoting the Nubian weapon.

[4] *i.e.* ten years for each of the twelve months. Ἀνέφερον, "recovered themselves" (lit. "lifted themselves up"); cp. Demosth. *Pro Megal.* 31.

[5] In Babylonian mythology, "the waters of life" bubbled up in the underworld. Cp. Zech. xiv. 8; Rev. xxii. i. The arsenic springs of Transylvania produce a smooth skin and clear complexion. European folk-lore knows of a fountain of life guarded by dragons from which the hero has to fetch water for the princess he would make his bride.

ὅσα ξύλου ἐστὶ ἐλαφρότερα, ἀλλὰ πάντα σφέα χωρεῖν ἐς βυσσόν. τὸ δὲ ὕδωρ τοῦτο εἴ σφι ἐστὶ ἀληθέως οἷόν τι λέγεται, διὰ τοῦτο ἂν εἶεν, τούτῳ τὰ πάντα χρεώμενοι, μακρόβιοι. ἀπὸ τῆς κρήνης δὲ ἀπαλλασσομένων, ἀγαγεῖν σφεας ἐς δεσμωτήριον ἀνδρῶν, ἔνθα τοὺς πάντας ἐν πέδῃσι χρυσέῃσι δεδέσθαι. ἔστι δὲ ἐν τούτοισι τοῖσι Αἰθίοψι πάντων ὁ χαλκὸς σπανιώτατον καὶ τιμιώτατον.[6] θεησάμενοι δὲ καὶ τὸ δεσμωτήριον, ἐθεήσαντο
24 καὶ τὴν τοῦ ἡλίου λεγομένην τράπεζαν. μετὰ δὲ ταύτην τελευταίας ἐθεήσαντο τὰς θήκας αὐτῶν, αἳ λέγονται σκευάζεσθαι ἐξ ὑέλου τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. ἐπεὰν τὸν νεκρὸν ἰσχνήνωσι, εἴτε δὴ κατά περ Αἰγύπτιοι εἴτε ἄλλως κως, γυψώσαντες ἅπαντα αὐτὸν γραφῇ κοσμέουσι, ἐξομοιέοντες τὸ εἶδος ἐς τὸ δυνατόν, ἔπειτα δὲ οἱ περιστᾶσι στήλην ἐξ ὑέλου πεποιημένην κοίλην· ἡ δέ σφι πολλὴ καὶ εὐεργὸς ὀρύσσεται.[7] ἐν μέσῃ δὲ τῇ στήλῃ ἐνεὼν διαφαίνεται ὁ νέκυς, οὔτε ὀδμὴν οὐδεμίαν ἄχαριν παρεχόμενος οὔτε ἄλλο ἀεικὲς οὐδέν, καὶ ἔχει πάντα φανερὰ ὁμοίως αὐτῷ τῷ νέκυϊ.[8] ἐνιαυτὸν μὲν δὴ ἔχουσι τὴν στήλην ἐν τοῖσι οἰκίοισι οἱ μάλιστα προσήκοντες, πάντων ἀπαρχόμενοι καὶ θυσίας οἱ προσάγοντες· μετὰ δὲ τάοτα ἐκκομίσαντες ἱστᾶσι περὶ τὴν πόλιν.

25 Θεησάμενοι δὲ τὰ πάντα οἱ κατάσκοποι ἀπαλλάσσοντο ὀπίσω. ἀπαγγειλάντων δὲ τάοτα τούτων, αὐτίκα ὁ Καμβύσης ὀργὴν ποιησάμενος ἐστρατεύετο ἐπὶ τοὺς Αἰθίοπας, οὔτε παρασκευὴν σίτου οὐδεμίαν παραγγείλας, οὔτε λόγον ἑωυτῷ δοὺς ὅτι ἐς τὰ ἔσχατα γέας ἔμελλε στρατεύεσθαι· οἷα δὲ ἐμμανής τε ἐὼν καὶ οὐ φρενήρης, ὡς ἤκουε τῶν Ἰχθυοφάγων, ἐστρατεύετο, Ἑλλήνων μὲν τοὺς παρεόντας αὐτοῦ τάξας ὑπομένειν, τὸν δὲ πεζὸν πάντα ἅμα ἀγόμενος. ἐπείτε δὲ στρατευόμενος ἐγένετο ἐν Θήβῃσι, ἀπέκρινε τοῦ στρατοῦ ὡς πέντε μυριάδας, καὶ τούτοισι μὲν ἐνετέλλετο Ἀμμωνίους ἐξανδραποδισαμένους τὸ χρηστήριον τὸ τοῦ Διὸς ἐμπρῆσαι,[9] αὐτὸς δὲ τὸν λοιπὸν ἄγων στρατὸν ἤιε ἐπὶ τοὺς Αἰθίοπας. πρὶν δὲ τῆς ὁδοῦ τὸ πέμπτον μέρος διεληλυθέναι τὴν στρατιήν, αὐτίκα πάντα αὐτοὺς τὰ εἶχον σιτίων ἐχόμενα ἐπελελοίπει, μετὰ δὲ τὰ σιτία καὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια ἐπέλιπε κατεσθιόμενα. εἰ μέν νυν μαθὼν τάοτα ὁ Καμβύσης

[6] Copper mines exist not only in the eastern desert of Egypt, between lat. 24° and 33°, but also in the upper part of the White Nile.

[7] Of course no block of crystal dug out of the earth could have been large enough for a sarcophagus.

[8] "And all is as visible as the bare corpse itself." For φανερὰ, cp. 8, note 7.

[9] See ii. 32, note 4. The army of Kambysês is made to take the longer road from Thebes to the oasis of Sivah instead of the usual one from Memphis.

ἐγνωσιμάχει καὶ ἀπῆγε ὀπίσω τὸν στρατόν, ἐπὶ τῇ ἀρχῆθεν γενομένῃ ἁμαρτάδι ἦν ἂν ἀνὴρ σοφός· νῦν δὲ οὐδένα λόγον ποιεόμενος ἤιε αἰεὶ ἐς τὸ πρόσω. οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται ἕως μέν τι εἶχον ἐκ τῆς γέας λαμβάνειν, ποιηφαγέοντες διέζωον, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐς τὴν ψάμμον ἀπίκοντο, δεινὸν ἔργον αὐτῶν τινὲς ἐργάσαντο· ἐκ δεκάδος γὰρ ἕνα σφέων αὐτῶν ἀποκληρώσαντες κατέφαγον. πυθόμενος δὲ τάοτα ὁ Καμβύσης, δείσας τὴν ἀλληλοφαγίην, ἀπεὶς τὸν ἐπ' Αἰθίοπας στόλον ὀπίσω ἐπορεύετο καὶ ἀπικνεῖται ἐς Θήβας πολλοὺς ἀπολέσας τοῦ στρατοῦ· ἐκ Θηβέων δὲ καταβὰς ἐς Μέμφιν τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἀπῆκε ἀποπλεῖν.[1] ὁ μὲν ἐπ' Αἰθίοπας 26
στόλος οὕτω ἔπρηξε· οἱ δ' αὐτῶν ἐπ' Ἀμμωνίους ἀποσταλέντες στρατεύεσθαι, ἐπείτε ὁρμηθέντες ἐκ τῶν Θηβέων ἐπορεύοντο ἔχοντες ἀγωγούς, ἀπικόμενοι μὲν φανεροί εἰσι ἐς Ὄασιν πόλιν,[2] τὴν ἔχουσι μὲν Σάμιοι τῆς Αἰσχριωνίης φυλῆς[3] λεγόμενοι εἶναι, ἀπέχουσι δὲ ἑπτὰ ἡμερέων ὁδὸν ἀπὸ Θηβέων διὰ ψάμμου· ὀνομάζεται δὲ ὁ χῶρος οὗτος κατὰ Ἑλλήνων γλῶσσαν Μακάρων νῆσος.[4] ἐς μὲν δὴ τοῦτον τὸν χῶρον λέγεται ἀπικέσθαι τὸν στρατόν, τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν δέ, ὅτι μὴ αὐτοὶ Ἀμμώνιοι καὶ οἱ τούτων ἀκούσαντες, ἄλλοι οὐδένες οὐδὲν ἔχουσι εἰπεῖν περὶ αὐτῶν· οὔτε γὰρ ἐς τοὺς Ἀμμωνίους ἀπίκοντο οὔτε ὀπίσω ἐνόστησαν. λέγεται δὲ καὶ τάδε ὑπ' αὐτῶν Ἀμμωνίων. ἐπειδὴ ἐκ τῆς Ὀάσιος ταύτης ἰέναι διὰ τῆς ψάμμου ἐπὶ σφέας, γενέσθαι τε αὐτοὺς μεταξύ

[1] Yet, according to ch. 97, Kambysês reduced at this time the Ethiopians far to the south of Meroe (Napata), to which, according to Josephos (*Ant.* ii. 10), he gave a name. At Persepolis the negroes of this region figure among the nations subject to Persia, and Premnis in Nubia is called the Market or Magazine of Kambysês by Pliny and Ptolemy. Kambysês, therefore, really established his empire further south than even Thothmes III., and returned to Memphis a successful conqueror.

[2] This must be the Southern and Greater Oasis of El-Khargeh, from 6 to 7½ days from Thebes. There are remains of a temple built here by Darius in the little town called Hib or "plough" by the Egyptians. According to the Egyptian texts there were seven oases: (1) *Du-hesmen*, "the natron mountains," west of Lower Egypt; (2) Uit, a small oasis south-west of the first; (3) Uit mehit, "the Northern Oasis" (now el-Uah el-Bahharieh); (4) Ta-n-ah, "the land of the cow" (now the oasis of Farafreh); (5) Kenem (now Ghanaim, the oasis of Khargeh, "the outer"); (6) Testes (now Dakhel, "the inner," west of the preceding); (7) Sokhet-am, "the field of date-palms" (now Sivah, where the temple of Zeus Ammon stood). In all Amun was worshipped (Brugsch).

[3] Herodotos must have made a mistake in the name he gives. Maritime Samians could not have settled in the middle of the desert, 400 miles from the sea. Æskhriôn is the name of an iambic-writer in a Samian inscription of the fourth century B.C. The name has also been found by Sayce in a Greek *graffito* in one of the tombs of Tel el-Amarna.

[4] A name subsequently applied to the Canary Islands.

κου μάλιστα αὐτῶν τε καὶ τῆς Ὀάσιος, ἄριστον αἱρεομένοισι αὐτοῖσι ἐπιπνεῦσαι νότον μέγαν τε καὶ ἐξαίσιον, φορέοντα δὲ θῖνας τῆς ψάμμου καταχῶσαί σφεας, καὶ τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ ἀφανισθῆναι. Ἀμμώνιοι μὲν οὕτω λέγουσι γενέσθαι περὶ τῆς στρατιῆς ταύτης.

27 Ἀπιγμένου δὲ Καμβύσεω ἐς Μέμφιν ἐφάνη Αἰγυπτίοισι ὁ Ἆπις, τὸν Ἕλληνες Ἔπαφον καλέουσι· ἐπιφανέος δὲ τούτου γενομένου αὐτίκα οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι εἵματα ἐφόρεον τὰ κάλλιστα καὶ ἦσαν ἐν θαλίῃσι. ἰδὼν δὲ τάοτα τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους ποιέοντας ὁ Καμβύσης, πάγχυ σφέας καταδόξας ἑωυτοῦ κακῶς πρήξαντος χαρμόσυνα τάοτα ποιεῖν, ἐκάλει τοὺς ἐπιτρόπους τῆς Μέμφιος, ἀπικομένους δὲ ἐς ὄψιν εἴρετο ὅ τι πρότερον μὲν ἐόντος αὐτοῦ ἐν Μέμφι ἐποίεον τοιοῦτον οὐδὲν Αἰγύπτιοι, τότε δὲ ἐπεὶ αὐτὸς παρείη τῆς στρατιῆς πλῆθός τι ἀποβαλών. οἱ δὲ ἔφραζον ὡς σφι θεὸς εἴη φανεὶς διὰ χρόνου πολλοῦ ἐωθὼς ἐπιφαίνεσθαι, καὶ ὡς ἐπεὰν φανῇ τότε πάντες Αἰγύπτιοι κεχαρηκότες ὀρτάζοιεν. τάοτα ἀκούσας ὁ Καμβύσης ἔφη ψεύδεσθαί σφεας καὶ ὡς ψευδο-
28 μένους θανάτῳ ἐζημίου. ἀποκτείνας δὲ τούτους δεύτερα τοὺς ἱερέας ἐκάλει ἐς ὄψιν· λεγόντων δὲ κατὰ ταὐτὰ τῶν ἱερέων, οὐ λήσειν ἔφη αὐτὸν εἰ θεός τις χειροήθης ἀπιγμένος εἴη Αἰγυπτίοισι. τοσαῦτα δὲ εἴπας ἀπάγειν ἐκέλευε τὸν Ἆπιν τοὺς ἱερέας. οἱ μὲν δὴ μετήισαν ἄξοντες. ὁ δὲ Ἆπις οὗτος ὁ Ἔπαφος γίνεται μόσχος ἐκ βοὸς ἥτις οὐκέτι οἵη τε γίνεται ἐς γαστέρα ἄλλον βάλλεσθαι γόνον. Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ λέγουσι σέλας ἐπὶ τὴν βοῦν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κατίσχειν, καί μιν ἐκ τούτου τίκτειν τὸν Ἆπιν. ἔχει δὲ ὁ μόσχος οὗτος ὁ Ἆπις καλεόμενος σημήια τοιάδε ἐὼν μέλας, ἐπὶ μὲν τῷ μετώπῳ λευκόν τι τρίγωνον, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ νώτου αἰετὸν εἰκασμένον, ἐν δὲ τῇ οὐρῇ τὰς τρίχας διπλᾶς, ὑπὸ δὲ τῇ
29 γλώσσῃ κάνθαρον. ὡς δὲ ἤγαγον τὸν Ἆπιν οἱ ἱερεῖς, ὁ Καμβύσης, οἷα ἐὼν ὑπομαργότερος, σπασάμενος τὸ ἐγχειρίδιον, θέλων τύψαι τὴν γαστέρα τοῦ Ἄπιος παίει τὸν μηρόν· γελάσας δὲ εἶπε πρὸς τοὺς ἱερέας "ὦ κακαὶ κεφαλαί, τοιοῦτοι θεοὶ γίνονται, ἔναιμοί τε καὶ σαρκώδεις καὶ ἐπαΐοντες σιδηρίων; ἄξιος μέν γε Αἰγυπτίων οὗτός γε ὁ θεός. ἀτάρ τοι ὑμεῖς γε οὐ χαίροντες γέλωτα ἐμὲ θήσεσθε." τάοτα εἴπας ἐνετείλατο τοῖσι τάοτα πρήσσουσι τοὺς μὲν ἱερέας ἀπομαστιγῶσαι, Αἰγυπτίων δὲ τῶν ἄλλων τὸν ἂν λάβωσι ὀρτάζοντα κτείνειν. ὀρτὴ μὲν δὴ διελέλυτο Αἰγυπτίοισι, οἱ δὲ ἱερεῖς ἐδικαιεῦντο, ὁ δὲ Ἆπις πεπληγμένος τὸν μηρὸν ἔφθινε ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ κατακείμενος.
30 καὶ τὸν μὲν τελευτήσαντα ἐκ τοῦ τρώματος ἔθαψαν οἱ ἱερεῖς

λάθρῃ Καμβύσεω· Καμβύσης δέ, ὡς λέγουσι Αἰγύπτιοι, αὐτίκα διὰ τοῦτο τὸ ἀδίκημα ἐμάνη, ἐὼν οὐδὲ πρότερον φρενήρης.[5] καὶ πρῶτα μὲν [τῶν κακῶν] ἐξεργάσατο τὸν ἀδελφεὸν Σμέρδιν[6] ἐόντα πατρὸς καὶ μητρὸς τῆς αὐτῆς, τὸν ἀπέπεμψε ἐς Πέρσας φθόνῳ ἐξ Αἰγύπτου, ὅτι τὸ τόξον μοῦνος Περσέων ὅσον τε ἐπὶ δύο δακτύλους εἵρυσε, τὸ παρὰ τοῦ Αἰθίοπος ἤνεικαν οἱ Ἰχθυοφάγοι·[7] τῶν δὲ ἄλλων Περσέων οὐδεὶς οἷός τε ἐγένετο. ἀποιχομένου ὦν ἐς Πέρσας τοῦ Σμέρδιος ὄψιν εἶδε ὁ Καμβύσης ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ τοιήνδε. ἐδόκεί οἱ ἄγγελον ἐλθόντα ἐκ Περσέων ἀγγέλλειν ὡς ἐν τῷ θρόνῳ τῷ βασιληίῳ ἱζόμενος Σμέρδις τῇ κεφαλῇ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ψαύσειε. πρὸς ὦν τάοτα δείσας περὶ ἑωυτοῦ μή μιν ἀποκτείνας ὁ ἀδελφεὸς ἄρχῃ, πέμπει Πρηξάσπεα ἐς Πέρσας, ὃς ἦν οἱ ἀνὴρ Περσέων πιστότατος, ἀποκτενέοντά μιν. ὁ δὲ ἀναβὰς ἐς Σοῦσα[8] ἀπέκτεινε Σμέρδιν, οἱ μὲν λέγουσι ἐπ' ἄγρην ἐξαγαγόντα, οἱ δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἐρυθρὴν θάλασσαν[9] προαγαγόντα καταποντῶσαι.

Πρῶτον μὲν δὴ λέγουσι Καμβύσῃ τῶν κακῶν ἄρξαι τοῦτο· 31
δεύτερα δὲ ἐξεργάσατο τὴν ἀδελφεὴν ἑσπομένην οἱ ἐς Αἴγυπτον, τῇ καὶ συνοίκει καὶ ἦν οἱ ἀπ' ἀμφοτέρων ἀδελφεή. ἔγημε δὲ αὐτὴν ὧδε· οὐδαμῶς γὰρ ἐώθεσαν πρότερον τῇσι ἀδελφεῇσι συνοικεῖν Πέρσαι. ἠράσθη μιῆς τῶν ἀδελφεῶν Καμβύσης, καὶ ἔπειτα βουλόμενος αὐτὴν γῆμαι, ὅτι οὐκ ἐωθότα ἐπενόεε ποιήσειν, εἴρετο καλέσας τοὺς βασιληίους δικαστὰς εἴ τις ἐστὶ κελεύων νόμος τὸν βουλόμενον ἀδελφεῇ συνοικεῖν. οἱ δὲ βασιλήιοι δικασταὶ[1] κεκριμένοι ἄνδρες γίνονται Περσέων, ἐς ὃ ἀποθάνωσι

[5] The whole of this account has been shown by the monuments to be mythical. See App. V. The Apis which died in the fourth year of Kambysês was really buried with the usual pomp under the auspices of Kambysês (Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, Eng. tr. 2d Edit. ii. p. 299). The madness of the latter seems to be a Greek invention. Nothing is known of it either in the Behistun inscription or in the fragments of Ktêsias.

[6] Really Bardiya (Bardes), made Mardos by Æskh. (*Pers.* 780), Merdis by Nik. Dam. and Justin. Ktêsias calls him Tanyoxarkês (*i.e.* Tanu-vazarka "of the strong body," or Thanvara-Khshathtra, "king of the bow"). Cp. the Tanaoxarês of Xen. (*Kyrop.* viii. 7).

[7] The introduction of the bow shows that we are dealing with a myth. According to the Behistun inscription, Bardes was put to death before the campaign against Egypt.

[8] Susa (Shushan, native name Susun) was the capital of Anzan or Susiana, the original kingdom of Kyros (see App. V.), and therefore naturally remained the capital of the empire he created. The dream and the fact that the murder of Bardes did not take place when Kambysês was in Egypt, make the mission of Prexaspês very doubtful. The account of Ktêsias is wholly different.

[9] *i.e.* the Persian Gulf.

[1] The "royal judges," though mentioned more than once by Herodotos

ἤ σφι παρευρεθῇ τι ἄδικον, μέχρι τούτου· οὗτοι δὲ τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι δίκας δικάζουσι καὶ ἐξηγηταὶ τῶν πατρίων θεσμῶν γίνονται, καὶ πάντα ἐς τούτους ἀνακεῖται. εἰρομένου ὦν τοῦ Καμβύσεω, ὑπεκρίνοντο αὐτῷ οὗτοι καὶ δίκαια καὶ ἀσφαλέα, φάμενοι νόμον οὐδένα ἐξευρίσκειν ὃς κελεύει ἀδελφεῇ συνοικεῖν ἀδελφεόν, ἄλλον μέντοι ἐξευρηκέναι νόμον, τῷ βασιλεύοντι Περσέων ἐξεῖναι ποιεῖν τὸ ἂν βούληται. οὕτω οὔτε τὸν νόμον ἔλυσαν δείσαντες Καμβύσεα, ἵνα τε μὴ αὐτοὶ ἀπόλωνται τὸν νόμον περιστέλλοντες, παρεξεῦρον ἄλλον νόμον σύμμαχον τῷ θέλοντι γαμεῖν ἀδελφεάς. τότε μὲν δὴ ὁ Καμβύσης ἔγημε τὴν ἐρωμένην,[2] μετὰ μέντοι οὐ πολλὸν χρόνον ἔσχε ἄλλην ἀδελφεήν. τουτέων δῆτα τὴν νεωτέρην ἐπισπομένην οἱ ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον κτείνει.

32 ἀμφὶ δὲ τῷ θανάτῳ αὐτῆς διξὸς ὥσπερ περὶ Σμέρδιος λέγεται λόγος. Ἕλληνες μὲν λέγουσι Καμβύσεα συμβαλεῖν σκύμνον λέοντος σκύλακι κυνός, θεωρεῖν δὲ καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα ταύτην, νικωμένου δὲ τοῦ σκύλακος ἀδελφεὸν αὐτοῦ ἄλλον σκύλακα ἀπορρήξαντα τὸν δεσμὸν παραγενέσθαι οἱ, δύο δὲ γενομένους οὕτω δὴ τοὺς σκύλακας ἐπικρατῆσαι τοῦ σκύμνου. καὶ τὸν μὲν Καμβύσεα ἥδεσθαι θεώμενον, τὴν δὲ παρημένην δακρύειν. Καμβύσεα δὲ μαθόντα τοῦτο ἐπείρεσθαι δι' ὅ τι δακρύει, τὴν δὲ εἰπεῖν ὡς ἰδοῦσα τὸν σκύλακα τῷ ἀδελφεῷ τιμωρήσαντα δακρύσειε, μνησθεῖσά τε Σμέρδιος καὶ μαθοῦσα ὡς ἐκείνῳ οὐκ εἴη ὁ τιμωρήσων. Ἕλληνες μὲν δὴ διὰ τοῦτο τὸ ἔπος φασὶ αὐτὴν ἀπολέσθαι ὑπὸ Καμβύσεω, Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ ὡς τραπέζῃ παρακατημένων λαβοῦσαν θρίδακα τὴν γυναῖκα περιτῖλαι καὶ ἐπανείρεσθαι τὸν ἄνδρα κότερον περιτετιλμένη ἡ θρίδαξ ἢ δασέα εἴη καλλίων, καὶ τὸν φάναι δασέαν, τὴν δ' εἰπεῖν "ταύτην μέντοι κοτὲ σὺ τὴν θρίδακα ἐμιμήσαο, τὸν Κύρου οἶκον ἀποψιλώσας." τὸν δὲ θυμωθέντα ἐμπηδῆσαι αὐτῇ ἐχούσῃ ἐν γαστρί, καί μιν ἐκτρώσασαν ἀποθανεῖν.

33 Τάοτα μὲν ἐς τοὺς οἰκηίους ὁ Καμβύσης ἐξεμάνη, εἴτε δὴ διὰ τὸν Ἆπιν εἴτε καὶ ἄλλως, οἷα πολλὰ ἔωθε ἀνθρώπους κακὰ καταλαμβάνειν· καὶ γάρ τινα ἐκ γενεῆς νοῦσον μεγάλην λέγεται ἔχειν ὁ Καμβύσης, τὴν ἱερὴν[3] ὀνομάζουσί τινες. οὔ νύν τοι ἀεικὲς οὐδὲν ἦν τοῦ σώματος νοῦσον μεγάλην νοσέοντος μηδὲ τὰς

(see vii. 194, and ch. 14 above), are not named by Xenophon. They seem to have been confined to Persia Proper, and to have gone on circuit once a year.

[2] Atossa, afterwards the wife of the pseudo-Smerdis and Darius Hystaspis, and the mother of Xerxes.

[3] Epilepsy. ἐκ γενεῆς, "from his birth."

φρένας ὑγιαίνειν. τάδε δ' ἐς τοὺς ἄλλους Πέρσας ἐξεμάνη. 34
λέγεται γὰρ εἰπεῖν αὐτὸν πρὸς Πρηξάσπεα, τὸν ἐτίμα τε μάλιστα
καί οἱ τὰς ἀγγελίας ἐφόρει οὗτος, τούτου τε ὁ παῖς οἰνοχόος ἦν
τῷ Καμβύσῃ, τιμὴ δὲ καὶ αὕτη οὐ σμικρή· εἰπεῖν δὲ λέγεται
τάδε. "Πρήξασπες, κοῖόν με τινὰ νομίζουσι Πέρσαι εἶναι
ἄνδρα τίνας τε λόγους περὶ ἐμέο ποιέονται;" τὸν δὲ εἰπεῖν
"ὦ δέσποτα, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα πάντα μεγάλως ἐπαινέαι, τῇ δὲ
φιλοινίῃ σε φασὶ πλέονως προσκεῖσθαι." τὸν μὲν δὴ λέγειν
τάοτα περὶ Περσέων, τὸν δὲ θυμωθέντα τοιάδε ἀμείβεσθαι.
"νῦν ἄρα μέ φασὶ Πέρσαι οἴνῳ προσκείμενον παραφρονεῖν καὶ
οὐκ εἶναι νοήμονα· οὐδ' ἄρα σφέων οἱ πρότεροι λόγοι ἦσαν
ἀληθεῖς." πρότερον γὰρ δὴ ἄρα Περσέων οἱ συνέδρων ἐόντων
καὶ Κροίσου εἴρετο Καμβύσης κοῖός τις δοκέοι ἀνὴρ εἶναι πρὸς
τὸν πατέρα τελέσαι Κῦρον,[4] οἱ δὲ ἀμείβοντο ὡς εἴη ἀμείνων τοῦ
πατρός· τά τε γὰρ ἐκείνου πάντα ἔχειν αὐτὸν καὶ προσεκτῆσθαι
Αἴγυπτόν τε καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν. Πέρσαι μὲν δὴ τάοτα ἔλεγον,
Κροῖσος δὲ παρεών τε καὶ οὐκ ἀρεσκόμενος τῇ κρίσει εἶπε πρὸς
τὸν Καμβύσεα τάδε. "ἐμοὶ μέν νυν, ὦ παῖ Κύρου, οὐ δοκεῖς
ὅμοιος εἶναι τῷ πατρί· οὐ γάρ κω τοί ἐστι υἱὸς οἷον σὲ ἐκεῖνος
κατελίπετο." ἥσθη τε τάοτα ἀκούσας ὁ Καμβύσης καὶ ἐπαίνει τὴν
Κροίσου κρίσιν. τούτων δὴ ὧν ἐπιμνησθέντα ὀργῇ λέγειν πρὸς 35
τὸν Πρηξάσπεα "σὺ νῦν μάθε αὐτὸς, εἰ λέγουσι Πέρσαι ἀληθέα
εἴτε αὐτοὶ λέγοντες τάοτα παραφρονέουσι· εἰ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ παιδὸς
τοῦ σοῦ τοῦδε ἑστεῶτος ἐν τοῖσι προθύροισι βαλὼν τύχοιμι
μέσης τῆς καρδίης, Πέρσαι φανέονται λέγοντες οὐδέν· ἢν δὲ
ἁμάρτω, φάναι Πέρσας τε λέγειν ἀληθέα καὶ με μὴ σωφρονεῖν."
τάοτα δὲ εἰπόντα καὶ διατείναντα τὸ τόξον βαλεῖν τὸν παῖδα,
πεσόντος δὲ τοῦ παιδὸς ἀνασχίζειν αὐτὸν κελεύειν καὶ σκέψασθαι
τὸ βλῆμα· ὡς δὲ ἐν τῇ καρδίῃ εὑρεθῆναι ἐνεόντα τὸν ὀϊστόν,
εἰπεῖν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα τοῦ παιδὸς γελάσαντα καὶ περιχαρέα
γενόμενον "Πρήξασπες, ὡς μὲν ἔγωγε οὐ μαίνομαι Πέρσαι τε
παραφρονέουσι, δῆλά τοι γέγονε. νῦν δέ μοι εἰπέ, τίνα εἶδες
ἥδη πάντων ἀνθρώπων οὕτως ἐπίσκοπα τοξεύοντα;" Πρηξάσπεα
δὲ ὀρέοντα ἄνδρα οὐ φρενήρεα καὶ περὶ ἑωυτῷ δειμαίνοντα εἰπεῖν
"δέσποτα, οὐδ' ἂν αὐτὸν ἔγωγε δοκέω τὸν θεὸν οὕτω ἂν καλῶς
βαλεῖν." τότε μὲν τάοτα ἐξεργάσατο, ἑτέρωθι δὲ Περσέων

[4] "To compare with his father," from the use of τελεῖν εἰς in the sense of "reckoning among." But the expression has no parallel, and several MSS. read καλέσαι. Stein conjectures εἰκάσαι.

ὁμοίους τοῖσι πρώτοισι δυώδεκα ἐπ' οὐδεμιῇ αἰτίῃ ἀξιόχρεῳ ἑλὼν ζώοντας ἐπὶ κεφαλὴν κατώρυξε.

36 Τάοτα δέ μιν ποιέοντα ἐδικαίωσε Κροῖσος ὁ Λυδὸς νουθετῆσαι τοῖσιδε τοῖσι ἔπεσι. "ὦ βασιλεῦ, μὴ πάντα ἡλικίῃ καὶ θυμῷ ἐπίτραπε, ἀλλ' ἴσχε καὶ καταλάμβανε σεωυτόν· ἀγαθῶν τε πρόνοον εἶναι, σοφὸν δὲ ἡ προμηθίη. σὺ δὲ κτείνεις μὲν ἄνδρας σεωυτοῦ πολιήτας ἐπ' οὐδεμιῇ αἰτίῃ ἀξιοχρέῳ ἑλών, κτείνεις δὲ παῖδας. ἢν δὲ πολλὰ τοιαῦτα ποιῇς, ὅρα ὅκως μή σεο ἀποστήσονται Πέρσαι. ἐμοὶ δὲ πατὴρ σὸς Κῦρος ἐνετέλλετο πολλὰ κελεύων σε νουθετεῖν καὶ ὑποτίθεσθαι ὅ τι ἂν εὑρίσκω ἀγαθόν." ὁ μὲν δὴ εὐνοίην φαίνων συνεβούλευέ οἱ τάοτα· ὁ δ' ἀμείβετο τοῖσιδε. "σὺ καὶ ἐμοὶ τολμᾷς συμβουλεύειν, ὃς χρηστῶς μὲν τὴν σεωυτοῦ πατρίδα ἐπετρόπευσας, εὖ δὲ τῷ πατρὶ τῷ ἐμῷ συνεβούλευσας, κελεύων αὐτὸν Ἀράξεα ποταμὸν διαβάντα ἰέναι ἐπὶ Μασσαγέτας, βουλομένων ἐκείνων διαβαίνειν ἐς τὴν ἡμετέρην, καὶ ἀπὸ μὲν σεωυτὸν ὤλεσας τῆς σεωυτοῦ πατρίδος κακῶς προστάς, ἀπὸ δὲ ὤλεσας Κῦρον πειθόμενον σοί. ἀλλ' οὔτι χαίρων, ἐπεί τοι καὶ πάλαι ἐς σὲ προφάσιός τεο ἐδεόμην ἐπιλαβέσθαι." τάοτα δὲ εἶπας ἐλάμβανε τὸ τόξον ὡς κατατοξεύσων αὐτόν. Κροῖσος δὲ ἀναδραμὼν ἔθει ἔξω. ὁ δὲ ἐπείτε τοξεῦσαι οὐκ εἶχε, ἐνετείλατο τοῖσι θεράπουσι λαβόντας μιν ἀποκτεῖναι. οἱ δὲ θεράποντες ἐπιστάμενοι τὸν τρόπον αὐτοῦ κατακρύπτουσι τὸν Κροῖσον ἐπὶ τῷδε τῷ λόγῳ ὥστε, εἰ μὲν μεταμελήσῃ τῷ Καμβύσῃ καὶ ἐπιζητῇ τὸν Κροῖσον, οἱ δὲ ἐκφήναντες αὐτὸν δῶρα λάμψονται ζωάγρια Κροίσου, ἢν δὲ μὴ μεταμέληται μηδὲ ποθῇ μιν, τότε καταχρᾶσθαι. ἐπόθησέ τε δὴ ὁ Καμβύσης τὸν Κροῖσον οὐ πολλῷ μετέπειτα χρόνῳ ὕστερον, καὶ οἱ θεράποντες μαθόντες τοῦτο ἐπηγγέλλοντο αὐτῷ ὡς περιείη. Καμβύσης δὲ Κροίσῳ μὲν συνήδεσθαι ἔφη περιεόντι, ἐκείνους μέντοι τοὺς περιποιήσαντας οὐ καταπροίξεσθαι ἀλλ' ἀποκτενεῖν. καὶ ἐποίησε τάοτα.

37 Ὁ μὲν δὴ τοιαῦτα πολλὰ ἐς Πέρσας τε καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους ἐξεμαίνετο, μένων ἐν Μέμφι καὶ θήκας τε παλαιὰς ἀνοίγων καὶ σκεπτόμενος τοὺς νεκρούς. ὡς δὲ δὴ καὶ ἐς τοῦ Ἡφαίστου τὸ ἱερὸν ἦλθε καὶ πολλὰ τῷ ἀγάλματι κατεγέλασε. ἔστι γὰρ τοῦ Ἡφαίστου τὤγαλμα τοῖσι Φοινικηίοισι Παταίκοισι ἐμφερέστατον, τοὺς οἱ Φοίνικες ἐν τῇσι πρώρῃσι τῶν τριηρέων περιάγουσι.[5]

[5] The Patæki seem to have the same name as Ptah, "the opener," *i.e.* "creator," from Egyptian *ptah*, Phœniko-Hebrew *pathakh*, "to open." Ptah-Sekari is represented on later monuments as a deformed pygmy, the type being a fœtal

δς δὲ τούτους μὴ ὄπωπε, ἐγὼ δὲ σημανέω· πυγμαίου ἀνδρὸς μίμησίς ἐστι. ἐσῆλθε δὲ καὶ ἐς τῶν Καβείρων τὸ ἱερόν, ἐς τὸ οὐ θεμιτόν ἐστι ἐσιέναι ἄλλον γε ἢ τὸν ἱερέα· τάοτα δὲ τὰ ἀγάλματα καὶ ἐνέπρησε πολλὰ κατασκώψας.[6] ἔστι δὲ καὶ τάοτα ὅμοια τοῖσι τοῦ Ἡφαίστου· τούτου δέ σφεας παῖδας λέγουσι εἶναι.[7] πανταχῇ ὦν μοι δῆλά ἐστι ὅτι ἐμάνη μεγάλως 38
ὁ Καμβύσης· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἱεροῖσί τε καὶ νομαίοισι ἐπεχείρησε καταγελᾶν. εἰ γάρ τις προθείη πᾶσι ἀνθρώποισι ἐκλέξασθαι κελεύων νόμους τοὺς καλλίστους ἐκ τῶν πάντων νόμων, διασκεψάμενοι ἂν ἑλοίατο ἕκαστοι τοὺς ἑωυτῶν· οὕτω νομίζουσι πολλόν τι καλλίστους τοὺς ἑωυτῶν νόμους ἕκαστοι εἶναι. οὔκων οἰκός ἐστι ἄλλον γε ἢ μαινόμενον ἄνδρα γέλωτα τὰ τοιαῦτα τίθεσθαι. ὡς δὲ οὕτω νενομίκασι τὰ περὶ τοὺς νόμους πάντες ἄνθρωποι, πολλοῖσί τε καὶ ἄλλοισι τεκμηρίοισι πάρεστι σταθμώσασθαι, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ τῷδε. Δαρεῖος ἐπὶ τῆς ἑωυτοῦ ἀρχῆς καλέσας Ἑλλήνων τοὺς παρεόντας εἴρετο ἐπὶ κόσῳ ἂν χρήματι βουλοίατο τοὺς πατέρας ἀποθνήσκοντας κατασιτεῖσθαι· οἱ δὲ ἐπ' οὐδενὶ ἔφασαν ἔρδειν ἂν τοῦτο. Δαρεῖος δὲ μετὰ τάοτα καλέσας Ἰνδῶν τοὺς καλεομένους Καλλατίας,[8] οἳ τοὺς γονέας κατεσθίουσι, εἴρετο, παρεόντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ δι' ἑρμηνέος μανθανόντων τὰ λεγόμενα, ἐπὶ τίνι χρήματι δεξαίατ' ἂν τελευτέοντας τοὺς πατέρας κατακαίειν πυρί· οἱ δὲ ἀμβώσαντες μέγα εὐφημεῖν μιν ἐκέλευον. οὕτω μέν νυν τάοτα νενόμισται, καὶ ὀρθῶς μοι δοκεῖ Πίνδαρος ποιῆσαι νόμον πάντων βασιλέα φήσας εἶναι.[9]

Καμβύσεω δὲ ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον στρατευομένου ἐποιήσαντο καὶ 39

one. The Phœnicians must have borrowed their Patæki from Egypt, probably identifying them with their own Kabeiri, and making them the sons of Ptah, whom they would then have identified with the creator El.

[6] For the Kabeiri, see ii. 51, note 1. As they were Phœnician gods, the temple was not an Egyptian one. Later writers improved on the legend of the iconoclasticism of Kambysês in Egypt, making him the destroyer of the vocal statue of Memmon (Amenophis III.), which was really thrown down by earthquake, as well as the demolisher of Thebes!

[7] See note 5.

[8] Comp. the Kalantians of ch. 97, the Kalatians of Hekatæos. See ch. 99, where the practice of eating their parents on the part of the Kalantians is referred to. The same custom was ascribed to the Massagetæ (i. 216, note 9) and the Issêdonians (iv. 26), and by Strabo (xi. pp. 756, 753) to the Derbikes and a tribe on the Caspian. Marco Polo found the same custom in Sumatra.

[9] The fragment was, according to Plato (Gorg. 484 B),—

νόμος, ὁ πάντων βασιλεὺς
θνατῶν τε καὶ ἀθανάτων,
ἄγει δικαιῶν τὸ βιαιότατον
ὑπερτάτᾳ χερί· τεκμαίρομαι
ἔργοισιν Ἡρακλέος, ἐπεὶ [Γηρυόνα βόας
Κυκλωπίων ἐπὶ προθύρων Εὐρυσθέος
ἀναιτήτας τε καὶ ἀπριάτας ἤλασεν.

(*Fr.* 151, Boeckh).]

Λακεδαιμόνιοι στρατηίην ἐπὶ Σάμον τε καὶ Πολυκράτεα τὸν Αἰάκεος, ὃς ἔσχε Σάμον ἐπαναστάς, καὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα τριχῇ δασάμενος τὴν πόλιν[1] . . τοῖσι ἀδελφεοῖσι Πανταγνώτῳ καὶ Συλοσῶντι ἔνειμε, μετὰ δὲ τὸν μὲν αὐτῶν ἀποκτείνας τὸν δὲ νεώτερον Συλοσῶντα ἐξελάσας ἔσχε πᾶσαν Σάμον, σχὼν δὲ ξεινίην Ἀμάσι τῷ Αἰγύπτου βασιλέι συνεθήκατο, πέμπων τε δῶρα καὶ δεκόμενος ἄλλα παρ' ἐκείνου. ἐν χρόνῳ δὲ ὀλίγῳ αὐτίκα τοῦ Πολυκράτεος τὰ πρήγματα ηὔξετο καὶ ἦν βεβωμένα ἀνά τε τὴν Ἰωνίην καὶ τὴν ἄλλην Ἑλλάδα· ὅκου γὰρ ἰθύσειε στρατεύεσθαι, πάντα οἱ ἐχώρει εὐτυχέως. ἔκτητο δὲ πεντηκοντέρους τε ἑκατὸν καὶ χιλίους τοξότας, ἔφερε δὲ καὶ ἦγε πάντας διακρίνων οὐδένα· τῷ γὰρ φίλῳ ἔφη χαριεῖσθαι μᾶλλον ἀποδιδοὺς τὰ ἔλαβε ἢ ἀρχὴν μηδὲ λαβών. συχνὰς μὲν δὴ τῶν νήσων ἀραιρήκει, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τῆς ἠπείρου ἄστεα· ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ Λεσβίους πανστρατιῇ βοηθέοντας Μιλησίοισι ναυμαχίῃ κρατήσας εἷλε, οἳ τὴν τάφρον περὶ τὸ τεῖχος τὸ ἐν Σάμῳ πᾶσαν
40 δεδεμένοι ὤρυξαν. καί κως τὸν Ἄμασιν εὐτυχέων μεγάλως ὁ Πολυκράτης οὐκ ἐλάνθανε, ἀλλά οἱ τοῦτ' ἦν ἐπιμελές. πολλῷ δὲ ἔτι πλέονός οἱ εὐτυχίης γινομένης γράψας ἐς βυβλίον τάδε ἐπέστειλε ἐς Σάμον. "Ἄμασις Πολυκράτει ὧδε λέγει. ἡδὺ μὲν πυνθάνεσθαι ἄνδρα φίλον καὶ ξεῖνον εὖ πρήσσοντα· ἐμοὶ δὲ αἱ σαὶ μεγάλαι εὐτυχίαι οὐκ ἀρέσκουσι, τὸ θεῖον ἐπισταμένῳ ὡς ἔστι φθονερόν·[2] καί κως βούλομαι καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ τῶν ἂν κήδωμαι τὸ μέν τι εὐτυχεῖν τῶν πρηγμάτων τὸ δὲ προσπταίειν, καὶ οὕτω διαφέρειν τὸν αἰῶνα ἐναλλὰξ πρήσσων ἢ εὐτυχεῖν τὰ πάντα.

[1] See ch. 120. Sylosôn, the brother of Polykratês, must be distinguished from another Sylosôn, the chief of the Megarian prisoners from the Propontis, at whose instigation a democratic revolution had broken out on board the Samian fleet, resulting in the overthrow of the oligarchy and the establishment of a tyranny. The power of Polykratês rested on his mercenaries, his fleet, and the revenues he obtained through it. He was a patron of art and literature, established a public library, and entertained the poets Ibykos and Anakreôn, and the physician Dêmokêdes (see ch. 131). He acclimatised foreign plants and animals in Samos—the Attic and Milesian breeds of sheep, the Skyrian and Naxian goats, the Sicilian swine, and the Molossian and Lakonian dogs. The palace and fortresses, the breakwater, the temple of Hêrê, and the aqueduct tunnelled through a mountain, seem all to have been his works; see ch. 60. His rule was semi-Asiatic; hence his imitation of Assyrian, Phœnician, and Egyptian libraries, and his introduction of foreign plants and animals, like Thothmes III. of Egypt, and Tiglath-Pileser I. of Assyria. Eusebios makes his tyranny begin B.C. 532.

[2] This is the sentiment of Herodotos, not of Amasis; see i. 32, note 2. The story is characteristic of Greek, not of Egyptian, thought.

οὐδένα γάρ κω λόγῳ οἶδα ἀκούσας ὅστις ἐς τέλος οὐ κακῶς ἐτελεύτησε πρόρριζος, εὐτυχέων τὰ πάντα. σὺ ὦν νῦν ἐμοὶ πειθόμενος ποίησον πρὸς τὰς εὐτυχίας τοιάδε. φροντίσας τὸ ἂν εὕρῃς ἐόν τοι πλείστου ἄξιον καὶ ἐπ' ᾧ σὺ ἀπολομένῳ μάλιστα τὴν ψυχὴν ἀλγήσεις, τοῦτο ἀπόβαλε οὕτω ὅκως μηκέτι ἥξει ἐς ἀνθρώπους· ἢν τε μὴ ἐναλλὰξ ἤδη τὠπὸ τούτου αἱ εὐτυχίαι τοι τῇσι πάθῃσι προσπίπτωσι,[3] τρόπῳ τῷ ἐξ ἐμέο ὑποκειμενῳ ἀκέο." τάοτα ἐπιλεξάμενος ὁ Πολυκράτης καὶ νόῳ 41
λαβὼν ὡς οἱ εὖ ὑπετίθετο Ἄμασις, ἐδίζητο ἐπ' ᾧ ἂν μάλιστα τὴν ψυχὴν ἀσηθείη ἀπολομένῳ τῶν κειμηλίων, διζήμενος δὲ εὕρισκε τόδε. ἦν οἱ σφρηγὶς τὴν ἐφόρει χρυσόδετος, σμαράγδου μὲν λίθου ἐοῦσα,[4] ἔργον δὲ ἦν Θεοδώρου τοῦ Τηλεκλέος Σαμίου.[5] ἐπεὶ ὦν ταύτην οἱ ἐδόκει ἀποβαλεῖν, ἐποίει τοιάδε. πεντηκόντερον πληρώσας ἀνδρῶν ἐσέβη ἐς αὐτήν, μετὰ δὲ ἀναγαγεῖν ἐκέλευε ἐς τὸ πέλαγος. ὡς δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς νήσου ἑκὰς ἐγένετο, περιελόμενος τὴν σφρηγῖδα πάντων ὁρεόντων τῶν συμπλόων ῥίπτει ἐς τὸ πέλαγος. τοῦτο δὲ ποιήσας ἀπέπλει, ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐς τὰ οἰκία συμφορῇ ἐχρᾶτο. πέμπτῃ δὲ ἢ ἕκτῃ ἡμέρῃ ἀπὸ 42
τούτων τάδε οἱ συνήνεικε γενέσθαι. ἀνὴρ ἁλιεὺς λαβὼν ἰχθὺν μέγαν τε καὶ καλὸν ἠξίου μιν Πολυκράτει δῶρον δοθῆναι· φέρων δὴ ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας Πολυκράτει ἔφη ἐθέλειν ἐλθεῖν ἐς ὄψιν, χωρήσαντος δέ οἱ τούτου ἔλεγε διδοὺς τὸν ἰχθύν "ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἐγὼ τόνδε ἑλὼν οὐκ ἐδικαίωσα φέρειν ἐς ἀγορήν, καίπερ ἐὼν ἀποχειροβίοτος, ἀλλά μοι ἐδόκει σέο τε εἶναι ἄξιος καὶ τῆς σῆς ἀρχῆς· σοὶ δή μιν φέρων δίδωμι." ὁ δὲ ἡσθεὶς τοῖσι ἔπεσι ἀμείβεται τοῖσιδε. "κάρτα τε εὖ ἐποίησας καὶ χάρις διπλῆ τῶν τε λόγων καὶ τοῦ δώρου· καί σε ἐπὶ δεῖπνον καλέομεν." ὁ μὲν δὴ ἁλιεὺς μέγα ποιεόμενος τάοτα ἤιε ἐς τὰ οἰκία, τὸν δὲ ἰχθὺν τάμνοντες οἱ θεράποντες εὑρίσκουσι ἐν τῇ νηδύι αὐτοῦ ἐνεοῦσαν τὴν Πολυκράτεος σφρηγῖδα. ὡς δὲ εἶδόν τε καὶ ἔλαβον τάχιστα, ἔφερον κεχαρηκότες παρὰ τὸν Πολυκράτεα, διδόντες δέ οἱ τὴν σφρηγῖδα ἔλεγον ὅτεῳ τρόπῳ εὑρέθη. τὸν δὲ ὡς ἐσῆλθε θεῖον εἶναι τὸ πρῆγμα, γράφει ἐς βυβλίον πάντα τὰ ποιήσαντά μιν οἷα καταλελάβηκε,[6] γράψας δὲ ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἐπέθηκε.

[3] "Be not chequered with misfortune." For ἐναλλάξ προσπίπτειν, cf. Diod. v. 7; ἐν. ἐμπίπτειν, Arist. *de part. An.* iii. 1, 5.

[4] Pliny (*N. H.* xxxvii. 2, xxxiii. 6) states that the ring of Polykratês set with a sardonyx was preserved in the Temple of Concord at Rome, to which it was presented by Augustus.

[5] See i. 51, note 4.

[6] "He writes in a letter (cp. v. 95) all that had befallen him after having done it" (τὰ for αὐτὰ). Βυβλίον or βυβ-

43 ἐπιλεξάμενος δὲ ὁ Ἄμασις τὸ βυβλίον τὸ παρὰ τοῦ Πολυκράτεος ἦκον, ἔμαθε ὅτι ἐκκομίσαι τε ἀδύνατον εἴη ἀνθρώπῳ ἄνθρωπον ἐκ τοῦ μέλλοντος γίνεσθαι πρήγματος, καὶ ὅτι οὐκ εὖ τελευτήσειν μέλλοι Πολυκράτης εὐτυχέων τὰ πάντα, ὃς καὶ τὰ ἀποβάλλει εὑρίσκει. πέμψας δέ οἱ κήρυκα ἐς Σάμον διαλύεσθαι ἔφη τὴν ξεινίην.[7] τοῦδε δὲ εἵνεκεν τάδε ἐποίει, ἵνα μὴ συντυχίης δεινῆς τε καὶ μεγάλης Πολυκράτεα καταλαβούσης αὐτὸς ἀλγήσειε τὴν ψυχὴν ὡς περὶ ξείνου ἀνδρός.

44 Ἐπὶ τοῦτον δὴ ὦν τὸν Πολυκράτεα εὐτυχέοντα τὰ πάντα ἐστρατεύοντο Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἐπικαλεσαμένων τῶν μετὰ τάδε Κυδωνίην τὴν ἐν Κρήτῃ κτισάντων Σαμίων.[8] πέμψας δὲ κήρυκα λάθρῃ Σαμίων Πολυκράτης παρὰ Καμβύσεα τὸν Κύρου συλλέγοντα στρατὸν ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον, ἐδεήθη ὅκως ἂν καὶ παρ' ἑωυτὸν πέμψας ἐς Σάμον δέοιτο στρατοῦ. Καμβύσης δὲ ἀκούσας τούτων προθύμως ἔπεμπε ἐς Σάμον δεησόμενος Πολυκράτεος στρατὸν ναυτικὸν ἅμα πέμψαι ἑωυτῷ ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον. ὁ δὲ ἐπιλέξας τῶν ἀστῶν τοὺς ὑπώπτευε μάλιστα ἐς ἐπανάστασιν ἀπέπεμπε τεσσεράκοντα τριήρεσι,[9] ἐντειλάμενος Καμβύσῃ ὀπίσω
45 τούτους μὴ ἀποπέμπειν. οἱ μὲν δὴ λέγουσι τοὺς ἀποπεμφθέντας Σαμίων ὑπὸ Πολυκράτεος οὐκ ἀπικέσθαι ἐς Αἴγυπτον, ἀλλ' ἐπείτε ἐγένοντο ἐν Καρπάθῳ πλέοντες, δοῦναι σφίσι λόγον, καί σφι ἀδεῖν τὸ προσωτέρω μηκέτι πλεῖν· οἱ δὲ λέγουσι ἀπικομένους τε ἐς Αἴγυπτον καὶ φυλασσομένους ἐνθεῦτεν αὐτοὺς ἀποδρῆναι.[1] καταπλέουσι δὲ ἐς τὴν Σάμον Πολυκράτης νηυσὶ ἀντιάσας ἐς μάχην κατέστη· νικήσαντες δὲ οἱ κατιόντες ἀπέβησαν ἐς τὴν νῆσον, πεζομαχήσαντες δὲ ἐν αὐτῇ ἐσσώθησαν, καὶ οὕτω δὴ ἔπλεον ἐς Λακεδαίμονα. εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ λέγουσι τοὺς ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου

λιον from βύβλος, the Egyptian papyrus: ἐπιτίθημι, "to send by letter." We may notice that letters written on papyrus are regarded as a matter of course at this date among the Greeks.

[7] No doubt the alliance was really dissolved by Polykratês, who considered it advisable to court the rising power of Kambysês.

[8] See ch. 59.

[9] Triremes with three banks of oars are different from penteconters with one bank of oars and fifty rowers, of which the fleet of Polykratés was said to consist in ch. 39. The trireme was introduced among the Samians by Ameinoklês the Korinthian about 700 B.C. (Thuk. i. 13).

[1] The varieties of the story are instructive. They show that even in Samos, where a library had once existed, and where Herodotos had every means of procuring information, events which had happened hardly a century before were differently reported. It is clear, therefore, that the history was handed down by tradition, not in written records (see ch. 55). So at Athens it was possible for the contemporaries of Herodotos and Thukydides to doubt which of the two sons of Peisistratos, a century before, was the older (Thuk. i. 20).

νικῆσαι Πολυκράτεα, λέγοντες ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν οὐκ ὀρθῶς· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἔδεί σφεας Λακεδαιμονίους ἐπικαλεῖσθαι, εἴ περ αὐτοὶ ἦσαν ἱκανοὶ Πολυκράτεα παραστήσασθαι. πρὸς δὲ τούτοισι οὐδὲ λόγος αἱρεῖ, τῷ[2] ἐπίκουροι μισθωτοὶ καὶ τοξόται οἰκήιοι ἦσαν πλήθει πολλοί, τοῦτον ὑπὸ τῶν κατιόντων Σαμίων ἐόντων ὀλίγων ἐσσωθῆναι. τῶν δ' ὑπ' ἑωυτῷ ἐόντων πολιητέων τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας ὁ Πολυκράτης ἐς τοὺς νεωσοίκους συνειλήσας εἶχε ἑτοίμους, ἢν ἄρα προδιδῶσι οὗτοι πρὸς τοὺς κατιόντας, ὑποπρῆσαι αὐτοῖσι τοῖσι νεωσοίκοισι.

Ἐπείτε δὲ οἱ ἐξελασθέντες Σαμίων ὑπὸ Πολυκράτεος 46
ἀπίκοντο ἐς τὴν Σπάρτην, καταστάντες ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἔλεγον πολλὰ οἷα κάρτα δεόμενοι. οἱ δέ σφι τῇ πρώτῃ κατα-
στάσι ὑπεκρίναντο τὰ μὲν πρῶτα λεχθέντα ἐπιλελῆσθαι, τὰ δὲ ὕστατα οὐ συνιέναι. μετὰ δὲ τάοτα δεύτερα καταστάντες ἄλλο μὲν εἶπον οὐδέν, θύλακον δὲ φέροντες ἔφασαν τὸν θύλακον ἀλφίτων δέεσθαι. οἱ δέ σφι ὑπεκρίναντο τῷ θυλάκῳ περιεργάσθαι·[3] βοηθεῖν δ' ὧν ἔδοξε αὐτοῖσι. καὶ ἔπειτα παρασκευα- 47
σάμενοι ἐστρατεύοντο Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐπὶ Σάμον, ὡς μὲν Σάμιοι λέγουσι, εὐεργεσίας ἐκτίνοντες, ὅτι σφι πρότεροι αὐτοὶ νηυσὶ ἐβοήθησαν ἐπὶ Μεσσηνίους· ὡς δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι λέγουσι, οὐκ οὕτω τιμωρῆσαι δεομένοισι Σαμίοισι ἐστρατεύοντο ὡς τίσασθαι βουλόμενοι τοῦ κρητῆρος τῆς ἁρπαγῆς, τὸν ἦγον Κροίσῳ,[4] καὶ τοῦ θώρηκος, τὸν αὐτοῖσι Ἄμασις ὁ Αἰγύπτου βασιλεὺς ἔπεμψε δῶρον. καὶ γὰρ θώρηκα ἐλήισαντο τῷ προτέρῳ ἔτει ἢ τὸν κρητῆρα οἱ Σάμιοι, ἐόντα μὲν λίνεον καὶ ζῴων ἐνυφασμένων συχνῶν, κεκοσμημένον δὲ χρυσῷ καὶ εἰρίοισι ἀπὸ ξύλου·[5] τῶν δὲ εἵνεκα θωυμάσαι ἄξιον, ἁρπεδόνη ἑκάστη τοῦ θώρηκος ποιεῖ· ἐοῦσα γὰρ λεπτὴ ἔχει ἁρπεδόνας ἐν ἑωυτῇ τριηκοσίας καὶ ἑξη-
κοντα, πάσας φανεράς. τοιοῦτος ἕτερός ἐστι καὶ τὸν ἐν Λίνδῳ ἀνέθηκε τῇ Ἀθηναίῃ Ἄμασις.[6]

Συνεπελάβοντο δὲ τοῦ στρατεύματος τοῦ ἐπὶ Σάμον ὥστε 48
γενέσθαι καὶ Κορίνθιοι προθύμως· ὕβρισμα γὰρ καὶ ἐς τούτους εἶχε ἐκ τῶν Σαμίων γενόμενον γενεῇ πρότερον τοῦ στρατεύματος τούτου, κατὰ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον τοῦ κρητῆρος τῇ ἁρπαγῇ γεγονός.[7] Κερκυραίων γὰρ παῖδας τριηκοσίους ἀνδρῶν τῶν

[2] "That one who had."

[3] "That they had overdone it with their 'sack,'" *i.e.* "sack" was a word too much. The story is told by Sext. Empiricus (*adv. Math.* ii. 24) of the Khians, who wanted a free exportation of grain.

[4] See i. 70.

[5] *i.e.* cotton.

[6] See ii. 182.

[7] As the bowl was sent to Krœsos at

πρώτων Περίανδρος ὁ Κυψέλου ἐς Σάρδις ἀπέπεμψε παρὰ Ἀλυάττεα ἐπ' ἐκτομῇ·[8] προσσχόντων δὲ ἐς τὴν Σάμον τῶν ἀγόντων τοὺς παῖδας Κορινθίων, πυθόμενοι οἱ Σάμιοι τὸν λόγον, ἐπ' οἷσι ἀγοίατο ἐς Σάρδις, πρῶτα μὲν τοὺς παῖδας ἐδίδαξαν ἱεροῦ ἅψασθαι Ἀρτέμιδος· μετὰ δὲ οὐ περιορέοντες ἀπέλκειν τοὺς ἱκέτας ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ, σιτίων δὲ τοὺς παῖδας ἐργόντων Κορινθίων,[9] ἐποιήσαντο οἱ Σάμιοι ὀρτήν, τῇ καὶ νῦν ἔτι χρέωνται κατὰ ταὐτά. νυκτὸς γὰρ ἐπιγενομένης, ὅσον χρόνον ἱκέτευον οἱ παῖδες, ἱστασαν χοροὺς παρθένων τε καὶ ἠιθέων, ἱστάντες δὲ τοὺς χοροὺς τρωκτὰ σησάμου τε καὶ μέλιτος ἐποιήσαντο νόμον φέρεσθαι, ἵνα ἁρπάζοντες οἱ τῶν Κερκυραίων παῖδες ἔχοιεν τροφήν. ἐς τοῦτο δὲ τόδε ἐγίνετο, ἐς ὃ οἱ Κορίνθιοι τῶν παίδων οἱ φύλακοι οἴχοντο ἀπολιπόντες· τοὺς δὲ παῖδας ἀπήγαγον ἐς
49 Κέρκυραν οἱ Σάμιοι.[1] εἰ μέν νυν Περιάνδρου τελευτήσαντος τοῖσι Κορινθίοισι φίλα ἦν πρὸς τοὺς Κερκυραίους, οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἂν συνελάβοντο τοῦ στρατεύματος τοῦ ἐπὶ Σάμον ταύτης εἵνεκεν τῆς αἰτίης. νῦν δὲ αἰεὶ ἐπεί τε ἔκτισαν τὴν νῆσον εἰσὶ ἀλλήλοισι διάφοροι, ἐόντες ἑωυτοῖσι[2] . . . τούτων ὦν εἵνεκεν ἀπεμνησικάκεον τοῖσι Σαμίοισι οἱ Κορίνθιοι.

50 Ἀπέπεμπε δὲ ἐς Σάρδις ἐπ' ἐκτομῇ Περίανδρος τῶν πρώτων

the end of his reign, and the boys to Alyattês, there must have been an interval of at least fourteen years between the two events. They did not, therefore, take place at the same time. Since the date assigned to Periander is B.C. 625-585, it is hard to see how the boys could have been sent to Alyattês, who died about B.C. 560, or how this could have occurred only a generation before the Lakedæmonian expedition against Samos in B.C. 520. Panofka conjectures τριτῃ γενεῇ, supposing γ' (3) to have fallen out before γεν., but this only makes the statement about the bowl more difficult to explain. Herodotos, however, had only oral tradition as his authority for these events of preceding Greek history (ch. 45, note 1).

[8] This illustrates the Asiatising tendency of many of the Greek tyrannies. The same Periander, though one of the seven wise men of Greece, had a nephew who succeeded him of the name of Psammetikhos (Arist. *Pol.* v. 12). For Kypselos, who overthrew the Bakkhiad oligarchy at Korinth, and whose coffer at Olympia, adorned with Homeric subjects was one of the earliest specimens of Greek art, see v. 92, where the legend connected with him grew out of his name and the punning allusion to it in the gift he made to Olympia.

[9] "When the Korinthians cut the boys off from food." It seems clear that there was as yet no tyrant in Samos; the "Samians" alone are named.

[1] According to Pliny (*N. H.* ix. 25) and the pseudo-Plut. (who appeals to Antênor and Dionysios the Khalkidian), the Knidians, not the Samians, drove away the Korinthian guard, and restored the boys to Kerkyra.

[2] After ἑωυτοῖσι Valckenaer would supply συγγενέες, Reiske οἰκήιοι. Τούτων, however, remains without construction. The nominative to ἔκτισαν is of course "the Korinthians." For the hostility between Korinth and her colony, Kerkyra or Corfu, see Thuk. i. 13, 25, etc.

Κερκυραίων ἐπιλέξας τοὺς παῖδας τιμωρεόμενος· πρότεροι γὰρ οἱ Κερκυραῖοι ἤρξαν ἐς αὐτὸν πρῆγμα ἀτάσθαλον ποιήσαντες. ἐπείτε γὰρ τὴν ἑωυτοῦ γυναῖκα Μέλισσαν[3] Περιάνδρος ἀπέκτεινε, συμφορὴν τοιήνδε οἱ ἄλλην συνέβη πρὸς τῇ γεγονυίῃ γενέσθαι. ἦσάν οἱ ἐκ Μελίσσης δύο παῖδες, ἡλικίην ὁ μὲν ἑπτακαίδεκα ὁ δὲ ὀκτωκαίδεκα ἔτεα γεγονώς. τούτους ὁ μητροπάτωρ Προκλῆς ἐὼν Ἐπιδαύρου τύραννος μεταπεμψάμενος παρ' ἑωυτὸν ἐφιλοφρονεῖτο, ὡς οἰκὸς ἦν θυγατρὸς ἐόντας τῆς ἑωυτοῦ παῖδας. ἐπείτε δέ σφεας ἀπεπέμπετο, εἶπε προπέμπων αὐτούς "ἆρα ἴστε, ὦ παῖδες, ὃς ὑμέων τὴν μητέρα ἀπέκτεινε;" τοῦτο τὸ ἔπος ὁ μὲν πρεσβύτερος αὐτῶν ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ ἐποιήσατο· ὁ δὲ νεώτερος, τῷ οὔνομα ἦν Λυκόφρων,[4] ἤλγησε ἀκούσας, οὕτω ὥστε ἀπικόμενος ἐς τὴν Κόρινθον ἅτε φονέα τῆς μητρὸς τὸν πατέρα οὔτε προσεῖπε, διαλεγομένῳ τε οὔτε προσδιελέγετο ἱστορέοντί τε λόγον οὐδένα ἐδίδου. τέλος δέ μιν πέρι θυμῷ ἐχόμενος ὁ Περίανδρος ἐξελαύνει ἐκ τῶν οἰκίων. ἐξελάσας δὲ τοῦτον 51
ἱστόρει τὸν πρεσβύτερον τά σφι ὁ μητροπάτωρ διελέχθη. ὁ δὲ οἱ ἀπηγεῖτο ὥς σφεας φιλοφρόνως ἐδέξατο· ἐκείνου δὲ τοῦ ἔπεος τό σφι ὁ Προκλῆς ἀποστέλλων εἶπε, ἅτε οὐ νόῳ λαβών, οὐκ ἐμέμνητο. Περίανδρος δὲ οὐδεμίαν μηχανὴν ἔφη εἶναι μὴ οὔ σφι ἐκεῖνον ὑποθέσθαι τι, ἐλιπάρεί τε ἱστορέων· ὁ δὲ ἀναμνησθεὶς εἶπε καὶ τοῦτο. Περίανδρος δὲ νόῳ λαβὼν [καὶ τοῦτο] καὶ μαλακὸν ἐνδιδόναι βουλόμενος οὐδέν,[5] τῇ ὁ ἐξελασθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ παῖς δίαιταν ἐποιεῖτο, ἐς τούτους πέμπων ἄγγελον ἀπηγόρευε μή μιν δέκεσθαι οἰκίοισι. ὁ δὲ ὅκως ἀπελαυνόμενος ἔλθοι ἐς ἄλλην οἰκίην, ἀπηλαύνετ' ἂν καὶ ἀπὸ ταύτης, ἀπειλέοντός τε τοῦ Περιάνδρου τοῖσι δεξαμένοισι καὶ ἐξέργειν κελεύοντος· ἀπελαυνόμενος δ' ἂν ἤιε ἐπ' ἑτέρην τῶν ἑταίρων· οἱ δὲ ἅτε Περιάνδρου ἐόντα παῖδα καίπερ δειμαίνοντες ὅμως ἐδέκοντο. τέλος δὲ 52
ὁ Περίανδρος κήρυγμα ἐποιήσατο, ὃς ἂν ἢ οἰκίοισι ὑποδέξηταί

[3] The Hebrew name Deborah similarly means "bee." At Ephesos ἐσσήν, "king-bee," was the title of the priest of Artemis, and μέλισσα is applied to a priestess of Delphi by Pindar (*P.* iv. 106), to Dêmêtêr and Artemis by the Scholiast on this passage, and to Kybelê by Lactantius. According to Herakleides Ponticus, the name of Periander's wife was Lysidê. Her mother was said to have been Eristheneia, daughter of Aristokratês II., king of Arkadia.

[4] Nik. Damasc. calls him Nikolaos, Lykophrôn being another son who was murdered for his cruel behaviour to the Perioeki. The same author states that Periander had two other sons, Evagoras and Gorgos (the Gordias of Arist. *Pol.* v. 9).

[5] "Determining to show no sign of softening." Cp. vii. 52. If καὶ τοῦτο is read, it must be taken with λαβών, but Krueger is plainly right in rejecting the words, as they ought to stand before and not after the participle.

μιν ἡ προσδιαλεχθῇ, ἱερὴν ζημίην[6] τοῦτον τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι ὀφείλειν, ὅσην δὴ εἵπας. πρὸς ὧν δὴ τοῦτο τὸ κήρυγμα οὔτε τίς οἱ διαλέγεσθαι οὔτε οἰκίοισι δέκεσθαι ἤθελε· πρὸς δὲ οὐδὲ αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνος ἐδικαίου πειρᾶσθαι ἀπειρημένου, ἀλλὰ διακαρτερέων ἐν τῇσι στοῇσι, ἐκαλινδεῖτο. τετάρτῃ δὲ ἡμέρῃ ἰδών μιν ὁ Περίανδρος ἀλουσίῃσί τε καὶ ἀσιτίῃσι συμπεπτωκότα οἴκτειρε· ὑπεὶς δὲ τῆς ὀργῆς ἦιε ἄσσον καὶ ἔλεγε "ὦ παῖ, κότερα τούτων αἱρετώτερά ἐστι, τάοτα τὰ νῦν ἔχων πρήσσεις, ἢ τὴν τυραννίδα καὶ τὰ ἀγαθὰ τὰ νῦν ἐγὼ ἔχω. τάοτα ἐόντα τῷ πατρὶ ἐπιτήδεον παραλαμβάνειν,[7] ὃς ἐὼν ἐμός τε παῖς καὶ Κορίνθου τῆς εὐδαίμονος βασιλεὺς ἀλήτην βίον εἵλεο, ἀντιστατέων τε καὶ ὀργῇ χρεώμενος ἐς τόν σε ἥκιστα ἐχρῆν. εἰ γάρ τις συμφορὴ ἐν αὐτοῖσι ἐγεγόνει,[8] ἐξ ἧς ὑποψίην ἐς ἐμὲ ἔχεις, ἐμοί τε αὕτη γέγονε καὶ ἐγὼ αὐτῆς τὸ πλέον μέτοχός εἰμι, ὅσῳ αὐτός σφεα ἐξεργασάμην. σὺ δὲ μαθὼν ὅσῳ φθονεῖσθαι κρέσσον ἐστὶ ἢ οἰκτείρεσθαι, ἅμα τε οἰκοῖόν τι ἐς τοὺς τοκέας καὶ ἐς τοὺς κρέσσονας τεθυμῶσθαι, ἄπιθι ἐς τὰ οἰκία." Περίανδρος μὲν τούτοισι αὐτὸν κατελάμβανε· ὁ δὲ ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν ἀμείβεται τὸν πατέρα, ἔφη δέ μιν ἱερὴν ζημίην ὀφείλειν τῷ θεῷ ἑωυτῷ ἐς λόγους ἀπικόμενον. μαθὼν δὲ ὁ Περίανδρος ὡς ἄπορόν τι τὸ κακὸν εἴη τοῦ παιδὸς καὶ ἀνίκητον, ἐξ ὀφθαλμῶν μιν ἀποπέμπεται στείλας πλοῖον ἐς Κέρκυραν· ἐπεκράτει γὰρ καὶ ταύτης.[9] ἀποστείλας δὲ τοῦτον ὁ Περίανδρος ἐστρατεύετο ἐπὶ τὸν πενθερὸν Προκλέα ὡς τῶν παρεόντων οἱ πρηγμάτων ἐόντα αἰτιώτατον, καὶ εἷλε μὲν τὴν
53 Ἐπίδαυρον, εἷλε δὲ αὐτὸν Προκλέα καὶ ἐζώγρησε. ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦ χρόνου προβαίνοντος ὅ τε Περίανδρος παρηβήκει καὶ συνεγινώσκετο ἑωυτῷ οὐκέτι εἶναι δυνατὸς τὰ πρήγματα ἐπορᾶν τε καὶ διέπειν, πέμψας ἐς τὴν Κέρκυραν ἀπεκάλει τὸν Λυκόφρονα ἐπὶ τὴν τυραννίδα· ἐν γὰρ δὴ τῷ πρεσβυτέρῳ τῶν παίδων οὔκων ἐνώρα, ἀλλά οἱ κατεφαίνετο εἶναι νωθέστερος. ὁ δὲ Λυκόφρων

[6] This "sacred forfeit" was equivalent to the Polynesian *tapu*. Certain property was declared to belong to the god, and so ceased to belong to its original owner.

[7] "It is fit that you should inherit these which belong to your father." The usual reading is to place a comma after ἔχω, and understand ἐόντα of σέ, "or that you should inherit this, my tyranny and prosperity, by behaving dutifully (being what you should be) to your father."

[8] "If a calamity had happened thereby." ἐν αὐτοῖς for ἐν τούτοις, like ἐξ αὐτῶν, "therefrom," i. 9. Periander refers to his tyranny; this he alleges had produced no real calamity; if it had, he would have been the chief sufferer himself.

[9] The first naval battle on record in Greece was fought between Korinth and Kerkyra (B.C. 665), Thuk. i. 13, so that Periander must have conquered the island.

οὐδὲ ἀνακρίσιος ἠξίωσε τὸν φέροντα τὴν ἀγγελίην. Περίανδρος δὲ περιεχόμενος τοῦ νεηνίω δεύτερα ἀπέστειλε ἐπ' αὐτὸν τὴν ἀδελφεήν, ἑωυτοῦ δὲ θυγατέρα, δοκέων μιν μάλιστα ταύτῃ ἂν πείθεσθαι. ἀπικομένης δὲ ταύτης καὶ λεγούσης "ὦ παῖ, βούλεαι τήν τε τυραννίδα ἐς ἄλλους πεσεῖν καὶ τὸν οἶκον τοῦ πατρὸς διαφορηθέντα μᾶλλον ἢ αὐτός σφεα ἀπελθὼν ἔχειν; ἄπιθι ἐς τὰ οἰκία, παῦσαι σεωυτὸν ζημιῶν. φιλοτιμίη κτῆμα σκαιόν. μὴ τῷ κακῷ τὸ κακὸν ἰῶ. πολλοὶ τῶν δικαίων τὰ ἐπιεικέστερα προτιθεῖσι, πολλοὶ δὲ ἤδη τὰ μητρώια διζήμενοι τὰ πατρώια ἀπέβαλον. τυραννὶς χρῆμα σφαλερόν, πολλοὶ δὲ αὐτῆς ἐρασταί εἰσι, ὁ δὲ γέρων τε ἤδη καὶ παρηβηκώς· μὴ δῷς τὰ σεωυτοῦ ἀγαθὰ ἄλλοισι." ἡ μὲν δὴ τὰ ἐπαγωγότατα διδαχθεῖσα ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἔλεγε πρὸς αὐτόν· ὁ δὲ ὑποκρινάμενος ἔφη οὐδαμὰ ἥξειν ἐς Κόρινθον, ἔστ' ἂν πυνθάνηται περιεόντα τὸν πατέρα. ἀπαγγειλάσης δὲ ταύτης τάοτα, τὸ τρίτον Περίανδρος κήρυκα πέμπει βουλόμενος αὐτὸς μὲν ἐς Κέρκυραν ἥκειν, ἐκεῖνον δὲ ἐκέλευε ἐς Κόρινθον ἀπικόμενον διάδοχον γίνεσθαι τῆς τυραννίδος. καταινέσαντος δὲ ἐπὶ τούτοισι τοῦ παιδός, ὁ μὲν Περίανδρος ἐστέλλετο ἐς τὴν Κέρκυραν, ὁ δὲ παῖς οἱ ἐς τὴν Κόρινθον. μαθόντες δὲ οἱ Κερκυραῖοι τούτων ἕκαστα, ἵνα μή σφι Περίανδρος ἐς τὴν χώρην ἀπίκηται, κτείνουσι τὸν νεηνίσκον. ἀντὶ τούτων μὲν Περίανδρος Κερκυραίους ἐτιμωρεῖτο.

Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ στόλῳ μεγάλῳ ὡς ἀπίκοντο, ἐπολιόρκεον 54
Σάμον· προσβαλόντες δὲ πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος τοῦ μὲν πρὸς θαλάσσῃ ἑστεῶτος πύργου κατὰ τὸ προάστειον τῆς πόλιος ἐπέβησαν, μετὰ δὲ αὐτοῦ βοηθήσαντος Πολυκράτεος χειρὶ πολλῇ ἀπηλάσθησαν. κατὰ δὲ τὸν ἐπάνω πύργον τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς ῥάχιος τοῦ ὄρεος[1] ἐπεόντα ἐπεξῆλθον οἵ τε ἐπίκουροι καὶ αὐτῶν Σαμίων συχνοί, δεξάμενοι δὲ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἐπ' ὀλίγον χρόνον ἔφευγον ὀπίσω· οἱ δὲ ἐπισπόμενοι ἔκτεινον. εἰ μέν νυν οἱ 55
παρεόντες Λακεδαιμονίων ὅμοιοι ἐγένοντο ταύτην τὴν ἡμέρην Ἀρχίῃ τε καὶ Λυκώπῃ, αἱρέθη ἂν Σάμος· Ἀρχίης γὰρ καὶ Λυκώπης μοῦνοι συνεσπεσόντες φεύγουσι ἐς τὸ τεῖχος τοῖσι Σαμίοισι καὶ ἀποκλησισθέντες τῆς ὀπίσω ὁδοῦ ἀπέθανον ἐν τῇ πόλει τῇ Σαμίων. τρίτῳ δὲ ἀπ' Ἀρχίεο τούτου γεγονότι ἄλλῳ Ἀρχίῃ τῷ Σαμίου τοῦ Ἀρχίεο αὐτὸς ἐν Πιτάνῃ[2] συνεγενόμην

[1] Ampelos, at the southern foot of which lay the town of Samos, while a wall of fortification ran along the northern edge of the hill. The temple of Hêrê stood by the sea near the marshy land at the mouth of the Imbrasos, south-west of the city.

[2] Pitanê was one of the five villages,

(δήμου γὰρ τούτου ἦν), ὃς ξείνων πάντων μάλιστα ἐτίμα τε Σαμίους καί οἱ τῷ πατρὶ ἔφη Σάμιον τοὔνομα τεθῆναι, ὅτι οἱ ὁ πατὴρ Ἀρχίης ἐν Σάμῳ ἀριστεύσας ἐτελεύτησε. τιμᾶν δὲ Σαμίους ἔφη, διότι ταφῆναί οἱ τὸν πάππον δημοσίῃ ὑπὸ Σαμίων.

56 Λακεδαιμόνιοι δέ, ὡς σφι τεσσεράκοντα ἐγεγόνεσαν ἡμέραι πολιορκέουσι Σάμον ἐς τὸ πρόσω τε οὐδὲν προεκόπτετο τῶν πρηγμάτων, ἀπαλλάσσοντο ἐς Πελοπόννησον. ὡς δὲ ὁ ματαιότερος λόγος ὥρμηται,[3] [λέγεται] Πολυκράτεα ἐπιχώριον νόμισμα κόψαντα πολλὸν μολύβδου καταχρυσώσαντα δοῦναί σφι, τοὺς δὲ δεξαμένους οὕτω δὴ ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι. ταύτην πρώτην στρατιὴν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην Λακεδαιμόνιοι Δωριεῖς ἐποιήσαντο.

57 Οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τὸν Πολυκράτεα στρατευσάμενοι Σαμίων, ἐπεὶ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι αὐτοὺς ἀπολείπειν ἔμελλον, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀπέπλεον ἐς Σίφνον. χρημάτων γὰρ ἐδέοντο, τὰ δὲ τῶν Σιφνίων πρήγματα ἤκμαζε τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον, καὶ νησιωτέων μάλιστα ἐπλούτεον, ἅτε ἐόντων αὐτοῖσι ἐν τῇ νήσῳ χρυσέων καὶ ἀργυρέων μετάλλων, οὕτω ὥστε ἀπὸ τῆς δεκάτης τῶν γινομένων αὐτόθεν χρημάτων θησαυρὸς ἐν Δελφοῖσι ἀνακεῖται ὅμοια τοῖσι πλουσιωτάτοισι·[4] αὐτοὶ δὲ τὰ γινόμενα τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ ἑκάστῳ χρήματα διενέμοντο. ὅτε ὦν ἐποιέοντο τὸν θησαυρόν, ἐχρέωντο τῷ χρηστηρίῳ εἰ αὐτοῖσι τὰ παρεόντα ἀγαθὰ οἷά τε ἐστὶ πολλὸν χρόνον παραμένειν· ἡ δὲ Πυθίη ἔχρησέ σφι τάδε.

ἀλλ' ὅταν ἐν Σίφνῳ πρυτανήια λευκὰ γένηται
λεύκοφρύς τ' ἀγορή, τότε δὴ δεῖ φράδμονος ἀνδρὸς
φράσσασθαι ξύλινόν τε λόχον κήρυκά τ' ἐρυθρόν.[5]

τοῖσι δὲ Σιφνίοισι ἦν τότε ἡ ἀγορὴ καὶ τὸ πρυτανήιον Παρίῳ

58 λίθῳ ἠσκημένα. τοῦτον τὸν χρησμὸν οὐκ οἷοί τε ἦσαν γνῶναι

which, with Limnæ, Mesoa, Kynosura, and Polis (where the temple of Athênê stood), made up Sparta ("the sown ground"). We here have an illustration of the dependence of Herodotos upon tradition, not written records, for earlier Greek history. See ch. 45, note 1.

[3] "As the idle tale goes" (cp. iv. 16; vi. 68, 86; vii. 189; Soph. *Aj.* 197). Nevertheless the story illustrates the general opinion of Greece as to Spartan corruptibility.

[4] Pausanias (x. 11, 2) saw the treasury, but the mines had failed, having been submerged because the Siphnians were too avaricious to continue the payment of tithes to Delphi. Traces of copper and iron were found by Ross in the galleries of the old mines near the chapel of S. Sostis. Lead was also found in the island.

[5] "When the town-hall in Siphnos is white,
And white-browed the market where judgments are said,
A wise man is needed to guard
'Gainst an ambush of wood and a herald in red."

The buildings had been so recently erected that the white marble had not yet been painted.

οὔτε τότε εὐθὺς οὔτε τῶν Σαμίων ἀπιγμένων. ἐπείτε γὰρ τάχιστα πρὸς τὴν Σίφνον προσῖσχον οἱ Σάμιοι, ἔπεμπον τῶν νεῶν μίαν πρέσβεας ἄγουσαν ἐς τὴν πόλιν. τὸ δὲ παλαιὸν ἅπασαι αἱ νέες ἦσαν μιλτηλιφεῖς,[6] καὶ ἦν τοῦτο τὸ ἡ Πυθίη προηγόρευε τοῖσι Σιφνίοισι, φυλάξασθαι τὸν ξύλινον λόχον κελεύουσα καὶ κήρυκα ἐρυθρόν. ἀπικόμενοι ὦν οἱ ἄγγελοι ἐδέοντο τῶν Σιφνίων δέκα τάλαντά σφι χρῆσαι· οὐ φασκόντων δὲ χρήσειν τῶν Σιφνίων αὐτοῖσι, οἱ Σάμιοι τοὺς χώρους αὐτῶν ἐπόρθεον. πυθόμενοι δὲ εὐθὺς ἦκον οἱ Σίφνιοι βοηθέοντες καὶ συμβαλόντες αὐτοῖσι ἐσσώθησαν, καὶ αὐτῶν πολλοὶ ἀπεκληίσθησαν τοῦ ἄστεος ὑπὸ τῶν Σαμίων· καὶ αὐτοὺς μετὰ τάοτα ἑκατὸν τάλαντα ἔπρηξαν. παρὰ δὲ Ἑρμιονέων νῆσον ἀντὶ χρημάτων 59
παρέλαβον Τδρέην τὴν ἐπὶ Πελοποννήσῳ καὶ αὐτὴν Τροιζηνίοισι παρακατέθεντο· αὐτοὶ δὲ Κυδωνίην τὴν ἐν Κρήτῃ ἔκτισαν, οὐκ ἐπὶ τοῦτο πλέοντες ἀλλὰ Ζακυνθίους ἐξελέοντες ἐκ τῆς νήσου. ἔμειναν δ' ἐν ταύτῃ καὶ εὐδαιμόνησαν ἐπ' ἔτεα πέντε, ὥστε τὰ ἱερὰ τὰ ἐν Κυδωνίῃ ἐόντα νῦν οὗτοί εἰσι οἱ ποιήσαντες καὶ τὸν τῆς Δικτύνης νηόν.[7] ἕκτῳ δὲ ἔτει Αἰγινῆται αὐτοὺς ναυμαχίῃ νικήσαντες ἠνδραποδίσαντο μετὰ Κρητῶν, καὶ τῶν νεῶν καπρίους ἐχουσέων τὰς πρώρας ἠκρωτηρίασαν καὶ ἀνέθεσαν ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Ἀθηναίης ἐν Αἰγίνῃ. τάοτα δὲ ἐποίησαν ἔγκοτον ἔχοντες Σαμίοισι Αἰγινῆται· πρότεροι γὰρ Σάμιοι ἐπ' Ἀμφικράτεος βασιλεύοντος ἐν Σάμῳ[8] στρατευσάμενοι ἐπ' Αἴγιναν μεγάλα κακὰ ἐποίησαν Αἰγινήτας καὶ ἔπαθον ὑπ' ἐκείνων. ἡ μὲν αἰτίη 60
αὕτη. ἐμήκυνα δὲ περὶ Σαμίων μᾶλλον, ὅτι σφι τρία ἐστὶ μέγιστα ἁπάντων Ἑλλήνων ἐξεργασμένα, ὄρεός τε ὑψηλοῦ ἐς πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν ὀργυιάς, τούτου ὄρυγμα κάτωθεν ἀρξάμενον,[9] ἀμφίστομον. τὸ μὲν μῆκος τοῦ ὀρύγματος ἑπτὰ στάδιοί εἰσι τὸ δὲ ὕψος καὶ εὖρος ὀκτὼ ἑκάτερον πόδες.[1] διὰ παντὸς δὲ

[6] Comp. Homer's μιλτοπάρηοι (*Il.* ii. 637, *Od.* ix. 125), and φοινικοπάρηοι (*Od.* xi. 124, xxiii. 272). The ships themselves, however, are μέλαιναι.

[7] Kydônia, on the north-western coast of Krete, now represented by Khania or Canea. It had been originally colonised by the Æginetans (Strabo, viii. p. 545). Diktynna, from δίκτυον (or rather δίκτυ) "a hunting-net," was a Kretan epithet of Artemis.

[8] This must have been before the rise of the oligarchy overthrown by Syloson. Samos was colonised by Epidaurians under Proklês. We must not forget, however, that in ch. 52 Periander calls himself "king," not tyrant, of Korinth.

[9] "Through a hill 150 fathoms high,—through this a tunnel, begun from below, with two mouths."

[1] The tunnel, 1385 yards in length, was discovered in 1882 (see Dennis in the *Academy*, Nov. 4, 1882, p. 335). Similar tunnels for carrying off the water of the Kêphissos exist in Bœotia, made perhaps by the Minyans (i. 146, note 8).

αὐτοῦ ἄλλο ὄρυγμα εἰκοσίπηχυ βάθος ὀρώρυκται, τρίπουν δὲ τὸ εὖρος, δι' οὗ τὸ ὕδωρ ὀχετευόμενον διὰ τῶν σωλήνων παραγίνεται ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἀγόμενον ἀπὸ μεγάλης πηγῆς. ἀρχιτέκτων δὲ τοῦ ὀρύγματος τούτου ἐγένετο Μεγαρεὺς Εὐπαλῖνος Ναυστρόφου. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ ἓν τῶν τριῶν ἐστι, δεύτερον δὲ περὶ λιμένα χῶμα ἐν θαλάσσῃ, βάθος καὶ εἴκοσι ὀργυιῶν· μῆκος δὲ τοῦ χώματος μέζον δύο σταδίων. τρίτον δέ σφι ἐξέργασται νηὸς μέγιστος πάντων νηῶν τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν·[2] τοῦ ἀρχιτέκτων πρῶτος ἐγένετο Ῥοῖκος[3] Φιλέω ἐπιχώριος. τούτων εἵνεκεν μᾶλλόν τι περὶ Σαμίων ἐμήκυνα.

61 Καμβύσῃ δὲ τῷ Κύρου χρονίζοντι περὶ Αἴγυπτον καὶ παραφρονήσαντι ἐπανιστέαται ἄνδρες Μάγοι δύο ἀδελφεοί,[4] τῶν τὸν ἕτερον καταλελοίπει τῶν οἰκίων μελεδωνὸν ὁ Καμβύσης. οὗτος δὴ ὦν οἱ ἐπανέστη μαθών τε τὸν Σμέρδιος θάνατον ὡς κρύπτοιτο γενόμενος, καὶ ὡς ὀλίγοι εἴησαν οἱ ἐπιστάμενοι αὐτὸν Περσέων, οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ περιεόντα μιν εἰδείησαν.[5] πρὸς τάδε βουλεύσας τάδε ἐπεχείρησε τοῖσι βασιληίοισι. ἦν οἱ ἀδελφεός, τὸν εἰπά οἱ συνεπαναστῆναι, οἰκὼς μάλιστα τὸ εἶδος Σμέρδι τῷ Κύρου, τὸν ὁ Καμβύσης ἐόντα ἑωυτοῦ ἀδελφεὸν ἀπέκτεινε. ἦν τε δὴ ὅμοιος εἶδος τῷ Σμέρδι καὶ δὴ καὶ οὔνομα τὠυτὸ εἶχε Σμέρδιν.[6] τοῦτον τὸν ἄνδρα ἀναγνώσας[7] ὁ Μάγος Πατιζείθης ὡς οἱ αὐτὸς πάντα

A deep cutting (30 feet high) ending in a tunnel was made by the Greeks of Myrina to convey the water of the Koja Chai to their city (*Academy*, April 9th, 1881, p. 262). A tunnel, 1708 feet long, was driven through the southern part of the temple-hill at Jerusalem by one of the Jewish kings, to bring the water of the Virgin's Spring inside the walls, to the artificial reservoir now called the Pool of Siloam. An inscription states that the workmen began simultaneously at both ends, meeting in the middle.

[2] *i.e.* in Greece. See i. 70, note 2.

[3] Pausanias and Pliny make Rhœkos assist Theodôros of Samos in first casting statues in bronze (see i. 51). Along with Theodôros and Smilis, he built the labyrinth in Lemnos (Plin. *N. H.* xxxvi. 13). The words of Herodotos imply that the temple had been founded before its completion or restoration in the time of Polykratês.

[4] The Behistun Inscription and Ktêsias speak of only one Magos. The inscription calls him Gaumáta (Gomates), and states that he came from the mountain of Arakadris, in the district of Pishiyakhuvadaya (not Pasargadæ, as Oppert asserts). See App. V.

[5] "Took it for granted that he was alive." The continued absence of Kambysês in Egypt had doubtless produced discontent at home.

[6] Not true; the name was Gaumáta. Comp. the Kometes of Trog. Pompeius (Just. i. 9). The Sphendadates of Ktêsias is the Zend title Speñta-dâta, "given to the Holy One." This substitution of a title for the name gives us a clue to many of the names in Ktêsias.

[7] "Having persuaded" (so i. 68, etc.) This causal use of the aorist is confined to Ionic prose (except Antiphon, 117, 11). Patizeithês (called Panzuthês by Diony-

διαπρήξει, εἶσε ἄγων ἐς τὸν βασιλήιον θρόνον. ποιήσας δὲ τοῦτο κήρυκας τῇ τε ἄλλῃ διέπεμπε καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐς Αἴγυπτον προερέοντα τῷ στρατῷ ὡς Σμέρδιος τοῦ Κύρου ἀκουστέα εἴη τοῦ λοιποῦ ἀλλ' οὐ Καμβύσεω. οἵ τε δὴ ὦν ἄλλοι κήρυκες 62
προηγόρευον τάοτα καὶ δὴ καὶ ὁ ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον ταχθείς (εὕρισκε γὰρ Καμβύσεα καὶ τὸν στρατὸν ἐόντα τῆς Συρίης ἐν Ἀγβατάνοισι)[8] προηγόρευε στὰς ἐς μέσον τὰ ἐντεταλμένα ἐκ τοῦ Μάγου. Καμβύσης δὲ ἀκούσας τάοτα ἐκ τοῦ κήρυκος καὶ ἐλπίσας μιν λέγειν ἀληθέα αὐτός τε προδεδόσθαι ἐκ Πρηξάσπεος (πεμφθέντα γὰρ αὐτὸν ὡς ἀποκτενέοντα Σμέρδιν οὐ ποιῆσαι τάοτα), βλέψας ἐς τὸν Πρηξάσπεα εἶπε "Πρήξασπες, οὕτω μοι διεπρήξαο τό τοι προσέθηκα πρῆγμα;" ὁ δὲ εἶπε "ὦ δέσποτα, οὐκ ἔστι τάοτα ἀληθέα, ὅκως κοτὲ σοὶ Σμέρδις ἀδελφεὸς ὁ σὸς ἐπανέστηκε, οὐδὲ ὅκως τι ἐξ ἐκείνου τοῦ ἀνδρὸς νεῖκός τοι ἔσται ἢ μέγα ἢ σμικρόν· ἐγὼ γὰρ αὐτός, ποιήσας τὰ σύ με ἐκέλευες, ἔθαψά μιν χερσὶ τῇσι ἐμεωυτοῦ. εἰ μέν νυν οἱ τεθνεῶτες ἀνεστᾶσι, προσδέκεό τοι καὶ Ἀστυάγεα τὸν Μῆδον ἐπαναστήσεσθαι· εἰ δ' ἔστι ὥσπερ πρὸ τοῦ, οὐ μή τί τοι ἔκ γε ἐκείνου νεώτερον ἀναβλάστῃ. νῦν ὦν μοι δοκεῖ μεταδιώξαντας τὸν κήρυκα ἐξετάζειν εἰρωτέοντας παρ' ὅτεο ἤκων προαγορεύει ἡμῖν Σμέρδιος βασιλέος ἀκούειν." τάοτα 63
εἶπαντος Πρηξάσπεος, ἤρεσε γὰρ Καμβύσῃ, αὐτίκα μεταδίωκτος γενόμενος ὁ κῆρυξ ἦκε· ἀπιγμένον δέ μιν εἴρετο ὁ Πρηξάσπης τάδε. "ὤνθρωπε, φῂς γὰρ ἥκειν παρὰ Σμέρδιος τοῦ Κύρου ἄγγελος· νῦν ὦν εἶπας τὴν ἀληθείην ἄπιθι χαίρων, κότερα αὐτός

sios of Miletos, a writer older than Herodotos), is plainly intended to be the brother.

[8] There was no Agbatana (Hagmatána) in Syria. The name is derived from the legend mentioned in ch. 64. Consequently there is no reason for considering whether Hyde was right in identifying it with Batanæa, the Hebrew Bashan, or Blakesley in making it Hamath, on the ground that Steph. Byz. states that the Syrian Agbatana was also called Epiphania. Stephanos took the name from Herodotos, as did Pliny, who identifies it with the town of Carmel (*N. H.* v. 19). As the herald was sent to Egypt, and Kambysês had as yet no reason for leaving that country, he would naturally be not in Syria, but in Egypt, as is implied in the Behistun Inscription. Both the Babylonian contract-tablets and Manetho make the reign of Kambysês last to at least B.C. 519, i.e. two years after the death of the Magian and the accession of Dareios. See ii. 1, note 1. On the other hand, the inscription of the Persian eunuch Atiuhi, found in Hamamât, makes Dareios reign thirty-six years, which was doubtless the length of reign he himself assumed. Kambysês reigned a little under eight years in Egypt according to the Apis stelæ (Wiedemann, p. 219, who, however, erroneously believes that the reign of Kambysês in *Persia* is referred to). This would bring us to B.C. 517 (if the conquest of Egypt took place in B.C. 525), the year indicated by the Babylonian tablets.

τοι Σμέρδις φαινόμενος ἐς ὄψιν ἐνετέλλετο τάοτα ἢ τῶν τις ἐκείνου ὑπηρετέων." ὁ δὲ εἶπε "ἐγὼ Σμέρδιν μὲν τὸν Κύρου, ἐξ ὅτεο βασιλεὺς Καμβύσης ἤλασε ἐς Αἴγυπτον, οὔκω ὄπωπα· ὁ δέ μοι Μάγος τὸν Καμβύσης ἐπίτροπον τῶν οἰκίων ἀπέδεξε, οὗτος τάοτα ἐνετείλατο, φὰς Σμέρδιν τὸν Κύρου εἶναι τὸν τάοτα ἐπιθέμενον εἶπαι πρὸς ὑμέας." ὁ μὲν δή σφι ἔλεγε οὐδὲν ἐπικατεψευσμένος, Καμβύσης δὲ εἶπε "Πρήξασπες, σὺ μὲν οἷα ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς ποιήσας τὸ κελευόμενον αἰτίην ἐκπέφευγας· ἐμοὶ δὲ τίς ἂν εἴη Περσέων ὁ ἐπανεστεὼς ἐπιβατεύων τοῦ Σμέρδιος οὐνόματος;" ὁ δὲ εἶπε "ἐγώ μοι δοκέω συνιέναι τὸ γεγονὸς τοῦτο, ὦ βασιλεῦ· οἱ Μάγοι εἰσί τοι ἐπανεστεῶτες, τόν τε ἔλιπες μελεδωνὸν τῶν οἰκίων, Πατιζείθης, καὶ ὁ τούτου ἀδελφεὸς
64 Σμέρδις." ἐνθαῦτα ἀκούσαντα Καμβύσεα τὸ Σμέρδιος οὔνομα ἔτυψε ἡ ἀληθείη τῶν τε λόγων καὶ τοῦ ἐνυπνίου· ὃς ἐδόκει ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ ἀπαγγεῖλαί τινά οἱ ὡς Σμέρδις ἱζόμενος ἐς τὸν βασιλήιον θρόνον ψαύσειε τῇ κεφαλῇ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. μαθὼν δὲ ὡς μάτην ἀπολωλεκὼς εἴη τὸν ἀδελφεόν, ἀπέκλαιε Σμέρδιν· ἀποκλαύσας δὲ καὶ περιημεκτήσας τῇ ἁπάσῃ συμφορῇ ἀναθρώσκει ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον, ἐν νόῳ ἔχων τὴν ταχίστην ἐς Σοῦσα στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὸν Μάγον. καί οἱ ἀναθρώσκοντι ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον τοῦ κολεοῦ τοῦ ξίφεος ὁ μύκης ἀποπίπτει, γυμνωθὲν δὲ τὸ ξίφος παίει τὸν μηρόν· τρωματισθεὶς δὲ κατὰ τοῦτο τῇ αὐτὸς πρότερον τὸν τῶν Αἰγυπτίων θεὸν Ἆπιν ἔπληξε,[9] ὥς οἱ καιρίῃ ἔδοξε τετύφθαι, εἴρετο ὁ Καμβύσης ὅ τι τῇ πόλει οὔνομα εἴη· οἱ δὲ εἶπαν ὅτι Ἀγβάτανα. τῷ δὲ ἔτι πρότερον ἐκέχρηστο ἐκ Βουτοῦς πόλιος ἐν Ἀγβατάνοισι τελευτήσειν τὸν βίον. ὁ μὲν δὴ ἐν τοῖσι Μηδικοῖσι Ἀγβατάνοισι ἐδόκει τελευτήσειν γηραιός, ἐν τοῖσί οἱ ἦν τὰ πάντα πρήγματα· τὸ δὲ χρηστήριον ἐν τοῖσι ἐν Συρίῃ Ἀγβατάνοισι ἔλεγε ἄρα. καὶ δὴ ὡς τότε ἐπειρόμενος ἐπύθετο τῆς πόλιος τὸ οὔνομα, ὑπὸ τῆς συμφορῆς τῆς τε ἐκ τοῦ Μάγου ἐκπεπληγμένος καὶ τοῦ τρώματος ἐσωφρόνησε, συλλαβὼν δὲ τὸ θεοπρόπιον εἶπε "ἐνθαῦτα Καμβύσεα τὸν Κύρου ἐστὶ πεπρω-
65 μένον τελευτᾶν." τότε μὲν τοσαῦτα. ἡμέρῃσι δὲ ὕστερον ὡς

[9] As the wounding of the Apis has turned out to be fiction, we are not surprised to find the Behistun Inscription stating that Kambysês committed suicide. According to Ktêsias, he killed himself with a knife with which he was carving wood, and died at Babylon. A Babylonian contract-tablet is dated the 7th day of the 11th year of Kambysês (see preceding note), which goes to show that Ktêsias had documentary evidence for his statement that the reign of Kambysês lasted eighteen years (nineteen according to Clem. Alex. *Strom.* i. p. 395). Josephos (*Ant.* xi. 2) makes Kambysês die at Damascus.

εἴκοσι μεταπεμψάμενος Περσέων τῶν παρεόντων τοὺς λογιμωτάτους ἔλεγέ σφι τάδε. "ὦ Πέρσαι, καταλελάβηκέ με, τὸ πάντων μάλιστα ἔκρυπτον πρηγμάτων, τοῦτο ἐς ὑμέας ἐκφῆναι. ἐγὼ γὰρ ἐὼν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ εἶδον ὄψιν ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ, τὴν μηδαμὰ ὄφελον ἰδεῖν· ἐδόκεον δέ μοι ἄγγελον ἐλθόντα ἐξ οἴκου ἀγγέλλειν ὡς Σμέρδις ἱζόμενος ἐς τὸν βασιλήιον θρόνον ψαύσειε τῇ κεφαλῇ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. δείσας δὲ μὴ ἀπαιρεθέω τὴν ἀρχὴν πρὸς τοῦ ἀδελφεοῦ, ἐποίησα ταχύτερα ἢ σοφώτερα· ἐν τῇ γὰρ ἀνθρωπηίῃ φύσει οὐκ ἐνῆν ἄρα τὸ μέλλον γίνεσθαι ἀποτράπειν. ἐγὼ δὲ ὁ μάταιος Πρηξάσπεα ἀποπέμπω ἐς Σοῦσα ἀποκτενέοντα Σμέρδιν. ἐξεργασθέντος δὲ κακοῦ τοσούτου ἀδεῶς διαιτώμην, οὐδαμὰ ἐπιλεξάμενος μή κοτέ τίς μοι Σμέρδιος ὑπαραιρημένου ἄλλος ἐπανασταίη ἀνθρώπων. παντὸς δὲ τοῦ μέλλοντος ἔσεσθαι ἁμαρτὼν ἀδελφεοκτόνος τε οὐδὲν δέον[1] γέγονα καὶ τῆς βασιληίης οὐδὲν ἧσσον ἐστέρημαι· Σμέρδις γὰρ δὴ ἦν ὁ Μάγος τόν μοι ὁ δαίμων προέφαινε ἐν τῇ ὄψει ἐπαναστήσεσθαι. τὸ μὲν δὴ ἔργον ἐξέργασταί μοι, καὶ Σμέρδιν τὸν Κύρου μηκέτι ὑμῖν ἐόντα λογίζεσθε· οἱ δὲ ὑμῖν Μάγοι κρατέουσι τῶν βασιληίων, τόν τε ἔλιπον ἐπίτροπον τῶν οἰκίων καὶ ὁ ἐκείνου ἀδελφεὸς Σμέρδις. τὸν μέν νυν μάλιστα χρῆν ἐμέο αἰσχρὰ πρὸς τῶν Μάγων πεπονθότος τιμωρεῖν ἐμοί, οὗτος μὲν ἀνοσίῳ μόρῳ τετελεύτηκε ὑπὸ τῶν ἐωυτοῦ οἰκηιοτάτων· τούτου δὲ μηκέτι ἐόντος, δεύτερα τῶν λοιπῶν ὑμῖν ὦ Πέρσαι γίνεταί μοι ἀναγκαιότατον ἐντέλλεσθαι τὰ θέλω μοι γενέσθαι τελευτῶν τὸν βίον. καὶ δὴ ὑμῖν τάδε ἐπισκήπτω θεοὺς τοὺς βασιληίους ἐπικαλέων καὶ πᾶσι ὑμῖν καὶ μάλιστα Ἀχαιμενιδέων τοῖσι παρεοῦσι, μὴ περιδεῖν τὴν ἡγεμονίην αὖτις ἐς Μήδους[2] περιελθοῦσαν, ἀλλ' εἴτε δόλῳ ἔχουσι αὐτὴν κτησάμενοι, δόλῳ ἀπαιρεθῆναι ὑπὸ ὑμέων, εἴτε καὶ σθένεί τεῳ κατεργασάμενοι, σθένει κατὰ τὸ καρτερὸν ἀνασώσασθαι. καὶ τάδε μὲν ποιέουσι ὑμῖν γῆ τε καρπὸν ἐκφέροι καὶ γυναῖκές τε καὶ ποῖμναι τίκτοιεν, ἐοῦσι ἐς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον ἐλευθέροισι·

[1] "Without need," or (less probably) "contrary to right."

[2] Herodotos here supposes the Magian revolt was a Median revolt (see ch. 126). If so, the name of the Persian festival which commemorated its suppression would have been Μηδοφόνια, not Μαγοφόνια (ch. 79). Moreover, Dareios says in the Behistun Inscription: "There was not a man, either Persian or Median or any one of our own family (the Akhæmenids), who would deprive that Gomates the Magian of the crown;" and throughout the inscription the revolt is described as that of the Magians, not of the Medes. On the other hand, Gomates was slain "in a fortress named Siktha'uvatish, in the district of Media called Nisáya," and the Magi were a Median tribe (i. 101). For the Akhæmenids see i. 125, note 3.

μὴ δὲ ἀνασωσαμένοισι τὴν ἀρχὴν μηδ' ἐπιχειρήσασι ἀνασώζειν τὰ ἐναντία τούτοισι ἀρέομαι ὑμῖν γενέσθαι, καὶ πρὸς ἔτι τούτοισι τὸ τέλος Περσέων ἑκάστῳ ἐπιγενέσθαι οἷον ἐμοὶ ἐπιγέγονε." ἅμα τε εἴπας τάοτα ὁ Καμβύσης ἀπέκλαιε πᾶσαν τὴν ἑωυτοῦ πρῆξιν.

66 Πέρσαι δὲ ὡς τὸν βασιλέα εἶδον ἀνακλαύσαντα πάντες τά τε ἐσθῆτος ἐχόμενα εἶχον, τάοτα κατηρείκοντο καὶ οἰμωγῇ ἀφθόνῳ διεχρέωντο. μετὰ δὲ τάοτα ὡς ἐσφακέλισέ τε τὸ ὀστέον καὶ ὁ μηρὸς τάχιστα ἐσάπη, ἀπήνεικε Καμβύσεα τὸν Κύρου, βασιλεύσαντα μὲν τὰ πάντα ἑπτὰ ἔτεα καὶ πέντε μῆνας,[3] ἄπαιδα δὲ τὸ παράπαν ἐόντα ἔρσενος καὶ θήλεος γόνου. Περσέων δὲ τοῖσι παρεοῦσι ἀπιστίη πολλὴ ὑπεκέχυτο τοὺς Μάγους ἔχειν τὰ πρήγματα, ἀλλ' ἠπιστέατο ἐπὶ διαβολῇ εἰπεῖν Καμβύσεα τὰ εἶπε περὶ τοῦ Σμέρδιος θανάτου, ἵνα οἱ ἐκπολεμωθῇ πᾶν τὸ Περσικόν. οὗτοι μέν νυν ἠπιστέατο Σμέρδιν τὸν Κύρου βασιλέα ἐνεστεῶτα. δεινῶς γὰρ καὶ ὁ Πρηξάσπης ἔξαρνος ἦν. μὴ μὲν ἀποκτεῖναι Σμέρδιν· οὐ γὰρ ἦν οἱ ἀσφαλὲς Καμβύσεω τετελευτηκότος φάναι τὸν Κύρου υἱὸν ἀπολωλεκέναι αὐτοχειρίῃ.

67 Ὁ δὲ δὴ Μάγος τελευτήσαντος Καμβύσεω ἀδεῶς ἐβασίλευσε, ἐπιβατεύων τοῦ ὁμωνύμου Σμέρδιος τοῦ Κύρου, μῆνας ἑπτὰ τοὺς ἐπιλοίπους Καμβύσῃ ἐς τὰ ὀκτὼ ἔτεα τῆς πληρώσιος· ἐν τοῖσι ἀπεδέξατο ἐς τοὺς ὑπηκόους πάντας εὐεργεσίας μεγάλας, ὥστε ἀποθανόντος αὐτοῦ πόθον ἔχειν πάντας τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ πάρεξ αὐτῶν Περσέων. διαπέμψας γὰρ ὁ Μάγος ἐς πᾶν ἔθνος τῶν ἦρχε προεῖπε ἀτελείην εἶναι στρατηίης καὶ φόρου ἐπ' ἔτεα τρία.

68 προεῖπε μὲν δὴ τάοτα αὐτίκα ἐνιστάμενος ἐς τὴν ἀρχήν, ὀγδόῳ δὲ μηνὶ ἐγένετο κατάδηλος τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. Ὀτάνης ἦν Φαρνάσπεω μὲν παῖς,[4] γένει δὲ καὶ χρήμασι ὅμοιος τῷ πρώτῳ Περσέων. οὗτος ὁ Ὀτάνης πρῶτος ὑπώπτευσε τὸν Μάγον ὡς οὐκ εἴη ὁ Κύρου Σμέρδις ἀλλ' ὅς περ ἦν, τῇδε συμβαλόμενος, ὅτι τε οὐκ ἐξεφοίτα ἐκ τῆς ἀκροπόλιος[5] καὶ ὅτι οὐκ ἐκάλει ἐς ὄψιν ἑωυτῷ οὐδένα τῶν λογίμων Περσέων· ὑποπτεύσας δέ μιν ἐποίει τάδε. ἔσχε αὐτοῦ Καμβύσης θυγατέρα, τῇ οὔνομα ἦν Φαιδύμη· τὴν

[3] See ii. 1, note 1.

[4] According to the Behistun Inscription, Otanes (Utána) was the son of Thukhra (Sokris). Otanes is not the Onophas of Ktêsias, who is placed at the head of the list of conspirators. Onophas is clearly the Anaphas of Diodôros, who makes him son of Artamnes, son of Smerdis, son of Gallos, son of Pharnakês, king of Kappadokia, who married Atossa the sister of Kambysês I. (Phot. p. 382) (see i. 72, note 3).

[5] Herodotos means the citadel of Susa (chh. 64, 70). Gomates, however, was in Media at Siktha'uvatish (note 2 above).

αὐτὴν δὴ ταύτην εἶχε τότε ὁ Μάγος καὶ ταύτῃ τε συνοίκει καὶ τῇσι ἄλλῃσι πάσῃσι τῇσι τοῦ Καμβύσεω γυναιξί. πέμπων δὴ ὧν ὁ Ὀτάνης παρὰ ταύτην τὴν θυγατέρα ἐπυνθάνετο παρ' ὅτεῳ ἀνθρώπων κοιμῷτο, εἴτε μετὰ Σμέρδιος τοῦ Κύρου εἴτε μετὰ ἄλλου τεο. ἡ δέ οἱ ἀντέπεμπε φαμένη οὐ γινώσκειν· οὔτε γὰρ τὸν Κύρου Σμέρδιν ἰδέσθαι οὐδαμὰ οὔτε ὅστις εἴη ὁ συνοικέων αὐτῇ εἰδέναι. ἔπεμπε δεύτερα ὁ Ὀτάνης λέγων "εἰ μὴ αὐτὴ Σμέρδιν τὸν Κύρου γινώσκεις, σὺ δὲ παρὰ Ἀτόσσης πύθεο ὅτεῳ τούτῳ συνοικεῖ αὐτή τε ἐκείνη καὶ σύ· πάντως γὰρ δή κου τόν γε ἑωυτῆς ἀδελφεὸν γινώσκει." ἀντιπέμπει πρὸς τάοτα ἡ 69
θυγάτηρ "οὔτε Ἀτόσσῃ δύναμαι ἐς λόγους ἐλθεῖν οὔτε ἄλλην οὐδεμίαν ἰδέσθαι τῶν συγκατημενέων γυναικῶν. ἐπείτε γὰρ τάχιστα οὗτος ὤνθρωπος, ὅστις κοτέ ἐστι, παρέλαβε τὴν βασιληίην, διέσπειρε ἡμέας ἄλλην ἄλλῃ τάξας." ἀκούοντι δὲ τάοτα τῷ Ὀτάνῃ μᾶλλον κατεφαίνετο τὸ πρῆγμα. τρίτην δε ἀγγελίην ἐσπέμπει παρ' αὐτὴν λέγουσαν τάοτα. "ὦ θύγατερ, δεῖ σε γεγονυῖαν εὖ κίνδυνον ἀναλαβέσθαι τὸν ἂν ὁ πατὴρ ὑποδύνειν κελεύῃ. εἰ γὰρ δὴ μή ἐστι ὁ Κύρου Σμέρδις ἀλλὰ τὸν καταδοκέω ἐγώ, οὗτοι μιν σοί τε συγκοιμώμενον καὶ τὸ Περσέων κράτος ἔχοντα δεῖ χαίροντα ἀπαλλάσσειν, ἀλλὰ δοῦναι δίκην. νῦν ὦν ποίησον τάδε. ἐπεὰν σοὶ συνεύδῃ καὶ μάθῃς αὐτὸν κατυπνωμένον, ἄφασον αὐτοῦ τὰ ὦτα· καὶ ἢν μὲν φαίνηται ἔχων ὦτα, νόμιζε σεωυτὴν Σμέρδι τῷ Κύρου συνοικεῖν, ἢν δὲ μὴ ἔχων, σὺ δὲ τῷ Μάγῳ Σμέρδι." ἀντιπέμπει πρὸς τάοτα ἡ Φαιδύμη φαμένη κινδυνεύσειν μεγάλως, ἢν ποιῇ τάοτα· ἢν γὰρ δὴ μὴ τυγχάνῃ τὰ ὦτα ἔχων, ἐπίλαμπτος δὲ ἀφάσσουσα ἔσται, εὖ εἰδέναι ὡς ἀϊστώσει μιν· ὅμως μέντοι ποιήσειν τάοτα. ἡ μὲν δὴ ὑπεδέξατο τάοτα τῷ πατρὶ κατεργάσεσθαι· τοῦ δὲ Μάγου τούτου τοῦ Σμέρδιος Κῦρος ὁ Καμβύσεω ἄρχων τὰ ὦτα ἀπέταμε ἐπ' αἰτίῃ δή τινι οὐ σμικρῇ. ἡ ὧν δὴ Φαιδύμη αὕτη, ἡ τοῦ Ὀτάνεω θυγάτηρ, πάντα ἐπιτελέουσα τὰ ὑπεδέξατο τῷ πατρί, ἐπείτε αὐτῆς μέρος ἐγίνετο τῆς ἀπίξιος παρὰ τὸν Μάγον (ἐν περιτροπῇ γὰρ δὴ αἱ γυναῖκες φοιτέουσι τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι), ἐλθοῦσα παρ' αὐτὸν ηὔδε, ὑπνωμένου δὲ καρτερῶς τοῦ Μάγου ἤφασε τὰ ὦτα. μαθοῦσα δὲ οὐ χαλεπῶς[6] ἀλλ' εὐπετέως οὐκ ἔχοντα τὸν ἄνδρα ὦτα, ὡς ἡμέρη τάχιστα ἐγεγόνει, πέμψασα ἐσήμηνε τῷ πατρὶ τὰ γενόμενα.

[6] This looks as if Herodotos wished to correct the statement of some previous historian, perhaps Dionysios of Miletos.

70 Ὁ δὲ Ὀτάνης παραλαβὼν Ἀσπαθίνην[6a] καὶ Γοβρύην[7] Περσέων τε πρώτους ἐόντας καὶ ἑωυτῷ ἐπιτηδεοτάτους ἐς πίστιν, ἀπηγήσατο πᾶν τὸ πρῆγμα· οἱ δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἄρα ὑπώπτευον οὕτω τοῦτο ἔχειν, ἀνενείκαντος δὲ τοῦ Ὀτάνεω τοὺς λόγους ἐδέξαντο. καὶ ἔδοξέ σφι ἕκαστον ἄνδρα Περσέων προσεταιρίσασθαι τοῦτον ὅτεῳ πιστεύει μάλιστα. Ὀτάνης μέν νυν ἐσάγεται Ἰνταφρένεα, Γοβρύης δὲ Μεγάβυζον, Ἀσπαθίνης δὲ Ὑδάρνεα.[8] γεγονότων δὲ τούτων ἐξ παραγίνεται ἐς τὰ Σοῦσα[9] Δαρεῖος ὁ Ὑστάσπεος ἐκ Περσέων ἥκων· τούτων γὰρ δὴ ἦν οἱ ὁ πατὴρ ὕπαρχος. ἐπεὶ ὦν οὗτος ἀπίκετο, τοῖσι ἐξ τῶν Περσέων
71 ἔδοξε καὶ Δαρεῖον προσεταιρίσασθαι.[1] συνελθόντες δὲ οὗτοι ἐόντες ἑπτὰ ἐδίδοσαν σφίσι πίστεις καὶ λόγους. ἐπείτε δὲ ἐς Δαρεῖον ἀπίκετο γνώμην ἀποφαίνεσθαι, ἔλεγέ σφι τάδε. "ἐγὼ τάοτα ἐδόκεον μὲν αὐτὸς μοῦνος ἐπίστασθαι, ὅτι τε ὁ Μάγος εἴη ὁ βασιλεύων καὶ Σμέρδις ὁ Κύρου τετελεύτηκε· καὶ αὐτοῦ τούτου εἵνεκεν ἥκω σπουδῇ ὡς συστήσων ἐπὶ τῷ Μάγῳ θάνατον. ἐπείτε δὲ συνήνεικε ὥστε καὶ ὑμέας εἰδέναι καὶ μὴ μοῦνον ἐμέ, ποιεῖν αὐτίκα μοι δοκεῖ καὶ μὴ ὑπερβάλλεσθαι· οὐ γὰρ ἄμεινον." εἶπε πρὸς τάοτα ὁ Ὀτάνης "ὦ παῖ Ὑστάσπεος, εἰς τε πατρὸς ἀγαθοῦ καὶ ἐκφαίνειν οἴκας σεωυτὸν ἐόντα τοῦ πατρὸς οὐδὲν ἧσσω· τὴν μέντοι ἐπιχείρησιν ταύτην μὴ οὕτω συντάχυνε ἀβούλως, ἀλλ'

[6a] Perhaps Aspachaná, the quiver-bearer or messenger of Dareios, according to the Naksh-i-Rustám Inscription, where a portrait of him is given. According to the Behistun Inscription, the conspirator was not Aspachaná, but Ardumanish, son of Vahuka.

[7] Gobryas (Gaubaruva) the Patiskhorian is joined with Aspachaná at Naksh-i-Rustám as the lance-bearer of Dareios. He may be the general of Kyros who occupied Babylon and reduced Babylonia.

[8] The list given at Behistun is Vidaframá (Ataphernês in Ktêsias, Artaphrenês in Æskhylos, who makes him slay the Magian, *Pers.* 782), the son of Vayaspára; Utána, the son of Thukhra; Gaubaruva, son of Marduniya (Mardonios); Vidarna (Idernês in Ktêsias), son of Bagábigna; Bagábukhsha (Megabyzos), son of Dáduhya; and Ardumanish, son of Vahuka. They were all Persians. Vidarna defeated the Medes during the Median revolt at the beginning of the reign of Dareios. See vii. 135, and for his sons Hydarnês and Sisamnês, vii. 83, 66. His descendants became kings of Armenia down to the time of Alexander the Great (Strab. xi. p. 771). Max Duncker has shown that Ktêsias has given the sons of the comrades of Dareios instead of the conspirators themselves (*Hist. of Antiquity*, Engl. Tr., v. p. 329). His Idernês is the son of Vidarna, the brother of Sisamnês. So we have Mardonios the son of Gobryas, instead of Gobryes, Anaphês or Onophas the son of Otanês (Herod. vii. 62), instead of Otanês. See note 4 above.

[9] A mistake; see note 2 above. In the Behistun Inscription, Hystaspês is satrap of Parthia, not of Persia.

[1] According to Dareios, "no one dared to say anything concerning Gomates the Magian" until he arrived.

ἐπὶ τὸ σωφρονέστερον αὐτὴν λάμβανε· δεῖ γὰρ πλέονας γενομένους οὕτω ἐπιχειρεῖν." λέγει πρὸς τάστα Δαρεῖος "ἄνδρες οἱ παρεόντες, τρόπῳ τῷ εἰρημένῳ ἐξ Ὀτάνεω εἰ χρήσεσθε, ἐπίστασθε ὅτι ἀπολεῖσθε κάκιστα· ἐξοίσει γάρ τις πρὸς τὸν Μάγον, ἰδίῃ περιβαλλόμενος ἐωυτῷ κέρδεα. μάλιστα μέν νυν ὠφείλετε ἐπ' ὑμέων αὐτῶν βαλλόμενοι ποιεῖν τάστα· ἐπείτε δὲ ὑμῖν ἀναφέρειν ἐς πλέονας ἐδόκει καὶ ἐμοὶ ὑπερέθεσθε, ἢ ποιέομεν σήμερον ἢ ἴστε ὑμῖν ὅτι, ἢν ὑπερπέσῃ ἡ νῦν ἡμέρη, ὡς οὐκ ἄλλος φθὰς ἐμέο κατήγορος ἔσται, ἀλλά σφεα[2] αὐτὸς ἐγὼ κατερέω πρὸς τὸν Μάγον." λέγει πρὸς τάστα Ὀτάνης, ἐπειδὴ ὥρα σπερχόμενον 72
Δαρεῖον "ἐπείτε ἡμέας συνταχύνειν ἀναγκάζεις καὶ ὑπερβάλλεσθαι οὐκ ἐᾷς, ἴθι ἐξηγέο αὐτὸς ὅτεῳ τρόπῳ πάριμεν ἐς τὰ βασιλήια καὶ ἐπιχειρήσομεν αὐτοῖσι. φυλακὰς γὰρ δὴ διεστεώσας οἶδάς κου καὶ αὐτός, εἰ μὴ ἰδών, ἀλλ' ἀκούσας· τὰς τέῳ τρόπῳ περήσομεν;" ἀμείβεται Δαρεῖος τοῖσιδε. "Ὀτάνη, ἦ πολλά ἐστι τὰ λόγῳ μὲν οὐκ οἷά τε δηλῶσαι, ἔργῳ δέ· ἄλλα δ' ἐστὶ τὰ λόγῳ μὲν οἷά τε, ἔργον δὲ οὐδὲν ἀπ' αὐτῶν λαμπρὸν γίνεται. ὑμεῖς δὲ ἴστε φυλακὰς τὰς κατεστεώσας ἐούσας οὐδὲν χαλεπὰς παρελθεῖν. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ ἡμέων ἐόντων τοίων οὐδεὶς ὅστις οὐ παρήσει, τὰ μέν κου καταιδεόμενος ἡμέας, τὰ δέ κου καὶ δειμαίνων· τοῦτο δὲ ἔχω αὐτὸς σκῆψιν εὐπρεπεστάτην τῇ πάριμεν, φὰς ἄρτι τε ἥκειν ἐκ Περσέων καὶ βούλεσθαί τι ἔπος παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς σημῆναι τῷ βασιλέι. ἔνθα γάρ τι δεῖ ψεῦδος λέγεσθαι, λεγέσθω. τοῦ γὰρ αὐτοῦ γλιχόμεθα οἵ τε ψευδόμενοι καὶ οἱ τῇ ἀληθείῃ διαχρεώμενοι· οἱ μέν γε ψεύδονται τότε ἐπεάν τι μέλλωσι τοῖσι ψεύδεσι πείσαντες κερδήσεσθαι, οἱ δ' ἀληθίζονται ἵνα τῇ ἀληθείῃ ἐπισπάσωνται κέρδος καί τι μᾶλλόν σφι ἐπιτράπηται. οὕτω οὐ ταὐτὰ ἀσκέοντες τὠυτοῦ περιεχόμεθα. εἰ δὲ μηδὲν κερδήσεσθαι μέλλοιεν, ὁμοίως ἂν ὅ τε ἀληθιζόμενος ψευδὴς εἴη καὶ ὁ ψευδόμενος ἀληθής.[3] ὃς ἂν μέν νυν τῶν πυλουρῶν ἑκὼν παρίῃ, αὐτῷ οἱ ἄμεινον ἐς χρόνον ἔσται· ὃς δ' ἂν ἀντιβαίνειν πειρᾶται, δεικνύσθω ἐνθαῦτα ἐὼν πολέμιος, καὶ ἔπειτα ὡσάμενοι ἔσω ἔργου ἐχώμεθα." λέγει Γοβρύης μετὰ τάστα "ἄνδρες φίλοι, 73
ἡμῖν κότε κάλλιον παρέξει ἀνασώσασθαι τὴν ἀρχήν, ἢ εἴ γε μὴ

[2] "It all." Several MSS. read σφέας, "you," as in *Il.* x. 398. The neuter σφεα first in Herodotos.

[3] This casuistry is Greek, not Persian. Throughout the Behistun Inscription *lies* are denounced as the greatest of crimes. The Magian revolt is itself a lie. The permissibility of a lie under compulsion was, however, a subject of discussion among the Athenians of the age of Herodotos. See Æskh. *Fr.* 294; Soph. *Fr.* 325.

οἱοί τε ἐσόμεθα αὐτὴν ἀναλαβεῖν ἀποθανεῖν; ὅτε γε ἀρχόμεθα μὲν ἐόντες Πέρσαι ὑπὸ Μήδου ἀνδρὸς Μάγου, καὶ τούτου ὦτα οὐκ ἔχοντος. ὅσοι τε ὑμέων Καμβύσῃ νοσέοντι παρεγένοντο, πάντως κου μέμνησθε τὰ ἐπέσκηψε Πέρσῃσι τελευτῶν τὸν βίον μὴ πειρωμένοισι ἀνακτᾶσθαι τὴν ἀρχήν· τὰ τότε οὐκ ἐνεδεκόμεθα, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ διαβολῇ ἐδοκέομεν εἰπεῖν Καμβύσεα. νῦν ὦν τίθεμαι ψῆφον πείθεσθαι Δαρείῳ καὶ μὴ διαλύεσθαι ἐκ τοῦ συλλόγου τοῦδε ἄλλοθι ἰόντας ἢ ἐπὶ τὸν Μάγον ἰθέως." τάδε εἶπε Γοβρύης καὶ πάντες ταύτῃ αἶνεον.

74 Ἐν ᾧ δὲ οὗτοι τάδε ἐβουλεύοντο, ἐγίνετο κατὰ συντυχίην τάδε. τοῖσι Μάγοισι ἔδοξε βουλευομένοισι Πρηξάσπεα φίλον προσθέσθαι,[4] ὅτι τε ἐπεπόνθει πρὸς Καμβύσεω ἀνάρσια, ὃς οἱ τὸν παῖδα τοξεύσας ἀπολωλέκει, καὶ διότι μοῦνος ἠπίστατο τὸν Σμέρδιος τοῦ Κύρου θάνατον αὐτοχειρίῃ μιν ἀπολέσας, πρὸς δ' ἔτι ἐόντα ἐν αἴνῃ μεγίστῃ τὸν Πρηξάσπεα ἐν Πέρσῃσι. τούτων δή μιν εἵνεκεν καλέσαντες φίλον προσεκτῶντο πίστισί τε λαβόντες καὶ ὁρκίοισι, ἢ μὲν ἔξειν παρ' ἑωυτῷ μηδ' ἐξοίσειν μηδενὶ ἀνθρώπων τὴν ἀπὸ σφέων ἀπάτην ἐς Πέρσας γεγονυῖαν, ὑπισχνεόμενοι τὰ πάντα οἱ μυρία δώσειν. ὑποσχομένου δὲ τοῦ Πρηξάσπεος ποιήσειν τάδε, ὡς ἀνέπεισάν μιν οἱ Μάγοι, δεύτερα προσέφερον, αὐτοὶ μὲν φάμενοι Πέρσας πάντας συγκαλεῖν ὑπὸ τὸ βασιλήιον τεῖχος, κεῖνον δ' ἐκέλευον ἀναβάντα ἐπὶ πύργον ἀγορεῦσαι ὡς ὑπὸ τοῦ Κύρου Σμέρδιος ἄρχονται καὶ ὑπ' οὐδενὸς ἄλλου. τάδε δὲ οὕτω ἐνετέλλοντο ὡς πιστοτάτου δὴθεν ἐόντος αὐτοῦ ἐν Πέρσῃσι, καὶ πολλάκις ἀποδεξαμένου γνώμην ὡς περιείη ὁ Κύρου
75 Σμέρδις, καὶ ἐξαρνησαμένου τὸν φόνον αὐτοῦ. φαμένου δὲ καὶ τάδε ἑτοίμου εἶναι ποιεῖν τοῦ Πρηξάσπεος, συγκαλέσαντες Πέρσας οἱ Μάγοι ἀνεβίβασαν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ πύργον καὶ ἀγορεύειν ἐκέλευον. ὁ δὲ τῶν μὲν δὴ ἐκείνοι προσεδέοντο αὐτοῦ, τούτων μὲν ἐκὼν ἐπελήθετο, ἀρξάμενος δὲ ἀπ' Ἀχαιμένεος ἐγενεηλόγησε τὴν πατριὴν τὴν Κύρου, μετὰ δὲ ὡς ἐς τοῦτον κατέβη τελευτῶν ἔλεγε ὅσα ἀγαθὰ Κῦρος Πέρσας πεποιήκοι, διεξελθὼν δὲ τάδε ἐξέφαινε τὴν ἀληθείην, φάμενος πρότερον μὲν κρύπτειν (οὐ γάρ οἱ εἶναι ἀσφαλὲς λέγειν τὰ γενόμενα), ἐν δὲ τῷ παρεόντι ἀναγκαίην

[4] It is clear from this that Herodotos considered Prexaspês to have returned to Persia after the death of Kambysês (chh. 63-66). Hence he placed the death of the latter during the usurpation of Gomates, B.C. 522. This is now rendered doubtful (ch. 62, note 8). Stein remarks: "There were plainly three traditions respecting the discovery of the Magos. According to one it was made by Dareios himself (ch. 71), according to another by Otanês and his daughters, according to a third by Prexaspês. Herodotos has combined all three."

μιν καταλαμβάνειν φαίνειν. καὶ δὴ ἔλεγε τὸν μὲν Κύρου Σμέρδιν ὡς αὐτὸς ὑπὸ Καμβύσεω ἀναγκαζόμενος ἀποκτείνειε, τοὺς Μάγους δὲ βασιλεύειν. Πέρσῃσι δὲ πολλὰ ἐπαρησάμενος εἰ μὴ ἀνακτησαίατο ὀπίσω τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ τοὺς Μάγους τισαίατο, ἀπῆκε ἑωυτὸν ἐπὶ κεφαλὴν φέρεσθαι ἀπὸ τοῦ πύργου κάτω. Πρηξάσπης μέν νυν ἐὼν τὸν πάντα χρόνον ἀνὴρ δόκιμος οὕτω ἐτελεύτησε.[5]

Οἱ δὲ δὴ ἑπτὰ τῶν Περσέων ὡς ἐβουλεύσαντο αὐτίκα ἐπι- 76
χειρεῖν τοῖσι Μάγοισι καὶ μὴ ὑπερβάλλεσθαι, ἤισαν εὐξάμενοι τοῖσι θεοῖσι, τῶν περὶ Πρηξάσπεα πρηχθέντων εἰδότες οὐδέν.[6] ἔν τε δὴ τῇ ὁδῷ μέσῃ στείχοντες ἐγίνοντο καὶ τὰ περὶ Πρηξάσπεα γεγονότα ἐπυνθάνοντο. ἐνθαῦτα ἑκστάντες τῆς ὁδοῦ ἐδίδοσαν αὖτις σφίσι λόγους, οἱ μὲν ἀμφὶ τὸν Ὀτάνην πάγχυ κελεύοντες ὑπερβαλέσθαι μηδὲ οἰδεόντων τῶν πρηγμάτων ἐπιτίθεσθαι, οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ τὸν Δαρεῖον αὐτίκα τε ἰέναι καὶ τὰ δεδογμένα ποιεῖν μηδὲ ὑπερβάλλεσθαι. ὠθιζομένων δ' αὐτῶν ἐφάνη ἰρήκων ἑπτά ζεύγεα δύο αἰγυπιῶν ζεύγεα διώκοντα καὶ τίλλοντά τε καὶ ἀμύσσοντα. ἰδόντες δὲ τάοτα οἱ ἑπτὰ τήν τε Δαρείου πάντες αἴνεον γνώμην καὶ ἔπειτα ἤισαν ἐπὶ τὰ βασιλήια τεθαρσηκότες τοῖσι ὄρνισι. ἐπιστᾶσι δὲ ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας ἐγίνετο οἷόν τι Δαρείῳ 77
ἡ γνώμη ἔφερε· καταιδεόμενοι γὰρ οἱ φύλακοι ἄνδρας τοὺς Περσέων πρώτους καὶ οὐδὲν τοιοῦτο ὑποπτεύοντες ἐξ αὐτῶν ἔσεσθαι, παρίεσαν θείῃ πομπῇ χρεωμένους,[7] οὐδ' ἐπειρώτα οὐδείς. ἐπείτε δὲ καὶ παρῆλθον ἐς τὴν αὐλήν, ἐνέκυρσαν τοῖσι τὰς ἀγγελίας ἐσφέρουσι εὐνούχοισι· οἵ σφεας ἱστόρεον ὅ τι θέλοντες ἥκοιεν, καὶ ἅμα ἱστορέοντες τούτους τοῖσι πυλουροῖσι ἀπείλεον ὅτι σφέας παρῆκαν, ἰσχόν τε βουλομένους τοὺς ἑπτὰ ἐς τὸ πρόσω παριέναι. οἱ δὲ διακελευσάμενοι καὶ σπασάμενοι τὰ ἐγχειρίδια τούτους μὲν τοὺς ἴσχοντας αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ συγκεντέουσι, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἤισαν δρόμῳ ἐς τὸν ἀνδρεῶνα. οἱ δὲ Μάγοι ἔτυχον ἀμφότεροι 78

[5] Ktêsias tells the story of Ixabatês or Izabatês, one of the chief eunuchs, who, however, had not been the murderer of Bardes, and who was put to death by the Magi after being dragged from a temple in which he had taken refuge. Dareios says (at Behistun) that Gomates slew many people who had known the old Bardes, lest the deception should be discovered.

[6] The death of the Magian happened on the 10th of the month Bâgayâdish, which Oppert makes the 2d of April. According to Ktêsias the conspirators were admitted into the palace by Bagapatês, who kept the keys. The Magian was sleeping with a concubine, a Babylonian, and defended himself for a while with the golden leg of a chair he had broken off, no assistant being present.

[7] Dareios says that what he did was done by the help of Ormazd, to whom he had prayed.

τηνικαῦτα ἐόντες τε ἔσω καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ Πρηξάσπεος γενόμενα ἐν βουλῇ ἔχοντες. ἐπεὶ ὦν εἶδον τοὺς εὐνούχους τεθορυβημένους τε καὶ βοῶντας, ἀνά τε ἔδραμον πάλιν ἀμφότεροι καὶ ὡς ἔμαθον τὸ ποιεόμενον πρὸς ἀλκὴν ἐτράποντο. ὁ μὲν δὴ αὐτῶν φθάνει τὰ τόξα κατελόμενος, ὁ δὲ πρὸς τὴν αἰχμὴν ἐτράπετο. ἐνθαῦτα δὴ συνέμισγον ἀλλήλοισι. τῷ μὲν δὴ τὰ τόξα ἀναλαβόντι αὐτῶν, ἐόντων τε ἀγχοῦ τῶν πολεμίων καὶ προσκειμένων, ἦν χρηστὰ οὐδέν· ὁ δ' ἕτερος τῇ αἰχμῇ ἠμύνετο καὶ τοῦτο μὲν Ἀσπαθίνην παίει ἐς τὸν μηρόν, τοῦτο δὲ Ἰνταφρένεα ἐς τὸν ὀφθαλμόν· καὶ ἐστερήθη μὲν τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ ἐκ τοῦ τρώματος ὁ Ἰνταφρένης, οὐ μέντοι ἀπέθανέ γε. τῶν μὲν δὴ Μάγων οὗτος τρωματίζει τούτους· ὁ δὲ ἕτερος, ἐπείτε οἱ τὰ τόξα οὐδὲν χρηστὰ ἐγίνετο, ἦν γὰρ δὴ θάλαμος ἐσέχων ἐς τὸν ἀνδρεῶνα, ἐς τοῦτον καταφεύγει, θέλων αὐτοῦ προσθεῖναι τὰς θύρας, καί οἱ συνεσπίπτουσι τῶν ἑπτὰ δύο, Δαρεῖός τε καὶ Γοβρύης. συμπλακέντος δὲ Γοβρύῳ τῷ Μάγῳ ὁ Δαρεῖος ἐπεστεὼς ἠπόρει οἷα ἐν σκότει,[8] προμηθεόμενος μὴ πλήξῃ τὸν Γοβρύην. ὁρέων δέ μιν ἀργὸν ἐπεστεῶτα ὁ Γοβρύης εἴρετο ὅ τι οὐ χρᾶται τῇ χειρί· ὁ δὲ εἶπε "προμηθεόμενος σέο, μὴ πλήξω." Γοβρύης δὲ ἀμείβετο "ὦθει τὸ ξίφος καὶ δι' ἀμφοτέρων." Δαρεῖος δὲ πειθόμενος ὡσέ τε τὸ
79 ἐγχειρίδιον καὶ ἔτυχέ κως τοῦ Μάγου. ἀποκτείναντες δὲ τοὺς Μάγους καὶ ἀποταμόντες αὐτῶν τὰς κεφαλάς, τοὺς μὲν τρωματίας ἑωυτῶν αὐτοῦ λείπουσι καὶ ἀδυνασίης εἵνεκεν καὶ φυλακῆς τῆς ἀκροπόλιος, οἱ δὲ πέντε αὐτῶν ἔχοντες τῶν Μάγων τὰς κεφαλὰς ἔθεον βοῇ τε καὶ πατάγῳ χρεώμενοι, καὶ Πέρσας τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπεκαλέοντο ἐξηγεόμενοί τε τὸ πρῆγμα καὶ δεικνύοντες τὰς κεφαλάς, καὶ ἅμα ἔκτεινον πάντα τινὰ τῶν Μάγων τὸν ἐν ποσὶ γινόμενον. οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι μαθόντες τὸ γεγονὸς ἐκ τῶν ἑπτὰ καὶ τῶν Μάγων τὴν ἀπάτην, ἐδικαίουν καὶ αὐτοὶ ἕτερα τοιαῦτα ποιεῖν, σπασάμενοι δὲ τὰ ἐγχειρίδια ἔκτεινον ὅκου τινὰ Μάγον εὕρισκον· εἰ δὲ μὴ νὺξ ἐπελθοῦσα ἔσχε, ἔλιπον ἂν οὐδένα Μάγον. ταύτην τὴν ἡμέρην θεραπεύουσι Πέρσαι κοινῇ μάλιστα τῶν ἡμερέων, καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ ὁρτὴν μεγάλην ἀνάγουσι, ἣ κέκληται ὑπὸ Περσέων μαγοφόνια·[9] ἐν τῇ Μάγον οὐδένα ἔξεστι φανῆναι ἐς τὸ φῶς, ἀλλὰ κατ' οἴκους ἑωυτοὺς οἱ Μάγοι ἔχουσι τὴν ἡμέρην ταύτην.

80 Ἐπείτε δὲ κατέστη ὁ θόρυβος καὶ ἑκτὸς πέντε ἡμερέων[1]

[8] Light being excluded on account of the heat.

[9] See ch. 65, note 2. Tournier (*Rev. de Phil.*, 1877) would without sufficient reason expunge the clause.

[1] "Over five days." According to

ἐγένετο, ἐβουλεύοντο οἱ ἐπαναστάντες τοῖσι Μάγοισι περὶ τῶν πάντων πρηγμάτων καὶ ἐλέχθησαν λόγοι ἄπιστοι μὲν ἐνίοισι Ἑλλήνων, ἐλέχθησαν δ' ὦν.[2] Ὀτάνης μὲν ἐκέλευε ἐς μέσον Πέρσῃσι καταθεῖναι τὰ πρήγματα, λέγων τάδε. "ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ ἕνα μὲν ἡμέων μούναρχον μηκέτι γενέσθαι· οὔτε γὰρ ἡδὺ οὔτε ἀγαθόν. εἴδετε μὲν γὰρ τὴν Καμβύσεω ὕβριν ἐπ' ὅσον ἐπεξῆλθε, μετεσχήκατε δὲ καὶ τῆς τοῦ Μάγου ὕβριος. κῶς δ' ἂν εἴη χρῆμα κατηρτημένον μουναρχίη,[3] τῇ ἔξεστι ἀνευθύνῳ ποιεῖν τὰ βούλεται; καὶ γὰρ ἂν τὸν ἄριστον ἀνδρῶν πάντων στάντα ἐς ταύτην ἐκτὸς τῶν ἐωθότων νοημάτων στήσειε. ἐγγίνεται μὲν γάρ οἱ ὕβρις ὑπὸ τῶν παρεόντων ἀγαθῶν, φθόνος δὲ ἀρχῆθεν ἐμφύεται ἀνθρώπῳ. δύο δ' ἔχων τάοτα ἔχει πᾶσαν κακότητα· τὰ μὲν γὰρ ὕβρει κεκορημένος ἔρδει πολλὰ καὶ ἀτάσθαλα, τὰ δὲ φθόνῳ. καίτοι ἄνδρα γε τύραννον ἄφθονον ἔδει εἶναι, ἔχοντά γε πάντα τὰ ἀγαθά. τὸ δὲ ὑπεναντίον τούτου ἐς τοὺς πολιήτας πέφυκε· φθονεῖ γὰρ τοῖσι ἀρίστοισι περιεοῦσί τε καὶ ζώουσι, χαίρει δὲ τοῖσι κακίστοισι τῶν ἀστῶν, διαβολὰς δὲ ἄριστος ἐνδέκεσθαι. ἀναρμοστότατον δὲ πάντων· ἢν τε γὰρ αὐτὸν μετρίως θωυμάζῃς, ἄχθεται ὅτι οὐ κάρτα θεραπεύεται, ἢν τε θεραπεύῃ τις κάρτα, ἄχθεται ἅτε θωπί. τὰ δὲ δὴ μέγιστα ἔρχομαι ἐρέων· νόμαιά τε κινεῖ πάτρια καὶ βιᾶται γυναῖκας κτείνει τε ἀκρίτους. πλῆθος δὲ ἄρχον πρῶτα μὲν οὔνομα πάντων κάλλιστον ἔχει, ἰσονομίην,[4] δεύτερα δὲ τούτων τῶν ὁ μούναρχος ποιεῖ οὐδέν· πάλῳ μὲν ἀρχὰς ἄρχει, ὑπεύθυνον δὲ ἀρχὴν ἔχει, βουλεύματα δὲ πάντα ἐς τὸ κοινὸν ἀναφέρει. τίθεμαι ὦν γνώμην μετέντας ἡμέας μουναρχίην τὸ πλῆθος ἀέξειν· ἐν γὰρ τῷ πολλῷ ἔνι τὰ πάντα."

Ὀτάνης μὲν δὴ ταύτην γνώμην ἐσέφερε· Μεγάβυζος δὲ 81

Sext. Empeir. (*adv. Rhet.* 33), it was a custom of the Persian nobles to remain without a government for five days after the king's death.

[2] The Greek readers of Herodotos displayed a wise incredulity, since the sentiments expressed were those of Greeks, not of Persians. The Behistun Inscription implies that Dareios succeeded to the throne by right of birth; the overthrow of the Magian usurper being the signal for the assertion of Persian and Zorosstrian supremacy, and the restoration of the family of Dareios to power (see App. V.) Herodotos does not tell us how he knew that these speeches were spoken although he had not travelled in Persia, and was unacquainted with the Persian language. The incredulity of "the Greeks" about the matter is referred to in vi. 43, and we may gather from the two passages that the copy of the text of Herodotos which we now have is a revised edition of his work, which he brought out shortly before his death.

[3] "How can single rule be a well-adjusted thing." Contrast *Il.* ii. 204-5; also Eurip. *Fr.* 8; and Arist. *Pol.* iii. 15.

[4] "Equality of rights."

ὀλιγαρχίῃ ἐκέλευε ἐπιτράπειν, λέγων τάδε. "τὰ μὲν Ὀτάνης εἶπε τυραννίδα παύων, λελέχθω κἀμοὶ τάοτα, τὰ δ' ἐς τὸ πλῆθος ἄνωγε φέρειν τὸ κράτος, γνώμης τῆς ἀρίστης ἡμάρτηκε· ὁμίλου γὰρ ἀχρηίου οὐδέν ἐστι ἀσυνετώτερον οὐδὲ ὑβριστότερον. καὶ τυράννου ὕβριν φεύγοντας ἄνδρας ἐς δήμου ἀκολάστου ὕβριν πεσεῖν ἐστὶ οὐδαμῶς ἀνασχετόν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ εἴ τι ποιεῖ, γινώσκων ποιεῖ, τῷ δὲ οὐδὲ γινώσκειν ἔνι· κῶς γὰρ ἂν γινώσκοι ὃς οὔτ' ἐδιδάχθη οὔτε εἶδε καλὸν οὐδὲν [οὐδ'] οἰκήιον,[5] ὠθεῖ τε ἐμπεσὼν τὰ πρήγματα ἄνευ νόου, χειμάρρῳ ποταμῷ εἴκελος; δήμῳ μέν νυν, οἳ Πέρσῃσι κακὸν νοέουσι, οὗτοι χράσθων, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀνδρῶν τῶν ἀρίστων ἐπιλέξαντες ὁμιλίην τούτοισι περιθέωμεν τὸ κράτος· ἐν γὰρ δή τούτοισι καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐνεσόμεθα· ἀρίστων δὲ ἀνδρῶν οἰκὸς ἄριστα βουλεύματα γίνεσθαι."

82 Μεγάβυζος μὲν δὴ ταύτην γνώμην ἐσέφερε· τρίτος δὲ Δαρεῖος ἀπεδείκνυτο γνώμην, λέγων "ἐμοὶ δὲ τὰ μὲν εἶπε Μεγάβυζος ἐς τὸ πλῆθος ἔχοντα δοκεῖ ὀρθῶς λέξαι, τὰ δὲ ἐς ὀλιγαρχίην οὐκ ὀρθῶς. τριῶν γὰρ προκειμένων καὶ πάντων τῷ λόγῳ ἀρίστων ἐόντων, δήμου τε ἀρίστου καὶ ὀλιγαρχίης καὶ μουνάρχου, πολλῷ τοῦτο προέχειν λέγω. ἀνδρὸς γὰρ ἑνὸς τοῦ ἀρίστου οὐδὲν ἄμεινον ἂν φανείη· γνώμῃ γὰρ τοιαύτῃ χρεώμενος ἐπιτροπεύοι ἂν ἀμωμήτως τοῦ πλήθεος, σιγῷτό τε ἂν βουλεύματα ἐπὶ δυσμενέας ἄνδρας οὕτω μάλιστα. ἐν δὲ ὀλιγαρχίῃ πολλοῖσι ἀρετὴν ἐπασκέουσι ἐς τὸ κοινὸν ἔχθεα ἴδια ἴσχυρὰ φιλεῖ ἐγγίνεσθαι·[6] αὐτὸς γὰρ ἕκαστος βουλόμενος κορυφαῖος εἶναι γνώμῃσί τε νικᾶν ἐς ἔχθεα μεγάλα ἀλλήλοισι ἀπικνέονται, ἐξ ὧν στάσιες ἐγγίνονται, ἐκ δὲ τῶν στασίων φόνος· ἐκ δὲ τοῦ φόνου ἀπέβη ἐς μουναρχίην, καὶ ἐν τούτῳ διέδεξε ὅσῳ ἐστὶ τοῦτο ἄριστον. δήμου τε αὖ ἄρχοντος ἀδύνατα μὴ οὐ κακότητα ἐγγίνεσθαι· κακότητος τοίνυν ἐγγινομένης ἐς τὰ κοινὰ ἔχθεα μὲν οὐκ ἐγγίνεται τοῖσι κακοῖσι, φιλίαι δὲ ἰσχυραί· οἱ γὰρ κακοῦντες τὰ κοινὰ συγκύψαντες[7] ποιέουσι. τοῦτο δὲ τοιούτο γίνεται ἐς ὃ ἂν προστάς τις τοῦ δήμου τοὺς τοιούτους παύσῃ. ἐκ δὲ αὐτῶν θωυμάζεται οὗτος δὴ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου, θωυμαζόμενος δὲ ἀν' ὧν ἐφάνη μούναρχος ἐών. καὶ ἐν τούτῳ δηλοῖ καὶ οὗτος ὡς ἡ

[5] Omitting οὐδ' with Valckenaer, "nothing honourable in what belongs to it"; with οὐδ', "or fitting." ὠθ. etc., "it pushes matters on violently." Cp. *Il.* xiii. 138, xxi. 241.

[6] "Violent private quarrels are apt to arise in a body which (collectively) governs the commonwealth wisely and well."

[7] "Laying their heads together;" so vii. 145. Allusion is made to the political clubs.

μουναρχίη κράτιστον. ἐνὶ δὲ ἔπει πάντα συλλαβόντα εἰπεῖν, κόθεν ἡμῖν ἡ ἐλευθερίη ἐγένετο καὶ τέο δόντος; κότερα παρὰ τοῦ δήμου ἢ ὀλιγαρχίης ἢ μουνάρχου; ἔχω τοίνυν γνώμην ἡμέας ἐλευθερωθέντας διὰ ἕνα ἄνδρα τὸ τοιοῦτο περιστέλλειν, χωρίς τε τούτου πατρίους νόμους μὴ λύειν ἔχοντας εὖ· οὐ γὰρ ἄμεινον."

Γνῶμαι μὲν δὴ τρεῖς αὗται προεκέατο, οἱ δὲ τέσσερες τῶν 83
ἑπτὰ ἀνδρῶν προσέθεντο ταύτῃ. ὡς δὲ ἐσσώθη τῇ γνώμῃ ὁ Ὀτάνης Πέρσῃσι ἰσονομίην σπεύδων ποιῆσαι, ἔλεξε ἐς μέσον αὐτοῖσι τάδε. "ἄνδρες στασιῶται, δῆλα γὰρ δὴ ὅτι δεῖ ἕνα γε τινὰ ἡμέων βασιλέα γενέσθαι, ἤτοι κλήρῳ γε λαχόντα, ἢ ἐπιτρεψάντων τῷ Περσέων πλήθει τὸν ἂν ἐκεῖνο ἕληται, ἢ ἄλλῃ τινὶ μηχανῇ· ἐγὼ μέν νυν ὑμῖν οὐκ ἐναγωνιέομαι. οὔτε γὰρ ἄρχειν οὔτε ἄρχεσθαι ἐθέλω· ἐπὶ τούτῳ δὲ ὑπεξίσταμαι τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἐπ' ᾧ τε ὑπ' οὐδενὸς ὑμέων ἄρξομαι, οὔτε αὐτὸς ἐγὼ οὔτε οἱ ἀπ' ἐμέο αἰεὶ γινόμενοι." τούτου εἴπαντος τάοτα ὡς συνεχώρεον οἱ ἐξ ἐπὶ τούτοισι, οὗτος μὲν δή σφι οὐκ ἐνηγωνίζετο ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ μέσου κατῆστο, καὶ νῦν αὕτη ἡ οἰκίη διατελεῖ μούνη ἐλευθέρη ἐοῦσα Περσέων καὶ ἄρχεται τοσαῦτα ὅσα αὐτὴ θέλει, νόμους οὐκ ὑπερβαίνουσα τοὺς Περσέων.[8] οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ τῶν 84
ἑπτὰ ἐβουλεύοντο ὡς βασιλέα δικαιότατα στήσονται· καὶ σφι ἔδοξε Ὀτάνῃ μὲν καὶ τοῖσι ἀπὸ Ὀτάνεω αἰεὶ γινομένοισι, ἢν ἐς ἄλλον τινὰ τῶν ἑπτὰ ἔλθῃ ἡ βασιληίη, ἐξαίρετα δίδοσθαι ἐσθῆτά τε Μηδικὴν ἔτεος ἑκάστου καὶ τὴν πᾶσαν δωρεὴν ἣ γίνεται ἐν Πέρσῃσι τιμιωτάτη. τοῦδε δὲ εἵνεκεν ἐβούλευσάν οἱ δίδοσθαι τάοτα, ὅτι ἐβούλευσέ τε πρῶτος τὸ πρῆγμα καὶ συνέστησε αὐτούς. τάοτα μὲν δὴ Ὀτάνῃ ἐξαίρετα· τάδε δὲ ἐς τὸ κοινὸν ἐβούλευσαν, παριέναι ἐς τὰ βασιλήια πάντα τὸν βουλόμενον τῶν ἑπτὰ ἄνευ ἐσαγγελέος, ἢν μὴ τυγχάνῃ εὕδων μετὰ γυναικὸς βασιλεύς, γαμεῖν δὲ μὴ ἐξεῖναι ἄλλοθεν τῷ βασιλέι ἢ ἐκ τῶν συνεπαναστάντων. περὶ δὲ τῆς βασιληίης ἐβούλευσαν τοιόνδε· ὅτεο ἂν ὁ ἵππος ἡλίου ἐπανατέλλοντος πρῶτος φθέγξηται ἐν τῷ προαστείῳ αὐτῶν ἐπιβεβηκότων, τοῦτον ἔχειν τὴν βασιληίην.

Δαρείῳ δὲ ἦν ἱπποκόμος ἀνὴρ σοφός, τῷ οὔνομα ἦν Οἰβάρης. 85
πρὸς τοῦτον τὸν ἄνδρα, ἐπείτε διελύθησαν, ἔλεξε Δαρεῖος τάδε. "Οἴβαρες, ἡμῖν δέδοκται περὶ τῆς βασιληίης ποιεῖν κατὰ τάδε· ὅτεο ἂν ὁ ἵππος πρῶτος φθέγξηται ἅμα τῷ ἡλίῳ ἀνιόντι αὐτῶν ἐπαναβεβηκότων, τοῦτον ἔχειν τὴν βασιληίην. νῦν ὦν εἴ τινα

[8] The position of the family of Otanês was probably due to the marriage of his daughter Phædymê to Kambysês, Gomates, and Dareios, and of his grand-daughter Amestris to Xerxês.

ἔχεις σοφίην, μηχανῶ ὡς ἂν ἡμεῖς σχῶμεν τοῦτο τὸ γέρας καὶ μὴ ἄλλος τις." ἀμείβεται Οἰβάρης τοῖσιδε. "εἰ μὲν δὴ ὦ δέσποτα ἐν τούτῳ τοι ἐστὶ ἡ βασιλέα εἶναι ἡ μή, θάρσει τούτου εἵνεκεν καὶ θυμὸν ἔχε ἀγαθόν, ὡς βασιλεὺς οὐδεὶς ἄλλος πρὸ σέο ἔσται· τοιαῦτα ἔχω φάρμακα." λέγει Δαρεῖος "εἰ τοίνυν τι τοιοῦτον ἔχεις σόφισμα, ὥρη μηχανᾶσθαι καὶ μὴ ἀναβάλλεσθαι, ὡς τῆς ἐπιούσης ἡμέρης ὁ ἀγὼν ἡμῖν ἐστι." ἀκούσας τάδε ὁ Οἰβάρης ποιεῖ τοιόνδε. ὡς ἐγίνετο ἡ νύξ, τῶν θηλέων ἵππων μίαν, τὴν ὁ Δαρείου ἵππος ἔστεργε μάλιστα, ταύτην ἀγαγὼν ἐς τὸ προάστειον κατέδησε καὶ ἐπήγαγε τὸν Δαρείου ἵππον καὶ τὰ μὲν πολλὰ περιῆγε ἀγχοῦ τῇ ἵππῳ ἐγχρίμπτων τῇ θηλέῃ, τέλος
86 δὲ ἐπῆκε ὀχεῦσαι τὸν ἵππον. ἅμ' ἡμέρῃ δὲ διαφωσκούσῃ οἱ ἓξ κατὰ συνεθήκαντο παρῆσαν ἐπὶ τῶν ἵππων· διεξελαυνόντων δὲ κατὰ τὸ προάστειον, ὡς κατὰ τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον ἐγίνοντο ἵνα τῆς παροιχομένης νυκτὸς κατεδέδετο ἡ θήλεα ἵππος, ἐνθαῦτα ὁ Δαρείου ἵππος προσδραμὼν ἐχρεμέτισε· ἅμα δὲ τῷ ἵππῳ τοῦτο ποιήσαντι ἀστραπὴ ἐξ αἰθρίης καὶ βροντὴ ἐγένετο. ἐπιγενόμενα δὲ τάδε τῷ Δαρείῳ ἐτελέωσέ μιν ὥσπερ ἐκ συνθέτου τεο γενόμενα· οἱ δὲ καταθορόντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων προσεκύνεον τὸν
87 Δαρεῖον. οἱ μὲν δή φασι τὸν Οἰβάρεα τάδε μηχανήσασθαι, οἱ δὲ τοιάδε (καὶ γὰρ ἐπ' ἀμφότερα λέγεται ὑπὸ Περσέων),[9] ὡς τῆς ἵππου ταύτης τῶν ἄρθρων ἐπιψαύσας τῇ χειρὶ ἔχοι αὐτὴν[1] κρύψας ἐν τῇσι ἀναξυρίσι· ὡς δὲ ἅμα τῷ ἡλίῳ ἀνιόντι ἀπίεσθαι μέλλειν τοὺς ἵππους, τὸν Οἰβάρεα τοῦτον ἐξείραντα τὴν χεῖρα πρὸς τοῦ Δαρείου ἵππου τοὺς μυκτῆρας προσενεῖκαι, τὸν δὲ αἰσθόμενον φριμάξασθαί τε καὶ χρεμετίσαι.

88 Δαρεῖός τε δὴ ὁ Ὑστάσπεος βασιλεὺς ἀπεδέδεκτο, καὶ οἱ ἦσαν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ πάντες κατήκοοι πλὴν Ἀραβίων, Κύρου τε καταστρεψαμένου καὶ ὕστερον αὖτις Καμβύσεω.[2] Ἀράβιοι δὲ οὐδαμὰ κατήκουσαν ἐπὶ δουλοσύνῃ Πέρσῃσι, ἀλλὰ ξεῖνοι ἐγένοντο

[9] This is an indication that we have to do with a popular legend. Thunder and lightning in a clear sky appear in many popular tales as an announcement of the will of heaven (comp. Hor. *Odes*, i. 34; Verg. *Georg.* i. 487, *Æn.* vii. 141; Xen. *Kyrop.* i. 6; Ktês. *Fr.* 29). In Hebrew thunder is the "voice of God." The whole story grew out of the rock-sculpture mentioned in ch. 88, and the popular interpretation of the unknown inscription attached to it. A variation of the legend seems to be given by Nik. Dam., who ascribes the successes of Kyros to Œbarês, a name which is rightly translated ἀγαθάγγελος (Persian *'Ubara*) by Nik. Dam. *Fr.* 66.

[1] *i.e.* the hand.

[2] Dareios had to reconquer the empire piecemeal, as the Behistun Inscription tells us. See Appendix V. Herodotos must mean that the Phœnicians and Kyprians were subdued by Kambysês (see ch. 19, note 8).

παρέντες Καμβύσεα ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον· ἀεκόντων γὰρ Ἀραβίων οὐκ ἂν ἐσβάλοιεν Πέρσαι ἐς Αἴγυπτον. γάμους τε τοὺς πρώτους ἐγάμει Πέρσῃσι[3] ὁ Δαρεῖος, Κύρου μὲν δύο θυγατέρας Ἄτοσσάν τε καὶ Ἀρτυστώνην, τὴν μὲν Ἄτοσσαν προσυνοικήσασαν Καμβύσῃ τε τῷ ἀδελφεῷ καὶ αὖτις τῷ Μάγῳ, τὴν δὲ Ἀρτυστώνην παρθένον· ἑτέρην δὲ Σμέρδιος τοῦ Κύρου θυγατέρα ἔγημε, τῇ οὔνομα ἦν Πάρμυς· ἔσχε δὲ καὶ τὴν τοῦ Ὀτάνεω θυγατέρα, ἢ τὸν Μάγον κατάδηλον ἐποίησε· δυνάμιός τε πάντα οἱ ἐπιμπλέατο. πρῶτον μέν νυν τύπον ποιησάμενος λίθινον ἔστησε·[4] ζῷον δέ οἱ ἐνῆν ἀνὴρ ἱππεύς, ἐπέγραψε δὲ γράμματα λέγοντα τάδε. "Δαρεῖος ὁ Ὑστάσπεος σύν τε τοῦ ἵππου τῇ ἀρετῇ" τὸ οὔνομα λέγων "καὶ Οἰβάρεος τοῦ ἱπποκόμου ἐκτήσατο τὴν Περσέων βασιληίην." ποιήσας δὲ τάοτα ἐν Πέρσῃσι ἀρχὰς κατεστήσατο 89
εἴκοσι, τὰς αὐτοὶ καλέουσι σατραπηίας·[5] καταστήσας δὲ τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ ἄρχοντας ἐπιστήσας ἐτάξατο φόρους οἱ προσιέναι

[3] "Of the first rank as the Persians considered." Cp. i. 117; vi. 70. Dareios had already married a daughter of Gobyras (vii. 2), and he afterwards married Phratagunê, daughter of his brother Artanês (vii. 224). The sons of Atossa were Xerxês, Masistês (vii. 82), Akhæmenês (vii. 97), and Hystaspês (vii. 64); of Artystônê, Arsamês and Gobryas (vii. 69, 72).

[4] When he had reconquered the empire he caused the sculptures and great inscription of the sacred rock of Behistun (Bagistana, "place of the gods"), on the road from Babylonia to Hamadan (Agbatana), to be engraved. Sargon mentions a place called Bit-ili (Bethel), "house of the gods," in the same locality.

[5] See i. 192, note 5. Dareios gives three lists of the "provinces" (*dahyâva*) of the empire, which varied at different periods of his reign. At Behistun he counts twenty-three: Persia, Susiana, Babylonia, Assyria, Arabia, Egypt, the islands of the sea, Saparda, Ionia, Media, Armenia, Kappadokia, Parthia, Zarangia, Aria, Khorasmia, Baktria, Sogdiana, Gandaria (Candahar), the Sakæ, Sattagydia, Arakhosia, and Maka (the Arabian peninsula in the Straits of Ormuz). The words "and the maritime districts" are inserted by the Protomedic text, the Babylonian has "Egypt on the sea." Saparda is the 'Saparda of the Assyrian Inscriptions (Sepharad, *Ob.* 20) south-west of Lake Urumiyeh. For Gandaria the Protomedic and Babylonian texts have Par(r)uparaisanna (Paropanisos), and the Babylonian text replaces the Sakæ by the Zimmirrai (or Kurds). The second list is at Persepolis, and includes twenty-three provinces: Susiana, Media, Babylonia, Arabia, Assyria, Egypt, Armenia, Kappadokia, Saparda, Ionia, Sagartia, Parthia, Zarangia, Aria, Baktria, Sogdiana, Khorasmia, Sattagydia, Arakhosia, India, Gandaria, the Sakæ, and Maka. The third list on the tomb of Dareios at Naksh-i-Rustám has twenty-nine provinces: Media, Susiana, Parthia, Aria, Baktria, Sogdiana, Khorasmia, Zarangia, Arakhosia, Sattagydia, Gandaria, India, the Amyrgian Sakæ, and the Sakæ with pointed caps, Babylonia, Assyria, Arabia, Egypt, Armenia, Kappadokia, Saparda, Ionia (? Kypros), the Sakæ of the (Caspian) Sea, Skodria (Skythia), other Ionians with plumes on their heads, Phut (? the Budii), Kush (the Ethiopians), the Matatsiyans (? Maxyes), and the Karkians (? Carthaginians).

κατὰ ἔθνεά τε καὶ πρὸς τοῖσι ἔθνεσι τοὺς πλησιοχώρους προστάσσων, καὶ ὑπερβαίνων τοὺς προσεχέας [6] τὰ ἑκαστέρω ἄλλοισι ἄλλα ἔθνεα νέμων. ἀρχὰς δὲ καὶ φόρων πρόσοδον τὴν ἐπέτειον κατὰ τάδε διεῖλε. τοῖσι μὲν αὐτῶν ἀργύριον ἀπαγινέουσι εἴρητο Βαβυλώνιον σταθμὸν τάλαντον ἀπαγινεῖν, τοῖσι δὲ χρυσίον ἀπαγινέουσι Εὐβοϊκόν. τὸ δὲ Βαβυλώνιον τάλαντον δύναται Εὐβοΐδας ὀκτὼ καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα μνέας.[7] ἐπὶ γὰρ Κύρου ἄρχοντος καὶ αὖτις Καμβύσεω ἦν κατεστηκὸς οὐδὲν φόρου πέρι, ἀλλὰ δῶρα ἀγίνεον. διὰ δὲ ταύτην τὴν ἐπίταξιν τοῦ φόρου καὶ παραπλήσια ταύτῃ ἄλλα λέγουσι Πέρσαι ὡς Δαρεῖος μὲν ἦν κάπηλος, Καμβύσης δὲ δεσπότης, Κῦρος δὲ πατήρ, ὁ μὲν ὅτι ἐκαπήλευε πάντα τὰ πρήγματα, ὁ δὲ ὅτι χαλεπός τε ἦν καὶ ὀλίγωρος, ὁ δὲ
90 ὅτι ἤπιός τε καὶ ἀγαθά σφι πάντα ἐμηχανήσατο. ἀπὸ μὲν δὴ Ἰώνων καὶ Μαγνήτων τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ [8] καὶ Αἰολέων καὶ Καρῶν καὶ Λυκίων καὶ Μιλυῶν [9] καὶ Παμφύλων (εἷς γὰρ ἦν οἱ τεταγμένος οὗτος φόρος) προσήιε τετρακόσια τάλαντα ἀργυρίου. οὗτος μὲν δὴ πρῶτός οἱ νομὸς [1] κατεστήκει, ἀπὸ δὲ Μυσῶν καὶ Λυδῶν καὶ Λασονίων καὶ Καβαλέων [2] καὶ Ὑτεννέων [3] πεντακόσια τάλαντα· δεύτερος νομὸς οὗτος.[4] ἀπὸ δὲ Ἑλλησποντίων τῶν ἐπὶ δεξιὰ ἐσπλέοντι καὶ Φρυγῶν καὶ Θρηίκων τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ καὶ Παφλαγόνων καὶ Μαριανδυνῶν καὶ Συρίων [5] ἑξήκοντα καὶ τριηκόσια τάλαντα ἦν φόρος· νομὸς τρίτος οὗτος. ἀπὸ δὲ Κιλίκων ἵπποι τε λευκοὶ ἑξήκοντα καὶ τριηκόσιοι, ἑκάστης ἡμέρης εἷς γινόμενος, καὶ τάλαντα ἀργυρίου πεντακόσια· τούτων δὲ τεσσεράκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν ἐς τὴν φρουρέουσαν ἵππον τὴν Κιλικίην χώρην ἀναισιμοῦτο, τὰ δὲ τριηκόσια καὶ ἑξήκοντα
91 Δαρείῳ ἐφοίτα· νομὸς τέταρτος οὗτος. ἀπὸ δὲ Ποσιδηίου

From chh. 90-94 it would seem that Herodotos would have regarded these provinces as separate satrapies.

[6] "Sometimes assigning to each nation its nearest neighbours, sometimes passing over adjoining tribes."

[7] See i. 94, 1. The Euboic silver talent was worth about £250, the Babylonian about £292.

[8] Magnesia ad Sipylum (see i. 161, note 6). The Magnesians of Europe inhabited the eastern part of Thessaly.

[9] See i. 173. The omission of the Pisidians may imply that they were still independent.

[1] "Province," as in the case of Egypt.

[2] Lasonians and Kabalians are identified in vii. 77, and made Mæonian Lydians. Six MSS. read Ἀλυσονίων, which may be compared with the Lysinia of Ptolemy, the Αυσινεῖς of Pisidian coins.

[3] One MS. has αὐτεννέων, the rest ὑγεννέων, a name otherwise unknown. The Hytennians are supposed to be connected with Etenna, a town in Pisidia (Polyb. v. 73), but Valckenaer is probably right in proposing to read Λασονίων τῶν καὶ Καβαλίων καλεομένων.

[4] These two districts are usually combined by Greek writers under the single satrapy of Daskylion.

[5] See i. 72, note 3.

πόλιος,[6] τὴν Ἀμφίλοχος ὁ Ἀμφιάρεω οἴκισε ἐπ' οὔροισι τοῖσι Κιλίκων τε καὶ Σύρων,[7] ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ ταύτης μέχρι Αἰγύπτου, πλὴν μοίρης τῆς Ἀραβίων[8] (τάοτα γὰρ ἦν ἀτελέα), πεντήκοντα καὶ τριηκόσια τάλαντα φόρος ἦν· ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῷ νομῷ τούτῳ Φοινίκη τε πᾶσα καὶ Συρίη ἡ Παλαιστίνη καλεομένη καὶ Κύπρος· νομὸς πέμπτος οὗτος. ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου δὲ καὶ Λιβύων τῶν προσεχέων Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ Κυρήνης τε καὶ Βάρκης (ἐς γὰρ τὸν Αἰγύπτιον νομὸν αὗται ἐκεκοσμέατο) ἑπτακόσια προσήιε τάλαντα, πάρεξ τοῦ ἐκ τῆς Μοίριος λίμνης γινομένου ἀργυρίου, τὸ ἐγίνετο ἐκ τῶν ἰχθύων· τούτου τε δὴ χωρὶς τοῦ ἀργυρίου καὶ τοῦ ἐπιμετρεομένου σίτου προσήιε ἑπτακόσια τάλαντα· σίτου γὰρ δύο καὶ δέκα μυριάδας Περσέων τε τοῖσι ἐν τῷ Λευκῷ τείχει τῷ ἐν Μέμφι κατοικημένοισι καταμετρέουσι καὶ τοῖσι τούτων ἐπικούροισι. νομὸς ἕκτος οὗτος. Σατταγύδαι[9] δὲ καὶ Γανδάριοι[1] καὶ Δαδίκαι τε καὶ Ἀπαρύται[2] ἐς τὠυτὸ τεταγμένοι ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν τάλαντα προσέφερον· νομὸς δὲ οὗτος ἕβδομος. ἀπὸ Σούσων δὲ καὶ τῆς ἄλλης Κισσίων[3] χώρης τριηκόσια· νομὸς ὄγδοος οὗτος. ἀπὸ Βαβυλῶνος δὲ καὶ τῆς λοιπῆς Ἀσσυρίης 92
χίλιά οἱ προσήιε τάλαντα ἀργυρίου καὶ παῖδες ἑκτομίαι πεντακόσιοι· νομὸς εἷνατος οὗτος. ἀπὸ δὲ Ἀγβατάνων καὶ τῆς λοιπῆς Μηδικῆς καὶ Παρικανίων[4] καὶ Ὀρθοκορυβαντίων[5] πεν-

[6] About twelve miles south of the mouth of the Orontês, now represented by Bosyt.

[7] The foundation of Mallos was also ascribed to him (Strab. xiv. p. 675).

[8] From Gaza to Ienysos (ch. 5).

[9] Persian Thatagush, Protomedic 'Sattagus. Their exact position is unknown, but they bordered on Kandahar.

[1] Now Kandahar (the *Gandhâras* of the Hindus), see note 5 above. The province is called Paropanisos in the Protomedic and Babylonian texts, a name given by the later Greeks to the Indian Caucasus. The capital was Ortospana or Kabura, now Kabul, in the valley of the Kôphên. See ch. 102, note 7. The Gandhâras migrated to Kandahar from the Upper Indus in the fifth or sixth century A.D.

[2] For the Dadikæ see vii. 66. The Aparytæ seem to be the Paryatæ of Ptolemy ("mountaineers," from Zend *pâru*, "mountain"). In the Vannic Inscriptions mention is made of the Dadikas or "clan of Dadis," south-west of Lake Urumiyeh.

[3] The Kassi of the cuneiform inscriptions who under Khammuragas conquered Babylonia and founded a dynasty there (see Appendix II.) The Kissi or Kossæi (called Kûshân by the Syrians) were properly the ancestors of the Lures in the northern mountain borders of Elymais towards Media.

[4] In Smith's *Classical Atlas* it is conjectured that they may be the Barkanii (the Persian form of Hyrkanii), who bordered on the Medes. Perhaps they are the Parêtakêni of i. 101,—the Partakanu of Sargon, who makes them a remote Median tribe to the east. Hekatæos mentioned a Persian city, Parikanê.

[5] Orthokorybantes has been supposed to be a Greek word meaning "those who wear upright tiaras" (like the Sakæ of the Naksh-i-Rustám Inscription), and to have been an epithet of the Parikanii,

τήκοντά τε καὶ τετρακόσια τάλαντα· νομὸς δέκατος οὗτος. Κάσπιοι δὲ καὶ Παυσίκαι καὶ Παντίμαθοί τε καὶ Δαρεῖται[6] ἐς τὠυτὸ συμφέροντες διηκόσια τάλαντα ἀπαγίνεον· νομὸς ἐνδέκατος οὗτος. ἀπὸ Βακτριανῶν δὲ μέχρι Αἰγλῶν[7] ἑξήκοντα καὶ
93 τριηκόσια τάλαντα φόρος ἦν· νομὸς δυωδέκατος οὗτος. ἀπὸ Πακτυϊκῆς[8] δὲ καὶ Ἀρμενίων καὶ τῶν προσεχέων μέχρι τοῦ πόντου τοῦ Εὐξείνου τετρακόσια τάλαντα· νομὸς τρίτος καὶ δέκατος οὗτος. ἀπὸ δὲ Σαγαρτίων[9] καὶ Σαραγγέων[1] καὶ Θαμαναίων[2] καὶ Οὐτίων[3] καὶ Μύκων[4] καὶ τῶν ἐν τῇσι νήσοισι οἰκεόντων τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἐρυθρῇ θαλάσσῃ,[5] ἐν τῇσι τοὺς ἀναστάτους καλεομένους κατοικίζει βασιλεύς, ἀπὸ τούτων πάντων ἑξακόσια τάλαντα ἐγίνετο φόρος· νομὸς τέταρτος καὶ δέκατος οὗτος. Σάκαι δὲ καὶ Κάσπιοι πεντήκοντα καὶ διηκόσια ἀπαγίνεον τάλαντα· νομὸς πέμπτος καὶ δέκατος οὗτος. Πάρθοι δὲ καὶ Χοράσμιοι[6] καὶ Σόγδοι τε καὶ Ἄρειοι[7] τριηκόσια τάλαντα·

the original text being Π. οἱ καὶ Ὀρθοκορυβάντιοι. Sir H. Rawlinson ingeniously connects the first part of the name with the Zend *ĕrĕdhwa*, "high;" and Jaquet makes the second part the Zend *gĕrĕwanlô*, "inhabitants."

[6] The Kaspii lived on the steppes of the lower Kyros and Araxês, and gave their name to the pass of the Kaspian Gates. The Pausikæ seem to be the Pasikæ or Apasiakæ of Strabo, who were neighbours of the Khorasmians. Comp. the Pæsicæ of Pliny (*N. H.* vi. 19). The Pantimathi are unknown. The Dareitæ seem to have inhabited Ptolemy's Dareitis, on the borders of Rhagiana.

[7] The Ægli are probably the Augali of Ptolemy, who lived on the Jaxartês. C. Müller acutely corrects the Ægæi of the *Paschal Chron.* (p. 321) into Ægli, and thus fixes them at Alexandria ἡ ἐσχάτη, the Persian border fortress of Kyra or Kyreskhata on the Jaxartês (which the Skythians called Silis, and the Turks still call Syr), in Sogdiana (now Sogd). Lassen and Kiepert would read Σογδῶν, Billerbeck Ἀρείων.

[8] Not Paktyikê on the Upper Indus (ch. 102).

[9] The Sagartians (Old Persian Asagarta) were nomades.

[1] The Zarangians of the Persian texts (from Zend *zaraya*, Old Persian *daraya* "a lake"), in the marshy plains of Arakhosia (Kandahar), by the lake of Zerrah or Seistan, into which the Helmend flows. They were also known as Drangæ (West Persian *d* corresponding to East Persian *z*).

[2] Perhaps the Teimunis of Herât. See ch. 117.

[3] A tribe of Karmania, not to be confounded with the Uxii (the Khu'ŝ'se of the Susian Inscriptions, Persian Hûzha, in the modern Khuzistan). Yutiya is a district of Persia in the Behistun Inscription.

[4] The Maka of the Inscriptions of Dareios. Hekataeos mentioned them (Steph. Byz. *s. v.*) in connection with the Araxês (? the modern Magistan). Comp. the name of Mekran on the south border of the plateau of Persia.

[5] The Persian Gulf.

[6] Old Persian Huvârazmi, now Khwârism or Khârizm (perhaps "the Netherland"), along the Lower Oxus to the Sea of Aral.

[7] Old Persian Haraiva. The capital, Alexandria Areiôn, is the modern Herât.

νομὸς ἕκτος καὶ δέκατος οὗτος. Παρικάνιοι[8] δὲ καὶ Αἰθίοπες οἱ 94
ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίης τετρακόσια τάλαντα ἀπαγίνεον· νομὸς ἕβδομος
καὶ δέκατος οὗτος. Ματιηνοῖσι[9] δὲ καὶ Σάσπειρσι[1] καὶ Ἀλαρο-
δίοισι[2] διηκόσια ἐπετέτακτο τάλαντα· νομὸς ὄγδοος καὶ δέκατος
οὗτος. Μόσχοισι δὲ καὶ Τιβαρηνοῖσι[3] καὶ Μάκρωσι[4] καὶ Μοσ-
συνοίκοισι[5] καὶ Μαρσὶ[6] τριηκόσια τάλαντα προείρητο· νομὸς
εἷνατος καὶ δέκατος οὗτος. Ἰνδῶν δὲ πλῆθός τε πολλῷ πλεῖστόν
ἐστι πάντων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν ἀνθρώπων καὶ φόρον ἀπαγίνεον πρὸς
πάντας τοὺς ἄλλους,[7] ἑξήκοντα καὶ τριηκόσια τάλαντα ψήγματος·
νομὸς εἰκοστὸς οὗτος. τὸ μὲν δὴ ἀργύριον τὸ Βαβυλώνιον πρὸς 95
τὸ Εὐβοϊκὸν συμβαλλόμενον τάλαντον γίνεται ὀγδώκοντα καὶ
ὀκτακόσια καὶ εἰνακισχίλια τάλαντα· τὸ δὲ χρυσίον τρισκαιδε-

[8] In Gedrosia or Beluchistan, now represented by the dark Brahûi, whose black skins caused the Greeks to call them the Ethiopians of Asia.

[9] See i. 189, note 6. The Matiêni lay on the borders of Armenia and Media (see i. 72). They are the Matai of the Assyrian Inscriptions of whom Khanatsiruca was king in the time of Samas-Rimmon (B.C. 821). They are called Amadai by Shalmaneser, and are apparently the Madai or Medes of the later texts. As the Kurds, the Kardukhians of Xenophon (the Zimri or Namri of the Assyrian Inscriptions), are not mentioned, they must have been independent, as they practically are to this day.

[1] See i. 104, note 2. If the name is the same as Sapeires, which Steph. Byz. says was later pronounced Sabeires (the Iberi or Georgians of classical geography, called Vir-k by the Armenians), we may compare the country of Sapira mentioned by Tiglath-Pileser II. as south of Lake Urumiyeh. It may be the same as the Saparda of Sargon (and the Persian Inscriptions), which bordered on the north of Aranzi (Orontês) or Mount Elwend. The Saspeires separate Media from Kolkhis (iv. 37), and must therefore have been regarded as extending over a large tract of country and occupying all Eastern Armenia and a portion of Georgia.

[2] Sir H. Rawlinson is certainly right in identifying the Alarodians with the Urardhians of the Assyrian Inscriptions, the inhabitants of Ararat, called Biaina or Van by the natives, who seem to have been the ancestors of the modern Georgians, and were driven northwards by the Aryan Armenians.

[3] The Moskhi and Tibarêni (Assyrian Muscai and Tublai, Biblical Meshech and Tubal) are generally coupled together in the inscriptions, and originally extended as far south as Melitênê and Kummukh, or Komagênê, on the east, and Kilikia on the west. The Moskhi were made a Kolkhian tribe by Hekatæos as the Tibarêni were by the Scholiast on Apoll. Rhod., and the cuneiform inscriptions make the Kaskai their eastern frontagers. In Strabo the mountains about Erzerûm are called Moskhian.

[4] See ii. 104, note 1.

[5] See Xen. *Anab.* v. 4. Μόσσυν signified one of the "wooden houses" in which they lived (Dion. Hal. i. 26; Strab. p. 549).

[6] Restored by Voss; the MSS. have Marsians (two have Mardians). Steph. Byz. makes them neighbours of the Mossynœki, and they are mentioned by Hekatæos.

[7] Not "equal to that of the rest," as this was not the case, but (πλείστων being understood again with φόρον) "the largest amount of tribute in comparison with all the rest" (cp. viii. 44: νέας πρὸς πάντας τοὺς ἄλλους).

καστάσιον λογιζόμενον,[8] τὸ ψῆγμα εὑρίσκεται ἐὸν Εὐβοϊκῶν ταλάντων ὀγδώκοντα καὶ ἑξακοσίων καὶ τετρακισχιλίων. τούτων ὧν πάντων συντιθεμένων τὸ πλῆθος Εὐβοϊκὰ τάλαντα συνελέγετο ἐς τὸν ἐπέτειον φόρον Δαρείῳ μύρια καὶ τετρακισχίλια καὶ πεντακόσια καὶ ἑξήκοντα· τὸ δ' ἔτι τούτων ἔλασσον ἀπιεὶς οὐ λέγω.[9]

96 Οὗτος Δαρείῳ προσήιε φόρος ἀπὸ τῆς τε Ἀσίης καὶ τῆς Λιβύης ὀλιγαχόθεν.[1] προϊόντος μέντοι τοῦ χρόνου καὶ ἀπὸ νήσων προσήιε ἄλλος φόρος καὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ μέχρι Θεσσαλίης οἰκημένων. τοῦτον τὸν φόρον θησαυρίζει βασιλεὺς τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. ἐς πίθους κεραμίνους τήξας καταχεῖ, πλήσας δὲ τὸ ἄγγος περιαιρεῖ τὸν κέραμον· ἐπεὰν δὲ δεηθῇ χρημάτων, κατακόπτει τοσοῦτο ὅσου ἂν ἑκάστοτε δέηται.

97 Αὗται μὲν ἀρχαί τε ἦσαν καὶ φόρων ἐπιτάξιες. ἡ Περσὶς δὲ χώρη μούνη μοι οὐκ εἴρηται δασμοφόρος· ἀτελέα γὰρ Πέρσαι νέμονται χώρην. οἵδε δὲ φόρον μὲν οὐδένα ἐτάχθησαν φέρειν, δῶρα δὲ ἀγίνεον. Αἰθίοπες οἱ πρόσουροι Αἰγύπτῳ, τοὺς Καμβύσης ἐλαύνων ἐπὶ τοὺς μακροβίους Αἰθίοπας κατεστρέψατο, οἳ περί τε Νύσην τὴν ἱερὴν κατοίκηνται καὶ τῷ Διονύσῳ ἀνάγουσι τὰς ὀρτάς· [οὗτοι οἱ Αἰθίοπες καὶ οἱ πλησιόχωροι τούτοισι σπέρματι μὲν χρέωνται τῷ αὐτῷ τῷ καὶ οἱ Καλλαντίαι Ἰνδοί,[2] οἰκήματα δὲ ἔκτηνται κατάγεα.[3]] οὗτοι συναμφότεροι[4] διὰ τρίτου ἔτεος ἀγίνεον, ἀγινέουσι δὲ καὶ τὸ μέχρι ἐμέο, δύο χοίνικας ἀπύρου χρυσίου καὶ διηκοσίας φάλαγγας ἐβένου καὶ πέντε παῖδας Αἰθίοπας καὶ ἐλέφαντος ὀδόντας μεγάλους εἴκοσι.[5]

[8] "If the gold be reckoned at thirteen times the worth of silver." See i. 14, note 2.

[9] "Putting aside the fractions of a talent." The arithmetic of Herodotos is, as usual, at fault. Summing up the items he gives, the whole amount of the silver is (7740 Babylonian =) 9030 Euboic talents, not 9540; while 9540 added to 4680 is 14,220, not 14,560. The amount ought to be 13,710 Euboic talents (about three millions and a half of our money).

[1] Herodotos must have derived his information from an official list; and as he did not know Persian, Greek translations of such Persian official records must have been accessible in his day.

[2] See ch. 38, note 8. Nothing has been said of the Kallantians feeding on seeds (? rice), and Naber and Stein accordingly expunge the passage. But Herodotos may have left it in the second edition of his work after striking out what it alludes to. Valckenaer conjectures *σήματι*, Wesseling *ἐργματι*.

[3] See iv. 183, where their language is compared to the squeaking of bats. The Tibbus, against whom the inhabitants of Fezzan make slave-hunts, still live in caves, and their neighbours compare their language to "the whistling of birds."

[4] *i.e.* the Troglodyte Ethiopians and their neighbours. But the preceding passage seems much corrupted.

[5] Ivory and ebony (Egyptian *habni*)

Κόλχοι δὲ ταξάμενοι ἐς τὴν δωρεὴν[6] καὶ οἱ προσεχεῖς μέχρι Καυκάσιος ὄρεος (ἐς τοῦτο γὰρ τὸ ὄρος ὑπὸ Πέρσῃσι ἄρχεται, τὰ δὲ πρὸς βορέην ἄνεμον τοῦ Καυκάσιος Περσέων οὐδὲν ἔτι φροντίζει), οὗτοι ὧν δῶρα τὰ ἐτάξαντο ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ διὰ πεντετηρίδος ἀγίνεον, ἑκατὸν παῖδας καὶ ἑκατὸν παρθένους.[7] Ἀράβιοι δὲ χίλια τάλαντα ἀγίνεον λιβανωτοῦ[8] ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος. τάδε μὲν οὗτοι δῶρα πάρεξ τοῦ φόρου βασιλέι ἐκόμιζον.

Τὸν δὲ χρυσὸν τοῦτον τὸν πολλὸν οἱ Ἰνδοί, ἀπ' οὗ τὸ ψῆγμα 98
τῷ βασιλέι τὸ εἰρημένον κομίζουσι, τρόπῳ τοιῷδε κτῶνται. ἔστι τῆς Ἰνδικῆς χώρης τὸ πρὸς ἥλιον ἀνίσχοντα ψάμμος· τῶν γὰρ ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν, τῶν καὶ πέρι ἀτρεκές τι λέγεται, πρῶτοι πρὸς ἠῶ καὶ ἡλίου ἀνατολὰς οἰκέουσι ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ Ἰνδοί· Ἰνδῶν γὰρ τὸ πρὸς τὴν ἠῶ ἐρημίη ἐστὶ διὰ τὴν ψάμμον.[9] ἔστι δὲ πολλὰ ἔθνεα Ἰνδῶν καὶ οὐκ ὁμόφωνα σφίσι, καὶ οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν νομάδες εἰσὶ οἱ δὲ οὔ, οἱ δὲ ἐν τοῖσι ἕλεσι οἰκέουσι τοῦ ποταμοῦ[1] καὶ ἰχθύας σιτέονται ὠμούς, τοὺς αἱρέουσι ἐκ πλοίων καλαμίνων ὀρμεόμενοι· καλάμου δὲ ἓν γόνυ πλοῖον ἕκαστον ποιεῖται.[2] οὗτοι μὲν δὴ τῶν Ἰνδῶν φορέουσι ἐσθῆτα φλοΐνην· ἐπεὰν ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ φλοῦν ἀμήσωσι καὶ κόψωσι, τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν φορμοῦ τρόπον καταπλέξαντες ὡς θώρηκα ἐνδυνέουσι. ἄλλοι δὲ 99
τῶν Ἰνδῶν πρὸς ἠῶ οἰκέοντες τούτων νομάδες εἰσί, κρεῶν ἐδεσταὶ ὠμῶν· καλέονται δὲ Παδαῖοι,[3] νομαίοισι δὲ τοιοῖσιδε λέγονται χρᾶσθαι. ὃς ἂν κάμῃ τῶν ἀστῶν, ἤν τε γυνὴ ἦν τε ἀνήρ, τὸν μὲν ἄνδρα ἄνδρες οἱ μάλιστά οἱ ὁμιλέοντες κτείνουσι, φάμενοι αὐτὸν τηκόμενον τῇ νούσῳ τὰ κρέα σφίσι διαφθείρεσθαι·

were among the tribute brought by the Ethiopians to the Egyptian kings. Ἐλέφας is the Assyrian *alap* or *alab*, "an elephant," probably from *alapu* (Heb. *eleph*), "an ox." Comp. *bos Lucas* in Latin. In Egyptian *ab* is "an elephant," in Sanskrit *ibhas*.

[6] "Imposed a gift on themselves." The MSS. have ἔταξαν, one reading ἐτάξαντο.

[7] So Circassian and Georgian women were sent to Constantinople.

[8] A Semitic loan-word; Hebrew *l'bonâh*. The plant is the Juniperus Lycia or Boswellia thurifera.

[9] Ktêsias knew better, as he had heard of mountains in India.

[1] The Indus.

[2] Bamboos, or rather, according to Lassen, *kanas*, are meant. According to Lassen the custom of eating fish "is ascribed in the great Indian Epic to the inhabitants of the Southern Sarasvâti (ἐλώδης), . . . which falls into the sea not far from the Indus" (*Ind. Alterthüm.* ii. p. 635).

[3] Perhaps named from the river Paddar. Some of the nomad Gondas in the north Dekkan still eat their parents (see Lassen's *Ind. Alterthüm.* ii. p. 635). Cp. Tibull. iv. 1, 143-4, and see ch. 38, note 8, and Strab. p. 710. Also Thuk. iii. 94. In the Rig-Veda *âmâd* (*âma-ad*), "eater of raw flesh," is an opprobrious epithet applied to the native barbarian.

ὁ δὲ ἀπαρνεόμενός ἐστι μὴ μὲν νοσεῖν· οἱ δὲ οὐ συγγινωσκόμενοι ἀποκτείναντες κατευωχέονται. ἡ δὲ ἂν γυνὴ κάμῃ, ὡσαύτως αἱ ἐπιχρεώμεναι μάλιστα γυναῖκες ταὐτά τοῖσι ἀνδράσι ποιέουσι. τὸν γὰρ δὴ ἐς γῆρας ἀπικόμενον θύσαντες κατευωχέονται· ἐς δὲ τούτου λόγον οὐ πολλοί τινες αὐτῶν ἀπικνέονται·
100 πρὸ γὰρ τοῦ τὸν ἐς νοῦσον πίπτοντα πάντα κτείνουσι. ἑτέρων δέ ἐστι Ἰνδῶν ὅδε ἄλλος τρόπος. οὔτε κτείνουσι οὐδὲν ἔμψυχον οὔτε τι σπείρουσι οὔτε οἰκίας νομίζουσι ἐκτῆσθαι ποιηφαγέουσί τε· καὶ αὐτοῖσι ἐστὶ ὅσον κέγχρος τὸ μέγαθος[4] ἐν κάλυκι, αὐτόματον ἐκ τῆς γέας γινόμενον, τὸ συλλέγοντες αὐτῇ τῇ κάλυκι ἕψουσί τε καὶ σιτέονται. ὃς δ' ἂν ἐς νοῦσον αὐτῶν πέσῃ, ἐλθὼν ἐς τὴν ἔρημον κεῖται· φροντίζει δὲ οὐδεὶς οὔτε ἀποθανόντος οὔτε
101 κάμνοντος.[5] μῖξις δὲ τούτων τῶν Ἰνδῶν τῶν κατέλεξα πάντων ἐμφανής ἐστι κατά περ τῶν προβάτων,[6] καὶ τὸ χρῶμα φορέουσι ὅμοιον πάντες καὶ παραπλήσιον Αἰθίοψι· ἡ γονὴ δὲ αὐτῶν, τὴν ἀπίενται ἐς τὰς γυναῖκας, οὐ κατά περ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων ἐστὶ λευκή, ἀλλὰ μέλαινα κατά περ τὸ χρῶμα· τοιαύτην δὲ καὶ Αἰθίοπες ἀπίενται θορήν. οὗτοι μὲν τῶν Ἰνδῶν ἑκαστέρω τῶν Περσέων οἰκέουσι καὶ πρὸς νότου ἀνέμου, καὶ Δαρείου βασιλέος οὐδαμὰ ὑπήκουσαν.

102 Ἄλλοι δὲ τῶν Ἰνδῶν Κασπατύρῳ τε πόλει καὶ τῇ Πακτυϊκῇ χώρῃ[7] εἰσὶ πρόσουροι, πρὸς ἄρκτου τε καὶ βορέω ἀνέμου κατοικημένοι τῶν ἄλλων Ἰνδῶν, οἳ Βακτρίοισι παραπλησίην ἔχουσι δίαιταν· οὗτοι καὶ μαχιμώτατοί εἰσι Ἰνδῶν καὶ οἱ ἐπὶ τὸν χρυσὸν στελλόμενοι εἰσὶ οὗτοι· κατὰ γὰρ τοῦτο ἐστὶ ἐρημίη διὰ τὴν ψάμμον. ἐν δὴ ὧν τῇ ἐρημίῃ ταύτῃ καὶ τῇ ψάμμῳ γίνονται μύρμηκες μεγάθεα ἔχοντες κυνῶν μὲν ἐλάσσονα ἀλωπέκων δὲ μέζονα· εἰσὶ γὰρ αὐτῶν καὶ παρὰ βασιλέι τῶν Περσέων

[4] "A plant of the size of a millet seed."

[5] The description seems to apply rather to Buddhist monks than to Brahmins, especially when it is said that they eat no animal food, and neither sow nor build. Perhaps, however, it merely refers to the Yogis or ascetics. Herodotos seems to have got his information from some account of the voyage of Skylax of Karyanda, a city not far from Halikarnassos. See iv. 44. The Periplus of Skylax was not written till the following century, but was based on earlier materials.

[6] See i. 216 (of the Massagetæ), and 201, note 1. The physiological assertion of Herodotos is not correct.

[7] Paktyikê (see vii. 67) is north-eastern Afghanistan. The Afghans in the east still call themselves Pakhtûn (in the west Pashtûn). Kaspatyros, whence Skylax started on his exploring expedition, was more correctly named Kaspapyros by Hekatæos, and is Kaspa-puras, "the city of the Kaspians," the ancient name of Kabul (not *Kásyapa-puras* or Kashmir, as Wilson supposed). See ch. 91, note 1.

ἐνθεῦτεν θηρευθέντες. οὗτοι ὦν οἱ μύρμηκες ποιεόμενοι οἴκησιν
ὑπὸ γῆν ἀναφορέουσι τὴν ψάμμον κατά περ οἱ ἐν τοῖσι Ἕλλησι
μύρμηκες κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον, εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ αὐτοῖσι εἶδος
ὁμοιότατοι· ἡ δὲ ψάμμος ἡ ἀναφερομένη ἐστὶ χρυσῖτις. ἐπὶ δὴ
ταύτην τὴν ψάμμον στέλλονται ἐς τὴν ἔρημον οἱ Ἰνδοί, ζευξά-
μενος ἕκαστος καμήλους τρεῖς, σειρηφόρον μὲν ἑκατέρωθεν ἔρσενα
παρέλκειν, θήλεαν δὲ ἐς μέσον· ἐπὶ ταύτην δὴ αὐτὸς ἀναβαίνει,
ἐπιτηδεύσας ὅκως ἀπὸ τέκνων ὡς νεωτάτων ἀποσπάσας ζεύξει.[8]
αἱ γάρ σφι κάμηλοι ἵππων οὐκ ἥσσονες ἐς ταχυτῆτά εἰσι, χωρὶς
δὲ ἄχθεα δυνατώτεραι πολλὸν φέρειν. τὸ μὲν δὴ εἶδος ὁκοῖόν τι 103
ἔχει ἡ κάμηλος, ἐπισταμένοισι τοῖσι Ἕλλησι οὐ συγγράφω· τὸ
δὲ μὴ ἐπιστέαται αὐτῆς, τοῦτο φράσω. κάμηλος ἐν τοῖσι
ὀπισθίοισι σκέλεσι ἔχει τέσσερας μηροὺς καὶ γούνατα τέσσερα,[9]
τά τε αἰδοῖα διὰ τῶν ὀπισθίων σκελέων πρὸς τὴν οὐρὴν τετ-
ραμμένα. οἱ δὲ δὴ Ἰνδοὶ τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ καὶ ζεύξει τοιαύτῃ 104
χρεώμενοι ἐλαύνουσι ἐπὶ τὸν χρυσὸν λελογισμένως ὅκως καυμά-
των τῶν θερμοτάτων ἐόντων ἔσονται ἐν τῇ ἁρπαγῇ· ὑπὸ γὰρ τοῦ
καύματος οἱ μύρμηκες ἀφανεῖς γίνονται ὑπὸ γῆν. θερμότατος
δέ ἐστι ὁ ἥλιος τούτοισι τοῖσι ἀνθρώποισι τὸ ἑωθινόν, οὐ
κατά περ τοῖσι ἄλλοισι μεσαμβρίης, ἀλλ' ὑπερτείλας μέχρι οὗ
ἀγορῆς διαλύσιος.[1] τοῦτον δὲ τὸν χρόνον καίει πολλῷ μᾶλλον
ἢ τῇ μεσαμβρίῃ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, οὕτω ὥστ' ἐν ὕδατι λόγος αὐτούς
ἐστι βρέχεσθαι[2] τηνικαῦτα. μεσοῦσα δὲ ἡ ἡμέρη σχεδὸν παρα-
πλησίως καίει τούς τε ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους καὶ τοὺς Ἰνδούς.
ἀποκλινομένης δὲ τῆς μεσαμβρίης γίνεταί σφι ὁ ἥλιος κατά περ
τοῖσι ἄλλοισι ὁ ἑωθινός, καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου ἀπιὼν ἔτι μᾶλλον
ψύχει, ἐς ὃ ἐπὶ δυσμῇσι ἐὼν καὶ τὸ κάρτα ψύχει. ἐπεὰν δὲ 105
ἔλθωσι ἐς τὸν χῶρον οἱ Ἰνδοὶ ἔχοντες θυλάκια, ἐμπλήσαντες

[8] Prof. Wilson suggests that the story arose from the fact that the gold collected in the plains of Little Thibet is commonly called *pipplika*, or "ant-gold," from a belief that it is exposed by the ants when making their hills. When Nearkhos (Arrian, *Indic.* 15) says he saw their skins, he must have been shown the furs of some species of marmots, specimens of which may well have been trapped for the Persian king. See Lassen, *Ind. Alter.* i. pp. 849-50.

[9] The "fact" was unknown, for the very good reason that it was no fact at all. The leg has four bones only and three joints. Aristotle corrects the error, *Hist. An.* ii. 1.

[1] *i.e.* midday; cp. Xen. *Œc.* xii. 1, and see ii. 173, note 6. Of course the statement about the heat is as fabulous as the rest of the narrative.

[2] "Drench themselves with water." The Greeks were not very fond of bathing, at all events in cold water. Hence the semi-incredulity of Herodotos. Ktêsias (*Ind.* viii.) was more correct in saying that the morning sun brought coolness.

τάοτα τῆς ψάμμου τὴν ταχίστην ἐλαύνουσι ὀπίσω· αὐτίκα γὰρ οἱ μύρμηκες ὀδμῇ, ὡς δὴ λέγεται ὑπὸ Περσέων, μαθόντες διώκουσι. εἶναι δὲ ταχυτῆτα οὐδενὶ ἑτέρῳ ὅμοιον, οὕτω ὥστε, εἰ μὴ προλαμβάνειν τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς τῆς ὁδοῦ ἐν ᾧ τοὺς μύρμηκας συλλέγεσθαι, οὐδένα ἂν σφεων ἀποσώζεσθαι. τοὺς μέν νυν ἔρσενας τῶν καμήλων, εἶναι γὰρ ἥσσονας θεῖν τῶν θηλέων, καὶ παραλύεσθαι ἐπελκομένους, οὐκ ὁμοῦ ἀμφοτέρους·[3] τὰς δὲ θηλέας ἀναμιμνησκομένας τῶν ἔλιπον τέκνων ἐνδιδόναι μαλακὸν οὐδέν. τὸν μὲν δὴ πλέω τοῦ χρυσοῦ οὕτω οἱ Ἰνδοὶ κτῶνται, ὡς Πέρσαι φασί· ἄλλος δὲ σπανιώτερος ἐστὶ ἐν τῇ χώρῃ ὀρυσσόμενος.

106 Αἱ δ' ἐσχατιαὶ κως τῆς οἰκεομένης τὰ κάλλιστα[4] ἔλαχον, κατά περ ἡ Ἑλλὰς τὰς ὥρας πολλόν τι κάλλιστα κεκρημένας ἔλαχε.[5] τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ πρὸς τὴν ἠὼ ἐσχάτη τῶν οἰκεομενέων ἡ Ἰνδικὴ ἐστι, ὥσπερ ὀλίγῳ πρότερον εἴρηκα· ἐν ταύτῃ τοῦτο μὲν τὰ ἔμψυχα, τετράποδά τε καὶ τὰ πετεινά, πολλῷ μέζω ἢ ἐν τοῖσι ἄλλοισι χωρίοισί ἐστι, πάρεξ τῶν ἵππων (οὗτοι δὲ ἐσσοῦνται ὑπὸ τῶν Μηδικῶν, Νισαίων δὲ καλεομένων ἵππων[6]), τοῦτο δὲ χρυσὸς ἄπλετος αὐτόθι ἐστί, ὁ μὲν ὀρυσσόμενος, ὁ δὲ καταφορεόμενος ὑπὸ ποταμῶν, ὁ δὲ ὥσπερ ἐσήμηνα ἁρπαζόμενος.[7] τὰ δὲ δένδρεα τὰ ἄγρια αὐτόθι φέρει καρπὸν εἰρια καλλονῇ τε προφέροντα καὶ ἀρετῇ τῶν ἀπὸ τῶν ὀίων· καὶ ἐσθῆτι Ἰνδοὶ ἀπὸ
107 τούτων τῶν δενδρέων χρέωνται.[8] πρὸς δ' αὖ μεσαμβρίης ἐσχάτη Ἀραβίη τῶν οἰκεομενέων χωρέων ἐστί, ἐν δὲ ταύτῃ λιβανωτός τε ἐστὶ μούνῃ χωρέων πασέων φυόμενος καὶ σμύρνη καὶ κασίη καὶ κινάμωμον καὶ λήδανον.[9] τάοτα πάντα πλὴν τῆς σμύρνης δυσπετέως κτῶνται οἱ Ἀράβιοι. τὸν μέν γε λιβανωτὸν συλλέγουσι τὴν στύρακα θυμιῶντες, τὴν ἐς Ἕλληνας Φοίνικες

[3] "Grow tired and begin to drag,"—not, however, both together.

[4] 'The best productions."

[5] Comp. Arist. *Pol.* vii. 6.

[6] Comp. Amm. Marc. xxiii. 6. The Nisæan plain was placed in Media by most writers (those who placed it in Armenia and Persia using these words in an extended sense); and as Alexander passed it on his way from Opis to Ekbatana, it must have lain near Behistun (now the grassy plains of Khawah and Alistar). It was in the district of Nissæa (Nisáya), near the old Median capital, that Gomates was slain, according to the Behistun Inscription. Tiglath-Pileser II. mentions Nissa among the Median districts in this region.

[7] The English have unfortunately not found India so auriferous a country.

[8] Cotton is meant.

[9] Σμύρνη is the Heb. *mor* (with σ prefixed from a false assimilation to the name of the city Smyrna)—the product of the *Balsamodendron myrrha* which grows in Arabia and the Somâli country; κασίη is *ketsiah* (the *Laurus cassia*); κινάμωμον is *kinnamôn* (the rind of the *Laurus cinnamomum* of Ceylon, see ch. 111); λήδανον is *lôdh* (Arab *lâdin*, ch. 112), the gum of the *Cistus creticus* or *ladaniferus*, a native of Kypros and Krete.

ἐξάγουσι· ταύτην θυμιῶντες λαμβάνουσι· τὰ γὰρ δένδρεα τάοτα τὰ λιβανωτοφόρα ὄφιες ὑπόπτεροι, σμικροὶ τὰ μεγάθεα, ποικίλοι τὰ εἴδεα, φυλάσσουσι πλήθει πολλοὶ περὶ δένδρον ἕκαστον, οὗτοι οἵπερ ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον ἐπιστρατεύονται.[1] οὐδενὶ δὲ ἄλλῳ ἀπελαύνονται ἀπὸ τῶν δενδρέων ἢ τῆς στύρακος τῷ καπνῷ. λέγουσι δὲ καὶ τόδε Ἀράβιοι, ὡς πᾶσα ἂν γῆ ἐπίμπλατο τῶν 108
ὀφίων τούτων, εἰ μὴ γίνεσθαι κατ' αὐτοὺς οἷόν τι κατὰ τὰς ἐχίδνας ἠπιστάμην γίνεσθαι.[2] καί κως τοῦ θείου ἡ προνοίη, ὥσπερ καὶ οἰκός ἐστι, ἐοῦσα σοφή, ὅσα μὲν [γὰρ[3]] ψυχήν τε δειλὰ καὶ ἐδώδιμα, τάοτα μὲν πάντα πολύγονα πεποίηκε, ἵνα μὴ ἐπιλίπῃ κατεσθιόμενα, ὅσα δὲ σχέτλια καὶ ἀνιηρά, ὀλιγόγονα. τοῦτο μέν, ὅτι ὁ λαγὸς ὑπὸ παντὸς θηρεύεται θηρίου καὶ ὄρνιθος καὶ ἀνθρώπου, οὕτω δή τι πολύγονόν ἐστι· ἐπικυΐσκεται μοῦνον πάντων θηρίων, καὶ τὸ μὲν δασὺ τῶν τέκνων ἐν τῇ γαστρὶ τὸ δὲ ψιλόν, τὸ δὲ ἄρτι ἐν τῇσι μήτρῃσι πλάσσεται, τὸ δὲ ἀναιρεῖται.[4] τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τοιοῦτό ἐστι· ἡ δὲ δὴ λέαινα ἐὸν ἰσχυρότατον καὶ θρασύτατον ἅπαξ ἐν τῷ βίῳ τίκτει ἕν·[5] τίκτουσα γὰρ συνεκβάλλει τῷ τέκνῳ τὰς μήτρας. τὸ δὲ αἴτιον τούτου τόδε ἐστί. ἐπεὰν ὁ σκύμνος ἐν τῇ μητρὶ ἐὼν ἄρχηται διακινεόμενος, ὁ δὲ ἔχων ὄνυχας θηρίων πολλὸν πάντων ὀξυτάτους ἀμύσσει τὰς μήτρας, αὐξόμενός τε δὴ πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἐπικνεῖται καταγράφων· πέλας τε δὴ ὁ τόκος ἐστί, καὶ τὸ παράπαν λείπεται αὐτέων ὑγιὲς οὐδέν. ὡς δὲ καὶ αἱ ἔχιδναί τε καὶ οἱ ἐν Ἀραβίοισι ὑπόπτεροι 109
ὄφιες εἰ ἐγίνοντο ὡς ἡ φύσις αὐτοῖσι ὑπάρχει, οὐκ ἂν ἦν βιώσιμα ἀνθρώποισι· νῦν δ' ἐπεὰν θορνύωνται κατὰ ζεύγεα καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ ᾖ ὁ ἔρσην τῇ ἐκποιήσει, ἀπιεμένου αὐτοῦ τὴν γονὴν ἡ θήλεα ἅπτεται τῆς δειρῆς, καὶ ἐμφῦσα οὐκ ἀνίει πρὶν ἂν διαφάγῃ. ὁ μὲν δὴ ἔρσην ἀποθνήσκει τρόπῳ τῷ εἰρημένῳ, ἡ δὲ θήλεα τίσιν τοιήνδε ἀποτίνει τῷ ἔρσενι. τῷ γονέι τιμωρέοντα ἔτι ἐν τῇ γαστρὶ ἐόντα τὰ τέκνα διεσθίει τὴν μητέρα, διαφαγόντα δὲ τὴν

[1] See ii. 75, 1. The smoke of gums was believed to drive away evil spirits.

[2] "Unless I knew that to happen in regard to them, which I knew," etc. Probably the text originally had οἷόν τε εἶον, "unless it were possible that should happen in regard to them which I knew." We cannot render "unless (they say) that happened in regard to them which."

[3] Though in all the MSS., γὰρ is unconstruable. Ἐστι is not to be joined with ἐοῦσα any more than in vii. 129.

[4] "Some of the young in the belly are covered with fur, others smooth, others just formed in the womb, others being conceived."

[5] Herodotos is usually unfortunate in his statements about natural history. The lioness has cubs year after year, and seldom so few in any year as one. Homer is more correct (*Il.* xviii. 318). See Arist. *Hist. An.* vi. 31.

νηδὺν αὐτῆς οὕτω τὴν ἔκδυσιν ποιεῖται. οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι ὄφιες ἐόντες ἀνθρώπων οὐ δηλήμονες τίκτουσί τε ᾠὰ καὶ ἐκλέπουσι πολλόν τι χρῆμα τῶν τέκνων. αἱ μέν νυν ἔχιδναι κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν εἰσι, οἱ δέ, ὑπόπτεροι ἐόντες, ἀθρόοι εἰσὶ ἐν τῇ Ἀραβίῃ καὶ οὐδαμῇ ἄλλῃ· κατὰ τοῦτο δοκέουσι πολλοὶ εἶναι.

110 Τὸν μὲν δὴ λιβανωτὸν τοῦτον οὕτω κτῶνται Ἀράβιοι, τὴν δὲ κασίην ὧδε. ἐπεὰν καταδήσωνται βύρσῃσι καὶ δέρμασι ἄλλοισι πᾶν τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον πλὴν αὐτῶν τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν, ἔρχονται ἐπὶ τὴν κασίην· ἡ δὲ ἐν λίμνῃ φύεται οὐ βαθέῃ, περὶ δὲ αὐτὴν καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ αὐλίζεταί κου θηρία πτερωτά, τῇσι νυκτερίσι προσείκελα μάλιστα, καὶ τέτριγε δεινόν, καὶ ἐς ἀλκὴν ἄλκιμα· τὰ δεῖ ἀπαμυνομένους ἀπὸ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν οὕτω δρέπειν
111 τὴν κασίην.[6] τὸ δὲ δὴ κινάμωμον ἔτι τούτων θωυμαστότερον συλλέγουσι. ὅκου μὲν γὰρ γίνεται καὶ ἥτις μιν γῆ ἡ τρέφουσά ἐστι, οὐκ ἔχουσι εἰπεῖν, πλὴν ὅτι λόγῳ οἰκότι χρεώμενοι ἐν τοῖσιδε χωρίοισι φασί τινες αὐτὸ φύεσθαι ἐν τοῖσι ὁ Διόνυσος ἐτράφη·[7] ὄρνιθας δὲ λέγουσι μεγάλας φορεῖν τάοτα τὰ κάρφεα τὰ ἡμεῖς ἀπὸ Φοινίκων μαθόντες κινάμωμον καλέομεν, φορεῖν δὲ τὰς ὄρνιθας ἐς νεοσσιὰς προσπεπλασμένας ἐκ πηλοῦ πρὸς ἀποκρήμνοισι ὄρεσι, ἔνθα πρόσβασιν ἀνθρώπῳ οὐδεμίαν εἶναι. πρὸς ὧν δὴ τάοτα τοὺς Ἀραβίους σοφίζεσθαι τάδε. βοῶν τε καὶ ὄνων τῶν ἀπογινομένων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὑποζυγίων τὰ μέλεα διαταμόντας ὡς μέγιστα κομίζειν ἐς τάοτα τὰ χωρία, καὶ σφέα θέντας ἀγχοῦ τῶν νεοσσιῶν ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι ἑκὰς αὐτέων· τὰς δὲ ὄρνιθας καταπετομένας [αὐτῶν] τὰ μέλεα τῶν ὑποζυγίων ἀναφορεῖν ἐπὶ τὰς νεοσσιάς· τὰς δὲ οὐ δυναμένας ἴσχειν καταρρήγνυσθαι ἐπὶ γῆν· τοὺς δὲ ἐπιόντας συλλέγειν. οὕτω μὲν τὸ κινάμωμον συλλεγόμενον ἐκ τούτων ἀπικνεῖσθαι ἐς τὰς ἄλλας
112 χώρας. τὸ δὲ δὴ λήδανον, τὸ καλέουσι Ἀράβιοι λάδανον, ἔτι τούτου θωυμασιώτερον γίνεται· ἐν γὰρ δυσοδμοτάτῳ γινόμενον εὐωδέστατόν ἐστι· τῶν γὰρ αἰγῶν τῶν τράγων ἐν τοῖσι πώγωσι εὑρίσκεται ἐγγινόμενον οἷον γλοιὸς ἀπὸ τῆς ὕλης. χρήσιμον δ' ἐς πολλὰ τῶν μύρων ἐστί, θυμιῶσί τε μάλιστα τοῦτο Ἀράβιοι.

113 Τοσαῦτα μὲν θυωμάτων πέρι εἰρήσθω, ἀπόζει δὲ τῆς χώρης

[6] Here is another bit of eastern folk-lore. Cp. the "myth" told of the cinnamon by Theophr. *Hist. Pl.* ix. 6,—how it grows in ravines where it is guarded by poisonous serpents, against which the gatherer has to protect both hands and feet.

[7] *i.e.* India. The *Laurus cinnamomum* really chiefly grows in Ceylon. Comp. the story of the Phœnix and her nest. Bochart suggests that the legend arose out of the similarity of the Semitic *kinnamôn*, "cinnamon," and *kinnîm*, "nests."

τῆς Ἀραβίης θεσπέσιον ὡς ἡδύ.[8] δύο δὲ γένεα οἰῶν σφι ἐστὶ θώυματος ἄξια, τὰ οὐδαμόθι ἑτέρωθί ἐστι. τὸ μὲν αὐτῶν ἕτερον ἔχει τὰς οὐρὰς μακράς, τριῶν πηχέων οὐκ ἐλάσσονας, τὰς εἴ τις ἐπείη σφι ἐπέλκειν, ἕλκεα ἂν ἔχοιεν ἀνατριβομενέων πρὸς τῇ γέῃ τῶν οὐρέων·[9] νῦν δ' ἅπας τις τῶν ποιμένων ἐπίσταται ξυλουργεῖν ἐς τοσοῦτο· ἁμαξίδας γὰρ ποιέοντες ὑποδέουσι αὐτὰς τῇσι οὐρῇσι, ἑνὸς ἑκάστου κτήνεος τὴν οὐρὴν ἐπὶ ἁμαξίδα ἑκάστην καταδέοντες. τὸ δὲ ἕτερον γένος τῶν οἰῶν τὰς οὐρὰς πλατέας φορέουσι καὶ ἐπὶ πῆχυν πλάτος.

Ἀποκλινομένης δὲ μεσαμβρίης παρήκει πρὸς δύνοντα ἥλιον 114
ἡ Αἰθιοπίη χώρη ἐσχάτη τῶν οἰκεομενέων· αὕτη δὲ χρυσόν τε φέρει πολλὸν καὶ ἐλέφαντας ἀμφιλαφέας καὶ δένδρεα πάντα ἄγρια καὶ ἔβενον καὶ ἄνδρας μεγίστους καὶ καλλίστους καὶ μακροβιωτάτους.

Αὗται μέν νυν ἔν τε τῇ Ἀσίῃ ἐσχατιαί εἰσι καὶ ἐν τῇ Λιβύῃ. 115
περὶ δὲ τῶν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ τῶν πρὸς ἑσπέρην ἐσχατιῶν ἔχω μὲν οὐκ ἀτρεκέως λέγειν· οὔτε γὰρ ἔγωγε ἐνδέκομαι Ἠριδανὸν καλεῖσθαι πρὸς βαρβάρων ποταμὸν ἐκδιδόντα ἐς θάλασσαν τὴν πρὸς βορέην ἄνεμον, ἀπ' ὅτεο τὸ ἤλεκτρον φοιτᾶν λόγος ἐστί,[1] οὔτε νήσους οἶδα Κασσιτερίδας ἐούσας, ἐκ τῶν ὁ κασσίτερος ἡμῖν φοιτᾷ.[2] τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ ὁ Ἠριδανὸς αὐτὸ κατηγορεῖ τὸ οὔνομα ὡς ἔστι Ἑλληνικὸν καὶ οὐ βάρβαρον, ὑπὸ ποιητέω δέ τινος ποιηθέν· τοῦτο δὲ οὐδενὸς αὐτόπτεω γενομένου οὐ δύναμαι ἀκοῦσαι, τοῦτο μελετῶν, ὅκως θάλασσά ἐστι τὰ ἐπέκεινα Εὐρώπης. ἐξ ἐσχάτης δ' ὧν ὁ κασσίτερος ἡμῖν φοιτᾷ καὶ τὸ ἤλεκτρον. πρὸς δὲ ἄρκτου τῆς Εὐρώπης πολλῷ τι πλεῖστος χρυσὸς 116
φαίνεται ἐών· ὅκως μὲν γινόμενος, οὐκ ἔχω οὐδὲ τοῦτο ἀτρεκέως

[8] "There is breathed from the country of Arabia an odour divinely sweet." Comp. *Od.* ix. 211.

[9] These Cape sheep are common in Africa, and are now spread through Persia, Syria, Afghanistan, and Asia Minor.

[1] The Eridanos (Hes. *Theog.* 338) belonged to the mythical geography of the Greeks, and it is useless to attempt to identify it with the Po, or the Rhone, or the Vistula. Amber, which Pliny (*N. H.* xxxvii. 11) says was called by the Germans *glessum*, *i.e. glass*, was brought overland from the Baltic to the head of the Adriatic Gulf. When the Eridanos was identified with the Po (as, so far as we know, it was first by Skylax), the amber was said to come from it.

[2] The tin islands really existed, but are not (as usually assumed) the Scilly Isles, but the islands off Vigo Bay where the tin-ships touched (see Elton, *The Origins of English History*, ch. i.) Strabo, Diodoros, Pliny, and Solinus, all place them off the northwest coast of Spain (the Corticata, Aunius, and Cicæ islands). Κασσίτερος is the Sanskrit *kastîra*, the Assyrian *kizasaddir* (*abar* in Accadian). The word has been borrowed by both the Aryan and the Semitic languages.

εἶπαι, λέγεται δὲ ὑπὲκ τῶν γρυπῶν ἁρπάζειν Ἀριμασποὺς ἄνδρας μουνοφθάλμους. πείθομαι δὲ οὐδὲ τοῦτο, ὅκως μουνόφθαλμοι ἄνδρες φύονται, φύσιν ἔχοντες τὴν ἄλλην ὁμοίην τοῖσι ἄλλοισι ἀνθρώποισι.[3] αἱ δὲ ὧν ἐσχατιαὶ οἴκασι, περικληίουσαι τὴν ἄλλην χώρην καὶ ἐντὸς ἀπέργουσαι, τὰ κάλλιστα δοκέοντα ἡμῖν εἶναι καὶ σπανιώτατα ἔχειν αὗται.

117 Ἔστι δὲ πεδίον ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ περικεκλιμένον ὄρει πάντοθεν, διασφάγες δὲ τοῦ ὄρεος εἰσὶ πέντε. τοῦτο τὸ πεδίον ἦν μέν κοτε Χορασμίων, ἐν οὔροισι ἐὸν Χορασμίων τε αὐτῶν καὶ Ὑρκανίων καὶ Πάρθων καὶ Σαραγγέων καὶ Θαμαναίων, ἐπείτε δὲ Πέρσαι ἔχουσι τὸ κράτος, ἐστὶ τοῦ βασιλέος. ἐκ δὴ ὧν τοῦ περικληίοντος ὄρεος τούτου ῥεῖ ποταμὸς μέγας, οὔνομα δέ οἱ ἐστὶ Ἄκης.[4] οὗτος πρότερον μὲν ἄρδεσκε διαλελαμμένος πενταχοῦ τούτων τῶν εἰρημένων τὰς χώρας, διὰ διασφάγος ἀγόμενος ἑκάστης ἑκάστοισι· ἐπείτε δὲ ὑπὸ τῷ Πέρσῃ εἰσί, πεπόνθασι τοιόνδε. τὰς διασφάγας τῶν ὀρέων ἐνδείμας ὁ βασιλεὺς πύλας ἐπ' ἑκάστῃ διασφάγι ἔστησε· ἀποκεκλημένου δὲ τοῦ ὕδατος τῆς διεξόδου τὸ πεδίον τὸ ἐντὸς τῶν ὀρέων πέλαγος γίνεται, ἐνδιδόντος μὲν τοῦ ποταμοῦ, ἔχοντος δὲ οὐδαμῇ ἐξήλυσιν. οὗτοι ὦν οἵ περ ἔμπροσθε ἐώθεσαν χρᾶσθαι τῷ ὕδατι, οὐκ ἔχοντες αὐτῷ χρᾶσθαι συμφορῇ μεγάλῃ διαχρέωνται. τὸν μὲν γὰρ χειμῶνα ὗει σφι ὁ θεὸς ὥσπερ καὶ τοῖσι ἄλλοισι ἀνθρώποισι, τοῦ δὲ θέρεος σπείροντες μελίνην καὶ σήσαμον χρηίσκονται τῷ ὕδατι. ἐπεὰν ὦν μηδέν σφι παραδιδῶται τοῦ ὕδατος, ἐλθόντες ἐς τοὺς Πέρσας αὐτοί τε καὶ γυναῖκες, στάντες κατὰ τὰς θύρας τοῦ βασιλέος βοῶσι ὠρυόμενοι, ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς τοῖσι δεομένοισι αὐτῶν μάλιστα ἐντέλλεται ἀνοίγειν τὰς πύλας τὰς ἐς τοῦτο φερούσας. ἐπεὰν δὲ διάκορος ἡ γῆ σφεων γένηται πίνουσα τὸ ὕδωρ, αὗται μὲν αἱ πύλαι ἀποκληίονται, ἄλλας δ' ἐντέλλεται ἀνοίγειν ἄλλοισι

[3] For the Arimaspians and griffins see i. 201, note 5. Herodotos is not usually so sceptical, but it is probable that Hekatæos had forestalled him in describing the Arimaspians, Kassiterides, and Eridanos. Pherekydês had made the latter the Po, according to Hyg. 154, but see preceding note.

[4] The story here given is evidently as mythical as that told about the Eridanos. No river could have irrigated five different regions in different directions. The only spot where the five nations could have approached each other would be in the prolongation of the Elburz range north of Khorasan, where there is no valley or river answering to the description of Herodotos. The Akês, too, is unknown to all other classical writers. The story is probably based on the regulation by the Persian Government of the waters of the Heri-rud (near Herât), and the taxes imposed by it in consequence. A water-tax is still levied in Persia, the irrigation of the country being under imperial control.

τοῖσι δεομένοισι μάλιστα τῶν λοιπῶν. ὡς δ' ἐγὼ οἶδα ἀκούσας, χρήματα μεγάλα πρησσόμενος ἀνοίγει πάρεξ τοῦ φόρου.

Τάοτα μὲν δὴ ἔχει οὕτω. τῶν δὲ τῷ Μάγῳ ἐπαναστάντων 118
ἑπτὰ ἀνδρῶν, ἕνα αὐτῶν Ἰνταφρένεα κατέλαβε ὑβρίσαντα τάδε ἀποθανεῖν αὐτίκα μετὰ[5] τὴν ἐπανάστασιν. ἤθελε ἐς τὰ βασιλήια ἐσελθὼν χρηματίσασθαι τῷ βασιλέι· καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ὁ νόμος οὕτω εἶχε, τοῖσι ἐπαναστᾶσι τῷ Μάγῳ ἔσοδον εἶναι παρὰ βασιλέα ἄνευ ἀγγέλου, ἢν μὴ γυναικὶ τυγχάνῃ μισγόμενος βασιλεύς. οὔκων δὴ Ἰνταφρένης ἐδικαίου οὐδένα οἱ ἐσαγγεῖλαι, ἀλλ' ὅτι ἦν τῶν ἑπτά, ἐσιέναι ἤθελε. ὁ δὲ πυλουρὸς καὶ ὁ ἀγγελιηφόρος οὐ περιώρεον, φάμενοι τὸν βασιλέα γυναικὶ μίσγεσθαι. ὁ δὲ Ἰνταφρένης δοκέων σφέας ψεύδεα λέγειν ποιεῖ τοιάδε· σπασάμενος τὸν ἀκινάκεα ἀποτάμνει αὐτῶν τά τε ὦτα καὶ τὰς ῥῖνας, καὶ ἀνείρας περὶ τὸν χαλινὸν τοῦ ἵππου περὶ τοὺς αὐχένας σφέων ἔδησε, καὶ ἀπῆκε. οἱ δὲ τῷ βασιλέι δεικνύουσι 119
ἑωυτοὺς καὶ τὴν αἰτίην εἶπον δι' ἣν πεπονθότες εἴησαν. Δαρεῖος δὲ ἀρρωδήσας μὴ κοινῷ λόγῳ οἱ ἓξ πεποιηκότες ἔωσι τάοτα, μεταπεμπόμενος ἕνα ἕκαστον ἀπεπειρᾶτο γνώμης, εἰ συνέπαινοί εἰσι τῷ πεποιημένῳ. ἐπείτε δὲ ἐξέμαθε ὡς οὐ σὺν κείνοισι εἴη τάοτα πεποιηκώς, ἔλαβε αὐτόν τε τὸν Ἰνταφρένεα καὶ τοὺς παῖδας αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς οἰκηίους πάντας, ἐλπίδας πολλὰς ἔχων μετὰ τῶν συγγενέων μιν ἐπιβουλεύειν οἱ ἐπανάστασιν, συλλαβὼν δέ σφεας ἔδησε τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ. ἡ δὲ γυνὴ τοῦ Ἰνταφρένεος φοιτέουσα ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας τοῦ βασιλέος κλαίεσκε ἂν καὶ ὀδυρέσκετο· ποιέουσα δὲ αἰεὶ τὠυτὸ τοῦτο τὸν Δαρεῖον ἔπεισε οἰκτεῖραί μιν. πέμψας δὲ ἄγγελον ἔλεγε τάδε. "ὦ γύναι, βασιλεύς τοι Δαρεῖος διδοῖ ἕνα τῶν δεδεμένων οἰκηίων ῥύσασθαι τὸν βούλεαι ἐκ πάντων." ἡ δὲ βουλευσαμένη ὑπεκρίνετο τάδε. "εἰ μὲν δή μοι διδοῖ βασιλεὺς ἑνὸς τὴν ψυχήν, αἱρέομαι ἐκ πάντων τὸν ἀδελφεόν." πυθόμενος δὲ Δαρεῖος τάοτα καὶ θωυμάσας τὸν λόγον, πέμψας ἠγόρευε "ὦ γύναι, εἰρωτᾷ σε βασιλεύς, τίνα ἔχουσα γνώμην, τὸν ἄνδρα τε καὶ τὰ τέκνα ἐγκαταλιποῦσα, τὸν ἀδελφεὸν εἵλεο περιεῖναί τοι, ὃς καὶ ἀλλοτριώτερός τοι τῶν

[5] And yet Intaphernês is mentioned in the first place of honour in the Behistun Inscription, which could not have been engraved earlier than B.C. 515, while the death of Gomates took place in B.C. 521. If Æskh. *Pers.* 774 is not spurious, Maraphis and Artaphrenês (Intaphernês) were regarded as the sixth and seventh kings of Persia intervening between Gomates and Dareios, which seems to imply that Intaphernês endeavoured to claim the crown. But no allusion to this appears in the Behistun Inscription. It is just possible that Maraphis may be the second pseudo-Bardes (Merdis), who was not put down till B.C. 516.

παίδων καὶ ἥσσον κεχαρισμένος τοῦ ἀνδρός ἐστι." ἡ δ' ἀμείβετο τοῖσιδε. "ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἀνὴρ μέν μοι ἂν ἄλλος γένοιτο, εἰ δαίμων ἐθέλοι, καὶ τέκνα ἄλλα, εἰ τάοτα ἀποβάλοιμι· πατρὸς δὲ καὶ μητρὸς οὐκέτι μεο ζωόντων ἀδελφεὸς ἂν ἄλλος οὐδενὶ τρόπῳ γένοιτο.[6] ταύτῃ τῇ γνώμῃ χρεωμένη ἔλεξα τάοτα." εὖ τε δὴ ἔδοξε τῷ Δαρείῳ εἰπεῖν ἡ γυνή, καί οἱ ἀπῆκε τοῦτόν τε τὸν παραιτεῖτο καὶ τῶν παίδων τὸν πρεσβύτατον, ἡσθεὶς αὐτῇ, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἀπέκτεινε πάντας. τῶν μὲν δὴ ἑπτὰ εἷς αὐτίκα τρόπῳ τῷ εἰρημένῳ ἀπολώλει.

120 Κατὰ δέ κου μάλιστα[7] τὴν Καμβύσεω νοῦσον ἐγίνετο τάδε. ὑπὸ Κύρου κατασταθεὶς ἦν Σαρδίων ὕπαρχος Ὀροίτης[8] ἀνὴρ Πέρσης· οὗτος ἐπεθύμησε πρήγματος οὐκ ὁσίου· οὔτε γάρ τι παθὼν οὔτε ἀκούσας μάταιον ἔπος πρὸς Πολυκράτεος τοῦ Σαμίου, οὐδὲ ἰδὼν πρότερον, ἐπεθύμει λαβὼν αὐτὸν ἀπολέσαι, ὡς μὲν οἱ πλέονες λέγουσι, διὰ τοιήνδε τινὰ αἰτίην. ἐπὶ τῶν βασιλέος θυρέων κατήμενον τόν τε Ὀροίτεα καὶ ἄλλον Πέρσην τῷ οὔνομα εἶναι Μιτροβάτεα, νομοῦ ἄρχοντα τοῦ ἐν Δασκυλείῳ,[9] τούτους ἐκ λόγων ἐς νείκεα συμπεσεῖν, κρινομένων δὲ περὶ ἀρετῆς εἰπεῖν τὸν Μιτροβάτεα τῷ Ὀροίτῃ προφέροντα "σὺ γὰρ ἐν ἀνδρῶν λόγῳ, ὃς βασιλέι νῆσον Σάμον πρὸς τῷ σῷ νομῷ προσκειμένην οὐ προσεκτήσαο, ὧδε δή τι ἐοῦσαν εὐπετέα χειρωθῆναι, τὴν τῶν τις ἐπιχωρίων πεντεκαίδεκα ὁπλίτῃσι ἐπαναστὰς ἔσχε καὶ νῦν αὐτῆς τυραννεύει." οἱ μὲν δή μιν φασὶ τοῦτο ἀκούσαντα καὶ ἀλγήσαντα τῷ ὀνείδει ἐπιθυμῆσαι οὐκ οὕτω τὸν εἴπαντα τάοτα τίσασθαι ὡς
121 Πολυκράτεα πάντως ἀπολέσαι, δι' ὅντινα κακῶς ἤκουσε. οἱ δὲ ἐλάσσονες λέγουσι πέμψαι Ὀροίτεα ἐς Σάμον κήρυκα ὅτεο δὴ χρήματος δεησόμενον (οὐ γὰρ ὢν δὴ τοῦτό γε λέγεται), καὶ τὸν Πολυκράτεα τυχεῖν κατακείμενον ἐν ἀνδρεῶνι, παρεῖναι δέ οἱ καὶ Ἀνακρέοντα τὸν Τήιον· καί κως εἴτ' ἐκ προνοίης αὐτὸν κατηλογέοντα τὰ Ὀροίτεω πρήγματα, εἴτε καὶ συντυχίη τις τοιαύτη ἐπεγένετο· τόν τε γὰρ κήρυκα τὸν Ὀροίτεω παρελθόντα διαλέ-

[6] Comp. Soph. *Antig.* 909-12; unless the lines be spurious, they seem a conscious imitation of this passage of Herodotos. Fr. Kern ("Die Abschiedsrede d. sophokleischen Antigone" in the *Zeitschr. f. d. Gymnasialwesen*, xxxvi.) disputes against Kirchhoff their authenticity and bearing on the date of the composition of Herodotos.

[7] "Just about the time of." Comp. ii. 134, i. 67.

[8] Miscalled Orontês by Diodoros and Lucian.

[9] Also called the satrapy of Phrygia on the Hellespont, or of Æolis, or of the coast. See ch. 90, note 4. The capital, Daskylion, which was built by Daskylos, son of Periandros, according to Steph. Byz., lay near Lake Daskylitis, from which, says Hekatæos, the Rhymos flows through the Mygdonian Plain into the Rhyndakos near the city Alazia. It

γεσθαι, καὶ τὸν Πολυκράτεα (τυχεῖν γὰρ ἀπεστραμμένον πρὸς τὸν τοῖχον) οὔτε τι μεταστραφῆναι οὔτε ὑποκρίνασθαι. αἰτίαι μὲν 122
δὴ αὗται διφάσιαι λέγονται τοῦ θανάτου τοῦ Πολυκράτεος γενέσθαι, πάρεστι δὲ πείθεσθαι ὁκοτέρῃ τις βούλεται αὐτέων. ὁ δὲ ὢν Ὀροίτης ἰζόμενος ἐν Μαγνησίῃ τῇ ὑπὲρ Μαιάνδρου ποταμοῦ οἰκημένῃ[1] ἔπεμπε Μύρσον τὸν Γύγεω ἄνδρα Λυδὸν[2] ἐς Σάμον ἀγγελίην φέροντα, μαθὼν τοῦ Πολυκράτεος τὸν νόον. Πολυκράτης γάρ ἐστι πρῶτος τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν Ἑλλήνων ὃς θαλασσοκρατεῖν ἐπενοήθη, πάρεξ Μίνωός τε τοῦ Κνωσσίου[3] καὶ εἰ δή τις ἄλλος πρότερος τούτου ἦρξε τῆς θαλάσσης· τῆς δὲ ἀνθρωπηίης λεγομένης γενεῆς Πολυκράτης πρῶτος, ἐλπίδας πολλὰς ἔχων Ἰωνίης τε καὶ νήσων ἄρξειν. μαθὼν ὦν τάοτά μιν διανοεόμενον ὁ Ὀροίτης πέμψας ἀγγελίην ἔλεγε τάδε. "Ὀροίτης Πολυκράτει ὧδε λέγει. πυνθάνομαι ἐπιβουλεύειν σε πρήγμασι μεγάλοισι, καὶ χρήματά τοι οὐκ εἶναι κατὰ τὰ φρονήματα. σύ νυν ὧδε ποιήσας ὀρθώσεις μὲν σεωυτόν, σώσεις δὲ καὶ ἐμέ· ἐμοὶ γὰρ βασιλεὺς Καμβύσης ἐπιβουλεύει θάνατον, καί μοι τοῦτο ἐξαγγέλλεται σαφηνέως. σύ νυν ἐμὲ ἐκκομίσας αὐτὸν καὶ χρήματα, τὰ μὲν αὐτῶν αὐτὸς ἔχε, τὰ δὲ ἐμὲ ἔα ἔχειν· εἵνεκέν τε χρημάτων ἄρξεις ἁπάσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος. εἰ δέ μοι ἀπιστεῖς τὰ περὶ τῶν χρημάτων, πέμψον ὅστις τοι πιστότατος τυγχάνει ἐών, τῷ ἐγὼ ἀποδέξω." τάοτα ἀκούσας Πολυκράτης ἥσθη τε καὶ 123
ἐβούλετο· καί κως ἰμείρετο γὰρ χρημάτων μεγάλως, ἀποπέμπει πρῶτα κατοψόμενον Μαιάνδριον Μαιανδρίου[4] ἄνδρα τῶν ἀστῶν, ὅς οἱ ἦν γραμματιστής· ὃς χρόνῳ οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον τούτων τὸν κόσμον τὸν ἐκ τοῦ ἀνδρεῶνος τοῦ Πολυκράτεος ἐόντα ἀξιοθέητον ἀνέθηκε πάντα ἐς τὸ Ἥραιον. ὁ δὲ Ὀροίτης μαθὼν τὸν κατάσκοπον ἐόντα προσδόκιμον ἐποίει τοιάδε. λάρνακας ὀκτὼ πληρώσας λίθων πλὴν κάρτα βραχέος τοῦ περὶ αὐτὰ τὰ χείλεα, ἐπιπολῆς τῶν λίθων χρυσὸν ἐπέβαλε, καταδήσας δὲ τὰς λάρνακας εἶχε ἑτοίμας. ἐλθὼν δὲ ὁ Μαιάνδριος καὶ θεησάμενος ἀπήγγελλε τῷ Πολυκράτει. ὁ δὲ πολλὰ μὲν τῶν μαντίων ἀπαγορευόντων 124
πολλὰ δὲ τῶν φίλων ἐστέλλετο αὐτόσε, πρὸς δὲ καὶ ἰδούσης τῆς θυγατρὸς ὄψιν ἐνυπνίου τοιήνδε. ἐδόκεί οἱ τὸν πατέρα ἐν τῷ ἠέρι μετέωρον ἐόντα λοῦσθαι μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ Διός, χρίεσθαι δὲ ὑπὸ

is usually identified with the modern Diaskilli.

[1] See i. 161, note 6.

[2] The death of Myrsos is related in v. 121. Kandaulês was called Myrsilos, "son of Myrsos," by the Greeks (see i. 7, note 8).

[3] Comp. i. 171, note 9; Thuk. i. 8.

[4] No other Greek in Herodotos has his father's name, while Demosthenês

τοῦ ἡλίου. ταύτην ἰδοῦσα τὴν ὄψιν παντοίη ἐγίνετο μὴ ἀποδημῆσαι τὸν Πολυκράτεα παρὰ τὸν Ὀροίτεα, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἰόντος αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὴν πεντηκόντερον ἐπεφημίζετο.[5] ὁ δέ οἱ ἠπείλησε, ἢν σῶς ἀπονοστήσῃ, πολλόν μιν χρόνον παρθενεύεσθαι. ἡ δὲ ἠρήσατο ἐπιτελέα τάοτα γενέσθαι· βούλεσθαι γὰρ παρθενεύεσθαι
125 πλέω χρόνον ἢ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐστερῆσθαι. Πολυκράτης δὲ πάσης συμβουλίης ἀλογήσας ἔπλει παρὰ τὸν Ὀροίτεα, ἅμα ἀγόμενος ἄλλους τε πολλοὺς τῶν ἑταίρων, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ Δημοκήδεα τὸν Καλλιφῶντος Κροτωνιήτην[6] ἄνδρα, ἰητρόν τε ἐόντα καὶ τὴν τέχνην ἀσκέοντα ἄριστα τῶν κατ' ἑωυτόν. ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐς τὴν Μαγνησίην ὁ Πολυκράτης διεφθάρη κακῶς, οὐτε ἑωυτοῦ ἀξίως οὔτε τῶν ἑωυτοῦ φρονημάτων· ὅτι γὰρ μὴ οἱ Συρηκοσίων γενόμενοι τύραννοι[7] οὐδὲ εἷς τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλληνικῶν τύραννων ἄξιός ἐστι Πολυκράτει μεγαλοπρεπείην συμβληθῆναι. ἀποκτείνας δέ μιν οὐκ ἀξίως ἀπηγήσιος Ὀροίτης ἀνεσταύρωσε·[8] τῶν δὲ οἱ ἑπομένων ὅσοι μὲν ἦσαν Σάμιοι, ἀπῆκε, κελεύων σφέας ἑωυτῷ χάριν εἰδέναι ἐόντας ἐλευθέρους, ὅσοι δὲ ἦσαν ξεῖνοί τε καὶ δοῦλοι τῶν ἑπομένων, ἐν ἀνδραπόδων λόγῳ ποιεόμενος εἶχε. Πολυκράτης δὲ ἀνακρεμάμενος ἐπετέλει πᾶσαν τὴν ὄψιν τῆς θυγατρός· ἐλοῦτο μὲν γὰρ ὑπὸ τοῦ Διὸς ὅκως ὕοι, ἐχρίετο δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου, ἀνιεὶς αὐτὸς ἐκ τοῦ σώματος ἰκμάδα.

126 Πολυκράτεος μὲν δὴ αἱ πολλαὶ εὐτυχίαι ἐς τοῦτο ἐτελεύτησαν [τῇ οἱ Ἄμασις ὁ Αἰγύπτου βασιλεὺς προεμαντεύσατο]. χρόνῳ δὲ οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον καὶ Ὀροίτεα Πολυκράτεος τίσιες μετῆλθον. μετὰ γὰρ τὸν Καμβύσεω θάνατον καὶ τῶν Μάγων τὴν βασιληίην μένων ἐν τῇσι Σάρδισι Ὀροίτης ὠφέλει μὲν οὐδὲν Πέρσας ὑπὸ Μήδων[9] ἀπαραιρημένους τὴν ἀρχήν· ὁ δὲ ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ταραχῇ κατὰ μὲν ἔκτεινε Μιτροβάτεα τὸν ἐκ Δασκυλείου ὕπαρχον, ὃς οἱ ὠνείδισε τὰ ἐς Πολυκράτεα ἔχοντα, κατὰ[1] δὲ τοῦ Μιτροβάτεω τὸν παῖδα Κρανάσπην, ἄνδρας ἐν Πέρσῃσι δοκίμους, ἄλλα τε ἐξύβρισε παντοῖα καί τινα ἀγγελιηφόρον[2] ἐλθόντα

gives as many as five examples of the usage.

[5] "She followed him with words of ill omen." Comp. Thuk. vii. 75. The more common reading is ἐφημίζετο, "she kept crying out;" but ἐπιφ. has the support of Eustathios as well as of two of the best MSS.

[6] Krotôna, now Cotrone, the successful rival of Sybaris in Magna Græcia.

[7] The three brothers Gelon, Hieron, and Thrasybulos, B.C. 485-66.

[8] The impaling describes the mode of death which was one fit for a slave, not for a free-born Greek. ἀποκ., etc., is epexegetical of ἀνεστ., and does not refer to a particular kind of death.

[9] See ch. 65, note 2.

[1] A striking example of the so-called Homeric tmesis.

[2] One MS. reads the Persian equivalent

Δαρείου παρ' αὐτόν, ὡς οὐ πρὸς ἡδονήν οἱ ἦν τὰ ἀγγελλόμενα, κτείνει μιν ὀπίσω κομιζόμενον, ἄνδρας οἱ ὑπείσας κατ' ὁδόν, ἀποκτείνας δέ μιν ἠφάνισε αὐτῷ ἵππῳ. Δαρεῖος δὲ ὡς ἔσχε τὴν 127
ἀρχήν, ἐπεθύμει τὸν Ὀροίτεα τίσασθαι πάντων τῶν ἀδικημάτων εἵνεκεν καὶ μάλιστα Μιτροβάτεω καὶ τοῦ παιδός. ἐκ μὲν δὴ τῆς ἰθέης στρατὸν ἐπ' αὐτὸν οὐκ ἐδόκει πέμπειν ἅτε οἰδεόντων ἔτι τῶν πρηγμάτων, καὶ νεωστὶ ἔχων τὴν ἀρχήν, καὶ τὸν Ὀροίτεα μεγάλην τὴν ἰσχὺν πυνθανόμενος ἔχειν· τὸν χίλιοι μὲν Περσέων ἐδορυφόρεον, εἶχε δὲ νομὸν τόν τε Φρύγιον καὶ Λύδιον καὶ Ἰωνικόν. πρὸς τάοτα δὴ ὧν ὁ Δαρεῖος τάδε ἐμηχανήσατο. συγκαλέσας Περσέων τοὺς δοκιμωτάτους ἔλεγέ σφι τάδε. "ὦ Πέρσαι, τίς ἄν μοι τοῦτο ὑμέων ὑποστὰς ἐπιτελέσειε σοφίῃ καὶ μὴ βίῃ τε καὶ ὁμίλῳ; ἔνθα γὰρ σοφίης δεῖ, βίης ἔργον οὐδέν· ὑμέων δὲ ὧν τίς μοι Ὀροίτεα ἢ ζώοντα ἀγάγοι ἢ ἀποκτείνειε; ὃς ὠφέλησε μέν κω Πέρσας οὐδέν, κακὰ δὲ μεγάλα ἔοργε. τοῦτο μὲν δύο ἡμέων ἠίστωσε, Μιτροβάτεά τε καὶ τὸν παῖδα αὐτοῦ, τοῦτο δὲ τοὺς ἀνακαλέοντας αὐτὸν καὶ πεμπομένους ὑπ' ἐμέο κτείνει, ὕβριν οὐκ ἀνασχετὸν φαίνων. πρίν τι ὧν μέζον ἐξεργάσασθαί μιν Πέρσας κακόν, καταλαμπτέος ἐστὶ ἡμῖν θανάτῳ." Δαρεῖος μὲν τάοτα ἐπειρώτα, τῷ δὲ ἄνδρες τριήκοντα ὑπέστησαν, 128
αὐτὸς ἕκαστος ἐθέλων ποιεῖν τάοτα. ἐρίζοντας δὲ Δαρεῖος κατελάμβανε κελεύων πάλλεσθαι· παλλομένων δὲ λαγχάνει ἐκ πάντων Βαγαῖος ὁ Ἀρτόντεω· λαχὼν δὲ ὁ Βαγαῖος ποιεῖ τάδε. βυβλία γραψάμενος πολλὰ καὶ περὶ πολλῶν ἔχοντα πρηγμάτων σφρηγῖδά σφι ἐπέβαλε τὴν Δαρείου, μετὰ δὲ ἦιε ἔχων τάοτα ἐς τὰς Σάρδις. ἀπικόμενος δὲ καὶ Ὀροίτεω ἐς ὄψιν ἐλθών, τῶν βυβλίων ἓν ἕκαστον περιαιρεόμενος ἐδίδου τῷ γραμματιστῇ τῷ βασιληίῳ ἐπιλέγεσθαι· γραμματιστὰς δὲ βασιληίους οἱ πάντες ὕπαρχοι ἔχουσι.[3] ἀποπειρεόμενος δὲ τῶν δορυφόρων ἐδίδου τὰ βυβλία ὁ Βαγαῖος, εἰ ἐνδεξαίατο ἀπόστασιν ἀπὸ Ὀροίτεω. ὁρέων δέ σφεας τά τε βυβλία σεβομένους μεγάλως καὶ τὰ λεγόμενα ἐκ τῶν βυβλίων ἔτι μεζόνως, διδοῖ ἄλλο ἐν τῷ ἐνῆν ἔπεα τάδε. "ὦ Πέρσαι, βασιλεὺς Δαρεῖος ἀπαγορεύει ὑμῖν μὴ δορυφορεῖν Ὀροίτεα." οἱ δὲ ἀκούσαντες τούτων μετῆκάν οἱ τὰς αἰχμάς. ἰδὼν δὲ τοῦτό σφεας ὁ Βαγαῖος πειθομένους τῷ βυβλίῳ, ἐνθαῦτα δὴ θαρσήσας τὸ τελευταῖον τῶν βυβλίων διδοῖ τῷ γραμματιστῇ, ἐν τῷ ἐγέγραπτο "βασιλεὺς Δαρεῖος Πέρσῃσι

ἀγγαρεῖον (ἄγγαρον). Comp. the Sanskrit *aṅgiras*, "a demi-god," and Herod. viii. 98.

[3] These secretaries served as checks upon the satraps, as they could report his doings to the king.

τοῖσι ἐν Σάρδισι ἐντέλλεται κτείνειν Ὀροίτεα." οἱ δὲ δορυφόροι ὡς ἤκουσαν τάοτα, σπασάμενοι τοὺς ἀκινάκας κτείνουσι παραυτίκα μιν. οὕτω δὴ Ὀροίτεα τὸν Πέρσην Πολυκράτεος τοῦ Σαμίου τίσιες μετῆλθον.

129 Ἀπικομένων δὲ καὶ ἀνακομισθέντων τῶν Ὀροίτεω χρημάτων ἐς τὰ Σοῦσα, συνήνεικε χρόνῳ οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον βασιλέα Δαρεῖον ἐν ἄγρῃ θηρῶν ἀποθρώσκοντα ἀπ' ἵππου στραφῆναι τὸν πόδα. καί κως ἰσχυροτέρως ἐστράφη· ὁ γάρ οἱ ἀστράγαλος ἐξεχώρησε ἐκ τῶν ἄρθρων. νομίζων δὲ καὶ πρότερον περὶ ἑωυτὸν ἔχειν Αἰγυπτίων τοὺς δοκέοντας εἶναι πρώτους τὴν ἰητρικήν, τούτοισι ἐχρᾶτο. οἱ δὲ στρεβλοῦντες καὶ βιώμενοι τὸν πόδα κακὸν μέζον ἐργάζοντο. ἐπ' ἑπτὰ μὲν δὴ ἡμέρας καὶ ἑπτὰ νύκτας ὑπὸ τοῦ παρεόντος κακοῦ ὁ Δαρεῖος ἀγρυπνίῃσι εἴχετο· τῇ δὲ δὴ ὀγδόῃ ἡμέρῃ ἔχοντί οἱ φλαύρως παρακούσας τις πρότερον ἔτι ἐν Σάρδισι τοῦ Κροτωνιήτεω Δημοκήδεος τὴν τέχνην ἀγγέλλει τῷ Δαρείῳ· ὁ δὲ ἄγειν μιν τὴν ταχίστην παρ' ἑωυτὸν ἐκέλευσε. τὸν δὲ ὡς ἐξεῦρον ἐν τοῖσι Ὀροίτεω ἀνδραπόδοισι ὄκου δὴ ἀπημελημένον, παρῆγον ἐς μέσον πέδας τε
130 ἕλκοντα καὶ ῥάκεσι ἐσθημένον. σταθέντα δὲ ἐς μέσον εἰρώτα ὁ Δαρεῖος τὴν τέχνην εἰ ἐπίσταιτο· ὁ δὲ οὐκ ὑπεδέκετο, ἀρρωδέων μὴ ἑωυτὸν ἐκφήνας τὸ παράπαν τῆς Ἑλλάδος ᾖ ἀπεστερημένος· κατεφάνη τε τῷ Δαρείῳ τεχνάζειν ἐπιστάμενος, καὶ τοὺς ἀγαγόντας αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσε μάστιγάς τε καὶ κέντρα παραφέρειν ἐς τὸ μέσον. ὁ δὲ ἐνθαῦτα δὴ ὢν ἐκφαίνει, φὰς ἀτρεκέως μὲν οὐκ ἐπίστασθαι, ὁμιλήσας δὲ ἰητρῷ φλαύρως ἔχειν τὴν τέχνην. μετὰ δέ, ὥς οἱ ἐπέτρεψε, Ἑλληνικοῖσι ἰήμασι χρεώμενος καὶ ἤπια μετὰ τὰ ἰσχυρὰ προσάγων ὕπνου τέ μιν λαγχάνειν ἐποίει καὶ ἐν χρόνῳ ὀλίγῳ ὑγιέα μιν ἐόντα ἀπέδεξε, οὐδαμὰ ἔτι ἐλπίζοντα ἀρτίπους ἔσεσθαι. δωρεῖται δή μιν μετὰ τάοτα ὁ Δαρεῖος πεδέων χρυσέων δύο ζεύγεσι· ὁ δέ μιν ἐπείρετο εἴ οἱ διπλήσιον τὸ κακὸν ἐπίτηδες νέμει, ὅτι μιν ὑγιέα ἐποίησε. ἡσθεὶς δὲ τῷ ἔπει ὁ Δαρεῖος ἀποπέμπει μιν παρὰ τὰς ἑωυτοῦ γυναῖκας· παράγοντες δὲ οἱ εὐνοῦχοι ἔλεγον πρὸς τὰς γυναῖκας ὡς βασιλέι οὗτος εἴη ὃς τὴν ψυχὴν ἀπέδωκε. ὑποτύπτουσα δὲ αὐτέων ἑκάστη φιάλῃ τοῦ χρυσοῦ ἐς θήκην ἐδωρεῖτο Δημοκήδεα οὕτω δή τι δαψιλέι δωρεῇ ὡς τοὺς ἀποπίπτοντας ἀπὸ τῶν φιαλέων στατῆρας[4]

[4] *i.e.* darics (see vii. 28) of 128½ grains each. The Attic staters were so nearly of the same value that they passed current in Persia after being marked with a bar. Ὑποτύπτουσα, "dipping deep down (with a cup)," as in ii. 136, vi. 119. Perhaps ὑποκύπτουσα was the original reading. The MSS. have τοῦ

ἑπόμενος ὁ οἰκέτης, τῷ οὔνομα ἦν Σκίτων, ἀνελέγετο καί οἱ χρῆμα πολλόν τι χρυσοῦ συνελέχθη.

Ὁ δὲ Δημοκήδης οὗτος ὧδε ἐκ Κρότωνος ἀπιγμένος Πολυ- 131
κράτει ὡμίλησε. πατρὶ συνείχετο ἐν τῇ Κρότωνι ὀργὴν χαλεπῷ· τοῦτον ἐπείτε οὐκ ἐδύνατο φέρειν, ἀπολιπὼν οἴχετο ἐς Αἴγιναν. καταστὰς δὲ ἐς ταύτην πρώτῳ ἔτει ὑπερεβάλετο τοὺς ἄλλους ἰητρούς, ἀσκευής περ ἐὼν καὶ ἔχων οὐδὲν τῶν ὅσα περὶ τὴν τέχνην ἐστὶ ἐργαλήια. καί μιν δευτέρῳ ἔτει ταλάντου Αἰγινῆται δημοσίῃ μισθοῦνται, τρίτῳ δὲ ἔτει Ἀθηναῖοι ἑκατὸν μνέων, τετάρτῳ δὲ ἔτει Πολυκράτης δυῶν ταλάντων.[5] οὕτω μὲν ἀπίκετο ἐς τὴν Σάμον, καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ ἀνδρὸς οὐκ ἧκιστα Κροτωνιῆται ἰητροὶ εὐδοκίμησαν· ἐγένετο γὰρ ὧν τοῦτο ὅτε πρῶτοι μὲν Κροτωνιῆται ἰητροὶ ἐλέγοντο ἀνὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα εἶναι, δεύτεροι δὲ Κυρηναῖοι. κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τοῦτον χρόνον καὶ Ἀργεῖοι ἤκουον μουσικὴν εἶναι Ἑλλήνων πρῶτοι. τότε δὴ ὁ Δημοκήδης 132
ἐν τοῖσι Σούσοισι ἐξιησάμενος Δαρεῖον οἰκόν τε μέγιστον εἶχε καὶ ὁμοτράπεζος βασιλέι ἐγεγόνει, πλήν τε ἑνὸς τοῦ ἐς Ἕλληνας ἀπιέναι πάντα τἆλλά οἱ παρῆν. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους ἰητρούς, οἳ βασιλέα πρότερον ἐῶντο, μέλλοντας ἀνασκολοπιεῖσθαι ὅτι ὑπὸ Ἕλληνος ἰητροῦ ἐσσώθησαν τούτους βασιλέα παραιτησάμενος ἐρρύσατο· τοῦτο δὲ μάντιν Ἠλεῖον Πολυκράτει ἐπισπόμενον καὶ ἀπημελημένον ἐν τοῖσι ἀνδραπόδοισι ἐρρύσατο. ἦν δὲ μέγιστον πρῆγμα Δημοκήδης παρὰ βασιλέι.

Ἐν χρόνῳ δὲ ὀλίγῳ μετὰ τάοτα τάδε ἄλλα συνήνεικε 133
γενέσθαι. Ἀτόσσῃ τῇ Κύρου μὲν θυγατρὶ Δαρείου δὲ γυναικὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ μαστοῦ ἔφυ φῦμα, μετὰ δὲ ἐκραγὲν ἐνέμετο πρόσω. ὅσον μὲν δὴ χρόνον ἦν ἔλασσον, ἡ δὲ κρύπτουσα καὶ αἰσχυνομένη ἔφραζε οὐδενί· ἐπείτε δὲ ἐν κακῷ ἦν, μετεπέμψατο τὸν Δημοκήδεα καί οἱ ἐπέδεξε. ὁ δὲ φὰς ὑγιέα ποιήσειν ἐξορκοῖ μιν ἢ μέν οἱ ἀντυπουργήσειν ἐκείνην τοῦτο τὸ ἂν αὐτῆς δεηθῇ· δεήσεσθαι δὲ οὐδενὸς τῶν ὅσα ἐς αἰσχύνην ἐστὶ φέροντα. ὡς 134
δὲ ἄρα μιν μετὰ τάοτα ἰώμενος ὑγιέα ἀπέδεξε, ἐνθαῦτα δὴ διδαχθεῖσα ὑπὸ τοῦ Δημοκήδεος ἡ Ἄτοσσα προσέφερε ἐν τῇ κοίτῃ Δαρείῳ λόγον τοιόνδε. "ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἔχων δύναμιν τοσαύτην κάτησαι, οὔτε τι ἔθνος προσκτώμενος οὔτε δύναμιν Πέρσῃσι. οἰκὸς δέ ἐστι ἄνδρα καὶ νέον καὶ χρημάτων μεγάλων δεσπότην φαίνεσθαί τι ἀποδεικνύμενον, ἵνα καὶ Πέρσαι ἐκμάθωσι

χρυσοῦ σὺν θήκῃ and (one) τοῦ χρυσοῦ τὴν θήκην.

[5] i.e. £243 : 15s., £406 : 5s., and £487 : 10s. For the employment of state physicians in Greece, see Xen. *Mem.* iv. 2; Plat. *Gorg.* 21-24.

ὅτι ὑπ' ἀνδρὸς ἄρχονται. ἐπ' ἀμφότερα δέ τοι φέρει τάοτα ποιεῖν, καὶ ἵνα σφέων Πέρσαι ἐπιστέωνται ἄνδρα εἶναι τὸν προεστεῶτα, καὶ ἵνα τρίβωνται πολέμῳ μηδὲ σχολὴν ἄγοντες ἐπιβουλεύωσί τοι. νῦν γὰρ ἄν τι καὶ ἀποδέξαιο ἔργον, ἕως νέος εἰς ἡλικίην· αὐξομένῳ γὰρ τῷ σώματι συναύξονται καὶ αἱ φρένες, γηράσκοντι δὲ συγγηράσκουσι καὶ ἐς τὰ πρήγματα πάντα ἀπαμβλύνονται." ἡ μὲν δὴ τάοτα ἐκ διδαχῆς ἔλεγε, ὁ δ' ἀμείβετο τοῖσιδε. "ὦ γύναι, πάντα ὅσα περ αὐτὸς ἐπινοέω ποιήσειν εἴρηκας· ἐγὼ γὰρ βεβούλευμαι ζεύξας γέφυραν ἐκ τῆσδε τῆς ἠπείρου ἐς τὴν ἑτέρην ἤπειρον ἐπὶ Σκύθας στρατεύεσθαι· καὶ τάοτα ὀλίγου χρόνου ἔσται τελεόμενα." λέγει Ἄτοσσα τάδε. "ὅρα νυν, ἐπὶ Σκύθας μὲν τὴν πρώτην ἰέναι ἔασον· οὗτοι γάρ, ἐπεὰν σὺ βούλῃ, ἔσονταί τοι· σὺ δέ μοι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα στρατεύεσθαι. ἐπιθυμέω γὰρ λόγῳ πυνθανομένη Λακαίνας τέ μοι γενέσθαι θεραπαίνας καὶ Ἀργείας καὶ Ἀττικὰς καὶ Κορινθίας.[6] ἔχεις δὲ ἄνδρα ἐπιτηδεότατον ἀνδρῶν πάντων δέξαι τε ἕκαστα τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ κατηγήσασθαι, τοῦτον ὅς σεο τὸν πόδα ἐξιήσατο." ἀμείβεται Δαρεῖος "ὦ γύναι, ἐπεὶ τοίνυν τοι δοκεῖ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἡμέας πρῶτα ἀποπειρᾶσθαι, κατασκόπους μοι δοκεῖ Περσέων πρῶτον ἄμεινον εἶναι ὁμοῦ τούτῳ τῷ σὺ λέγεις πέμψαι ἐς αὐτούς, οἳ μαθόντες καὶ ἰδόντες ἐξαγγελέουσι ἕκαστα αὐτῶν
135 ἡμῖν· καὶ ἔπειτα ἐξεπιστάμενος ἐπ' αὐτοὺς τρέψομαι." τάοτα εἶπε καὶ ἅμα ἔπος τε καὶ ἔργον ἐποίει. ἐπείτε γὰρ τάχιστα ἡμέρη ἐπέλαμψε, καλέσας Περσέων ἄνδρας δοκίμους πεντεκαίδεκα ἐνετέλλετό σφι ἑπομένους Δημοκήδει διεξελθεῖν τὰ παραθαλάσσια τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ὅκως τε μὴ διαδρήσεταί σφεας ὁ Δημοκήδης, ἀλλά μιν πάντως ὀπίσω ἀπάξουσι. ἐντειλάμενος δὲ τούτοισι τάοτα, δεύτερα καλέσας αὐτὸν Δημοκήδεα ἐδεῖτο αὐτοῦ ὅκως ἐξηγησάμενος πᾶσαν καὶ ἐπιδέξας τὴν Ἑλλάδα τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι ὀπίσω ἥξει· δῶρα δέ μιν τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τοῖσι ἀδελφεοῖσι ἐκέλευε πάντα τὰ ἐκείνου ἔπιπλα λαβόντα ἄγειν, φὰς ἄλλα οἱ πολλαπλήσια ἀντιδώσειν· πρὸς δὲ ἐς τὰ δῶρα[7] ὁλκάδα οἱ ἔφη συμβαλεῖσθαι πλήσας ἀγαθῶν παντοίων, τὴν ἅμα οἱ πλεύσεσθαι. Δαρεῖος μὲν δή, δοκεῖν ἐμοί, ἀπ' οὐδενὸς δολεροῦ νόου ἐπαγγέλλετό οἱ τάοτα. Δημοκήδης δὲ δείσας μή εὐ[8] ἐκπειρῷτο Δαρεῖος, οὔτι ἐπιδραμὼν πάντα τὰ διδόμενα ἐδέκετο, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν ἑωυτοῦ

[6] Yet, according to v. 105, even Dareios did not know the name of the Athenians, much less the names of the other Greek states!

[7] "He would add to the gifts." Cp. iv. 50.

[8] = εὖ (οὗ) "him," as in *Il.* xx. 464.

κατὰ χώρην ἔφη καταλείψειν, ἵνα ὀπίσω σφέα ἀπελθὼν ἔχοι, τὴν μέντοι ὀλκάδα, τήν οἱ Δαρεῖος ἐπαγγέλλετο ἐς τὴν δωρεὴν τοῖσι ἀδελφεοῖσι, δέκεσθαι ἔφη. ἐντειλάμενος δὲ καὶ τούτῳ τάδε ὁ Δαρεῖος ἀποστέλλει αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ θάλασσαν. καταβάντες 136
δὲ οὗτοι ἐς Φοινίκην καὶ Φοινίκης ἐς Σιδῶνα πόλιν αὐτίκα μὲν τριήρεας δύο ἐπλήρωσαν, ἅμα δὲ αὐτῇσι καὶ γαῦλον[9] μέγαν παντοίων ἀγαθῶν· παρεσκευασμένοι δὲ πάντα ἔπλεον ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, προσίσχοντες δὲ αὐτῆς τὰ παραθαλάσσια ἐθηέοντο καὶ ἀπεγράφοντο,[1] ἐς ὃ τὰ πολλὰ αὐτῆς καὶ ὀνομαστὰ θεησάμενοι ἀπίκοντο τῆς Ἰταλίης ἐς Τάραντα. ἐνθαῦτα δὲ ἐκ ῥηστώνης τῆς Δημοκήδεος Ἀριστοφιλίδης τῶν Ταραντίνων ὁ βασιλεὺς[2] τοῦτο μὲν τὰ πηδάλια παρέλυσε τῶν Μηδικέων νεῶν, τοῦτο δὲ αὐτοὺς τοὺς Πέρσας εἶρξε ὡς κατασκόπους δῆθεν ἐόντας. ἐν ᾧ δὲ οὗτοι τάδε ἔπασχον, ὁ Δημοκήδης ἐς τὴν Κρότωνα ἀπικνεῖται· ἀπιγμένου δὲ ἤδη τούτου ἐς τὴν ἑωυτοῦ ὁ Ἀριστοφιλίδης ἔλυσε τοὺς Πέρσας καὶ τὰ παρέλαβε τῶν νεῶν ἀπέδωκέ σφι. πλέοντες δὲ ἐνθεῦτεν οἱ Πέρσαι καὶ διώ- 137
κοντες Δημοκήδεα ἀπικνέονται ἐς τὴν Κρότωνα, εὑρόντες δέ μιν ἀγοράζοντα ἅπτοντο αὐτοῦ. τῶν δὲ Κροτωνιητέων οἱ μὲν καταρρωδέοντες τὰ Περσικὰ πρήγματα προϊέναι ἕτοιμοι ἦσαν, οἱ δὲ ἀντάπτοντο καὶ τοῖσι σκυτάλοισι ἔπαιον τοὺς Πέρσας προϊσχομένους ἔπεα τάδε. "ἄνδρες Κροτωνιῆται, ὁρᾶτε τὰ ποιεῖτε. ἄνδρα βασιλέος δρηπέτην γενόμενον ἐξαιρεῖσθε. κῶς τάδε βασιλεῖ Δαρείῳ ἐκχρήσει περιυβρίσθαι; κῶς δὲ ὑμῖν τὰ ποιεόμενα ἔξει καλῶς, ἢν ἀπέλησθε ἡμέας; ἐπὶ τίνα δὲ τῆσδε πρότερην στρατευσόμεθα πόλιν; τίνα δὲ πρότερην ἀνδραποδίζεσθαι πειρησόμεθα;" τάδε λέγοντες τοὺς Κροτωνιήτας οὐκων ἔπειθον, ἀλλ' ἐξαιρεθέντες τε τὸν Δημοκήδεα καὶ τὸν γαῦλον τὸν ἅμα ἤγοντο ἀπαιρεθέντες ἀπέπλεον ὀπίσω ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην οὐδ' ἔτι ἐζήτησαν τὸ προσωτέρω τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀπικόμενοι ἐκμαθεῖν, ἐστερημένοι τοῦ ἡγεμόνος. τοσόνδε μέντοι ἐνετείλατό σφι Δημοκήδης ἀναγομένοισι, κελεύων εἰπεῖν σφεας Δαρείῳ ὅτι ἅρμοσται τὴν Μίλωνος θυγατέρα Δημοκήδης γυναῖκα.

[9] Γαῦλος was specially used of Phœnician merchant ships. Cp. viii. 97; Schol. on Aristoph. *Birds*, 572; Hesykh. *s. v.* The word may be Semitic, and only accidentally of the same form (but not accentuation), as γαυλός, Sanskrit *golam*, "a globe-shaped water-jug."

[1] "Took notes." This explains the way in which the accounts of the voyages of Skylax and Nearkhos were written.

[2] Aristophilidês is king, not tyrant. Tarentum, however, (founded by the Spartan Phalanthos), soon afterwards became a democracy. Italy still denoted only the south-eastern portion of the peninsula, so called from the number

τοῦ γὰρ δὴ παλαιστέω Μίλωνος ἦν οὔνομα πολλὸν παρὰ βασιλέι·[3] κατὰ δὲ τοῦτό μοι δοκεῖ σπεῦσαι τὸν γάμον τοῦτον τελέσας[4] χρήματα μεγάλα Δημοκήδης, ἵνα φανῇ πρὸς Δαρείου
138 ἐὼν καὶ ἐν τῇ ἑωυτοῦ δόκιμος. ἀναχθέντες δὲ ἐκ τῆς Κρότωνος οἱ Πέρσαι ἐκπίπτουσι τῇσι νησὶ ἐς Ἰηπυγίην,[5] καί σφεας δουλεύοντας ἐνθαῦτα Γίλλος ἀνὴρ Ταραντῖνος φυγὰς ῥυσάμενος ἀπήγαγε παρὰ βασιλέα Δαρεῖον. ὁ δὲ ἀντὶ τούτων ἕτοιμος ἦν διδόναι τοῦτο ὅ τι βούλοιτο αὐτός. Γίλλος δὲ αἱρεῖται κάτοδόν οἱ ἐς Τάραντα γενέσθαι, προαπηγησάμενος τὴν συμφορήν· ἵνα δὲ μὴ συνταράξῃ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἦν δι' αὐτὸν στόλος μέγας πλέῃ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰταλίην,[6] Κνιδίους μούνους ἀποχρᾶν οἱ ἔφη τοὺς κατάγοντας γίνεσθαι, δοκέων ἀπὸ τούτων ἐόντων τοῖσι Ταραντίνοισι φίλων μάλιστα τὴν κάτοδόν οἱ ἔσεσθαι. Δαρεῖος δὲ ὑποδεξάμενος ἐπετέλει· πέμψας γὰρ ἄγγελον ἐς Κνίδον κατάγειν σφέας ἐκέλευε Γίλλον ἐς Τάραντα. πειθόμενοι δὲ Δαρείῳ Κνίδιοι Ταραντίνους οὔκων ἔπειθον, βίην δὲ ἀδύνατοι ἦσαν προσφέρειν. τάοτα μέν νυν οὕτω ἐπρήχθη, οὗτοι δὲ πρῶτοι ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίης ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀπίκοντο Πέρσαι, καὶ οὗτοι διὰ τοιόνδε πρῆγμα κατάσκοποι ἐγένοντο.

139 Μετὰ δὲ τάοτα Σάμον βασιλεὺς Δαρεῖος αἱρεῖ, πολίων πασέων πρώτην Ἑλληνίδων καὶ βαρβάρων, διὰ τοιήνδε τινὰ αἰτίην. Καμβύσεω τοῦ Κύρου στρατευομένου ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον ἄλλοι τε συχνοὶ ἐς τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἀπίκοντο Ἑλλήνων, οἱ μέν, ὡς οἰκός, κατ' ἐμπορίην στρατευόμενοι, οἱ δέ τινες καὶ αὐτῆς τῆς χώρης θεηταί· τῶν ἦν καὶ Συλοσῶν ὁ Αἰάκεος, Πολυκράτεός τε ἐὼν ἀδελφεὸς καὶ φεύγων ἐκ Σάμου. τοῦτον τὸν Συλοσῶντα κατέλαβε εὐτυχίη τις τοιήδε. λαβὼν χλανίδα καὶ περιβαλόμενος πυρρὴν ἠγόραζε ἐν τῇ Μέμφι· ἰδὼν δὲ αὐτὸν Δαρεῖος, δορυφόρος τε ἐὼν Καμβύσεω καὶ λόγου οὐδενός κω μεγάλου,[7] ἐπεθύμησε τῆς

of calves (*vituli*) found there by its first Greek discoverers.

[3] As if Dareios had ever even heard the name of a Greek wrestler!

[4] "By paying."

[5] The Capo di Leuca. Cp. Hor. *Odes*, iii. 27, 20. The Greeks called Iapygia Messapia, "between the waters" of the Adriatic and the Tarentine Gulf (*μέσσος* and *ἀπία*, as the Homeric *ἀπίη γαῖα* and Sanskrit *ápas*, "water"). The Messapian Inscriptions, which are still undeciphered, but seem to be in an Aryan dialect, have been collected by Mommsen, *Die Unteritalischen Dialekte* (1850).

[6] Thus showing himself less selfish than Demokêdês had done.

[7] Here we have another Greek legend. (1) Dareios was never in Egypt with Kambysês, as we may gather from the Behistun Inscription (see also ch. 70); (2) as an Akhæmenid he could not have been of "no account"; (3) Greeks were not usually so disinterestedly generous, even when helped by "divine luck." As Sylosôn was a refugee at the court of

χλανίδος καὶ αὐτὴν προσελθὼν ὠνεῖτο. ὁ δὲ Συλοσῶν ὀρέων τὸν Δαρεῖον μεγάλως ἐπιθυμέοντα τῆς χλανίδος, θείῃ τύχῃ χρεώμενος λέγει "ἐγὼ ταύτην πωλέω μὲν οὐδενὸς χρήματος, δίδωμι δὲ ἄλλως, εἴ περ οὕτω δεῖ γενέσθαι πάντως τοι." αἰνέσας τάοτα ὁ Δαρεῖος παραλαμβάνει τὸ εἷμα. ὁ μὲν δὴ Συλοσῶν 140
ἠπίστατο τοῦτό οἱ ἀπολωλέναι δι' εὐηθείην. ὡς δὲ τοῦ χρόνου προβαίνοντος Καμβύσης τε ἀπέθανε καὶ τῷ Μάγῳ ἐπανέστησαν οἱ ἑπτὰ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἑπτὰ Δαρεῖος τὴν βασιληίην ἔσχε, πυνθάνεται ὁ Συλοσῶν ὡς ἡ βασιληίη περιεληλύθοι ἐς τοῦτον τὸν ἄνδρα τῷ κοτὲ αὐτὸς ἔδωκε ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ δεηθέντι τὸ εἷμα. ἀναβὰς δὲ ἐς τὰ Σοῦσα ἵζετο ἐς τὰ πρόθυρα τῶν βασιλέος οἰκίων καὶ ἔφη Δαρείου εὐεργέτης εἶναι. ἀγγέλλει τάοτα ἀκούσας ὁ πυλουρὸς τῷ βασιλέι· ὁ δὲ θωυμάσας λέγει πρὸς αὐτόν "καὶ τίς ἐστι Ἑλλήνων εὐεργέτης τῷ ἐγὼ προαιδέομαι, νεωστὶ μὲν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχων, ἀναβέβηκε δὲ ἤ τις ἢ οὐδείς κω παρ' ἡμέας αὐτῶν,[8] ἔχω δὲ χρέος ὡς εἰπεῖν οὐδὲν ἀνδρὸς Ἕλληνος. ὅμως δὲ αὐτὸν παράγετε ἔσω, ἵνα εἰδέω τί θέλων λέγει τάοτα." παρῆγε ὁ πυλουρὸς τὸν Συλοσῶντα, στάντα δὲ ἐς μέσον εἰρώτεον οἱ ἑρμηνεῖς τίς τε εἴη καὶ τί ποιήσας εὐεργέτης φησὶ εἶναι βασιλέος. εἶπε ὧν ὁ Συλοσῶν πάντα τὰ περὶ τὴν χλανίδα γενόμενα, καὶ ὡς αὐτὸς εἴη κεῖνος ὁ δούς. ἀμείβεται πρὸς τάοτα Δαρεῖος "ὦ γενναιότατε ἀνδρῶν, σὺ κεῖνος εἷς ὃς ἐμοὶ οὐδεμίαν ἔχοντί κω δύναμιν ἔδωκας εἰ καὶ σμικρά, ἀλλ' ὧν ἴση γε ἡ χάρις ὁμοίως ὡς εἰ νῦν κοθέν τι μέγα λάβοιμι· ἀντ' ὧν τοι χρυσὸν καὶ ἄργυρον ἄπλετον δίδωμι, ὡς μή κοτέ τοι μεταμελήσῃ Δαρεῖον τὸν Ὑστάσπεος εὖ ποιήσαντι." λέγει πρὸς τάοτα ὁ Συλοσῶν "ἐμοὶ μήτε χρυσὸν ὦ βασιλεῦ μήτε ἄργυρον δίδου, ἀλλ' ἀνασωσάμενός μοι δὸς τὴν πατρίδα Σάμον, τὴν νῦν ἀδελφεοῦ τοῦ ἐμοῦ Πολυκράτεος ἀποθανόντος ὑπὸ Ὀροίτεω ἔχει δοῦλος ἡμέτερος, ταύτην μοι δὸς ἄνευ τε φόνου καὶ ἐξανδραποδίσιος." τάοτα ἀκούσας Δαρεῖος 141
ἀπέστελλε στρατιήν τε καὶ στρατηγὸν Ὀτάνεα ἀνδρῶν τῶν ἑπτὰ

Dareios, and an opportunity of putting a stop to the piratical possibilities of Samos was naturally looked for, the conquest of Samos needed no gossiping story for its explanation.

[8] "To whom I owe thanks (cp. i. 61), so lately as I have obtained the kingdom, while scarcely any of them has as yet come to us." Some MSS. read δή and δέ (without the first ἤ). For the phrase ἤ τις ἤ οὐδείς see Xen. *Kyrop.* vii. 5; Ælian. *de N. A.* v. 50, vi. 58. The king's benefactors were registered in an official list, and were called *Orosangæ* (viii. 85). Cp. chh. 154, 160. The latter word is more correctly rendered *σωματοφύλακες* by a Gramm. in app. Phot. p. 674, as it seems a compound of the root *var*, "to protect," and *khshâyaia*, "king."

γενόμενον, ἐντειλάμενος, ὅσων ἐδεήθη ὁ Συλοσῶν, τάοτά οἱ ποιεῖν ἐπιτελέα. καταβὰς δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν ὁ Ὀτάνης ἔστελλε τὴν στρατιήν.

142 Τῆς δὲ Σάμου Μαιάνδριος ὁ Μαιανδρίου εἶχε τὸ κράτος, ἐπιτροπαίην παρὰ Πολυκράτεος λαβὼν τὴν ἀρχήν· τῷ δικαιοτάτῳ ἀνδρῶν βουλομένῳ γενέσθαι[9] οὐκ ἐξεγένετο. ἐπειδὴ γάρ οἱ ἐξαγγέλθη ὁ Πολυκράτεος θάνατος, ἐποίει τοιάδε. πρῶτα μὲν Διὸς ἐλευθερίου βωμὸν ἱδρύσατο καὶ τέμενος περὶ αὐτὸν οὔρισε τοῦτο τὸ νῦν ἐν τῷ προαστείῳ ἐστί· μετὰ δέ, ὡς οἱ ἐπεποίητο, ἐκκλησίην συναγείρας πάντων τῶν ἀστῶν ἔλεξε τάδε. "ἐμοί, ὡς ἴστε καὶ ὑμεῖς, σκῆπτρον καὶ δύναμις πᾶσα ἡ Πολυκράτεος ἐπιτέτραπται, καί μοι παρέχει νῦν ὑμέων ἄρχειν. ἐγὼ δὲ τὰ τῷ πέλας ἐπιπλήσσω, αὐτὸς κατὰ δύναμιν οὐ ποιήσω· οὔτε γάρ μοι Πολυκράτης ἤρεσκε δεσπόζων ἀνδρῶν ὁμοίων ἑωυτῷ οὔτε ἄλλος ὅστις τοιαῦτα ποιεῖ. Πολυκράτης μέν νυν ἐξέπλησε μοῖραν τὴν ἑωυτοῦ, ἐγὼ δὲ ἐς μέσον τὴν ἀρχὴν τιθεὶς ἰσονομίην ὑμῖν προαγορεύω. τοσάδε μέντοι δικαιῶ γέρεα ἐμεωυτῷ γενέσθαι, ἐκ μέν γε τῶν Πολυκράτεος χρημάτων ἐξαίρετα ἓξ τάλαντά μοι γενέσθαι, ἱερωσύνην δὲ πρὸς τούτοισι αἱρέομαι αὐτῷ τέ μοι καὶ τοῖσι ἀπ' ἐμέο αἰεὶ γινομένοισι τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ ἐλευθερίου· τῷ αὐτός τε ἱερὸν ἱδρυσάμην καὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίην ὑμῖν περιτίθημι." ὁ μὲν δὴ τάοτα τοῖσι Σαμίοισι ἐπαγγέλλετο· τῶν δέ τις ἐξαναστὰς εἶπε "ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἄξιος εἶς σύ γε ἡμέων ἄρχειν, γεγονώς τε κακῶς καὶ ἐὼν ὄλεθρος·[1] ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ὅκως λόγον δώσεις τῶν μετεχείρισας
143 χρημάτων." τάοτα εἶπε ἐὼν ἐν τοῖσι ἀστοῖσι δόκιμος, τῷ οὔνομα ἦν Τελέσαρχος. Μαιάνδριος δὲ νόῳ λαβὼν ὡς, εἰ μετήσει τὴν ἀρχήν, ἄλλος τις ἀντ' αὐτοῦ τύραννος καταστήσεται, οὐ δή τι ἐν νόῳ εἶχε μετιέναι αὐτήν, ἀλλ' ὡς ἀνεχώρησε ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, μεταπεμπόμενος ἕνα ἕκαστον ὡς δὴ λόγον τῶν χρημάτων δώσων, συνέλαβέ σφεας καὶ κατέδησε. οἱ μὲν δὴ ἐδεδέατο, Μαιάνδριον

[9] Like his compatriots, Herodotos could conceive of righteousness only from a political point of view, and a strong light is thrown on his political views by the epithet he applies to a man who, unlike the typical Greek, preferred political consistency to his own personal advantage. Comp. the title of "just" given to Aristeidês at Athens. Mæandrios certainly proved his "righteousness" in ch. 145.

[1] "Base-born and scoundrel." A parallel to the demand of Mæandrios that the priesthood should be given to himself and his family is found in an inscription of Gythion (Lakônia), which states that a popular decree conferred the priesthood on a certain Philêmôn and his descendants for having restored the temple of Apollo at his own expense (Le Bas, *Rev. archéologique*, ii. p. 207).

δὲ μετὰ τάοτα κατέλαβε νοῦσος. ἐλπίζων δέ μιν ἀποθανεῖσθαι ὁ ἀδελφεός, τῷ οὔνομα ἦν Λυκάρητος, ἵνα εὐπετεστέρως κατάσχῃ τὰ ἐν τῇ Σάμῳ πρήγματα, κατακτείνει τοὺς δεσμώτας πάντας· οὐ γὰρ δή, ὡς οἴκασι, ἐβούλοντο εἶναι ἐλεύθεροι.

Ἐπειδὴ ὦν ἀπίκοντο ἐς τὴν Σάμον οἱ Πέρσαι κατάγοντες 144
Συλοσῶντα, οὔτε τίς σφι χεῖρας ἀνταείρεται, ὑπόσπονδοί τε ἔφασαν εἶναι ἕτοιμοι οἱ τοῦ Μαιανδρίου στασιῶται καὶ αὐτὸς Μαιάνδριος ἐκχωρῆσαι ἐκ τῆς νήσου. καταινέσαντος δὲ ἐπὶ τούτοισι Ὀτάνεω καὶ σπεισαμένου, τῶν Περσέων οἱ πλείστου ἄξιοι θρόνους θέμενοι κατεναντίον τῆς ἀκροπόλιος κατέατο. Μαιανδρίῳ δὲ τῷ τυράννῳ ἦν ἀδελφεὸς ὑπομαργότερος, τῷ 145
οὔνομα ἦν Χαρίλεως· οὗτος ὅ τι δὴ ἐξαμαρτὼν ἐν γοργύρῃ ἐδέδετο, καὶ δὴ τότε ἐπακούσας τε τὰ πρησσόμενα καὶ διακύψας διὰ τῆς γοργύρης, ὡς εἶδε τοὺς Πέρσας εἰρηναίως κατημένους, ἐβόα τε καὶ ἔφη λέγων Μαιανδρίῳ θέλειν ἐλθεῖν ἐς λόγους. ἐπακούσας δὲ ὁ Μαιάνδριος λύσαντας αὐτὸν ἐκέλευε ἄγειν παρ' ἑωυτόν· ὡς δὲ ἄχθη τάχιστα, λοιδορέων τε καὶ κακίζων μιν ἀνέπειθε ἐπιθέσθαι τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι, λέγων τοιάδε. "ἐμὲ μέν, ὦ κάκιστε ἀνδρῶν, ἐόντα σεωυτοῦ ἀδελφεὸν καὶ ἀδικήσαντα οὐδὲν ἄξιον δεσμοῦ δήσας γοργύρης ἠξίωσας· ὁρέων δὲ τοὺς Πέρσας ἐκβάλλοντάς τέ σε καὶ ἄνοικον ποιέοντας οὐ τολμᾷς τίσασθαι, οὕτω δή τι ἐόντας εὐπετέας χειρωθῆναι; ἀλλ' εἴ τοι σύ σφεας καταρρώδηκας, ἐμοὶ δὸς τοὺς ἐπικούρους, καί σφεας ἐγὼ τιμωρήσομαι τῆς ἐνθάδε ἀπίξιος· αὐτὸν δέ σε ἐκπέμψαι ἐκ τῆς νήσου ἕτοιμός εἰμι." τάοτα δὲ ἔλεξε ὁ Χαρίλεως· Μαιάνδριος δὲ ὑπέλαβε τὸν λόγον, ὡς 146
μὲν ἐγὼ δοκέω, οὐκ ἐς τοῦτο ἀφροσύνης ἀπικόμενος ὡς δόξαι τὴν ἑωυτοῦ δύναμιν περιέσεσθαι τῆς βασιλέος, ἀλλὰ φθονήσας μᾶλλον Συλοσῶντι εἰ ἀπονητὶ ἔμελλε ἀπολάμψεσθαι ἀκέραιον τὴν πόλιν. ἐρεθίσας ὦν τοὺς Πέρσας ἤθελε ὡς ἀσθενέστατα ποιῆσαι τὰ Σάμια πρήγματα καὶ οὕτω παραδιδόναι, εὖ ἐξεπιστάμενος ὡς παθόντες οἱ Πέρσαι κακῶς προσεμπικρανεῖσθαι ἔμελλον τοῖσι Σαμίοισι, εἰδώς τε ἑωυτῷ ἀσφαλέα ἔκδυσιν ἐοῦσαν ἐκ τῆς νήσου τότε ἐπεὰν αὐτὸς βούληται· ἐπεποίητο γάρ οἱ κρυπτὴ διῶρυξ ἐκ τῆς ἀκροπόλιος φέρουσα ἐπὶ θάλασσαν.[2] αὐτὸς μὲν δὴ ὁ Μαιάνδριος ἐκπλεῖ ἐκ τῆς Σάμου· τοὺς δ' ἐπικούρους πάντας ὁπλίσας ὁ Χαρίλεως, καὶ ἀναπετάσας τὰς πύλας, ἐξῆκε ἐπὶ τοὺς Πέρσας οὔτε προσδεκομένους τοιοῦτο οὐδὲν δοκέοντάς τε δὴ

[2] The tunnel is probably the one, 4200 feet in length, which was partially cleared out by M. Guérin in 1856.

πάντα συμβεβάναι. ἐμπεσόντες δὲ οἱ ἐπίκουροι τῶν Περσέων τοὺς διφροφορεομένους[3] τε καὶ λόγου πλείστου ἐόντας ἔκτεινον. καὶ οὗτοι μὲν τάοτα ἐποίεον, ἡ δὲ ἄλλη στρατιὴ ἡ Περσικὴ ἐπεβοήθει· πιεζεόμενοι δὲ οἱ ἐπίκουροι ὀπίσω κατειλήθησαν ἐς
147 τὴν ἀκρόπολιν. Ὀτάνης δὲ ὁ στρατηγὸς ἰδὼν πάθος μέγα Πέρσας πεπονθότας, ἐντολάς τε τὰς Δαρείου οἱ ἀποστέλλων ἐνετέλλετο, μήτε κτείνειν μηδένα Σαμίων μήτε ἀνδραποδίζεσθαι ἀπαθέα τε κακῶν ἀποδοῦναι τὴν νῆσον Συλοσῶντι, τουτέων μὲν τῶν ἐντολέων μεμνημένος ἐπελανθάνετο, ὁ δὲ παρήγγειλε τῇ στρατιῇ πάντα τὸν ἂν λάβωσι καὶ ἄνδρα καὶ παῖδα ὁμοίως κτείνειν. ἐνθαῦτα τῆς στρατιῆς οἱ μὲν τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἐπολιόρκεον, οἱ δὲ ἔκτεινον πάντα τὸν ἐμποδὼν γινόμενον ὁμοίως ἔν τε
148 ἱερῷ καὶ ἔξω ἱεροῦ. Μαιάνδριος δὲ ἀποδρὰς ἐκ τῆς Σάμου ἐκπλεῖ ἐς Λακεδαίμονα· ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐς αὐτὴν καὶ ἀνενεικάμενος τὰ ἔχων ἐξεχώρησε, ἐποίει τοιάδε. ὅκως ποτήρια ἀργύρεά τε καὶ χρύσεα προθεῖτο, οἱ μὲν θεράποντες αὐτοῦ ἐξέσμεον αὐτά, ὁ δ' ἂν τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον τῷ Κλεομένει τῷ Ἀναξανδρίδεω ἐν λόγοισι ἐών, βασιλεύοντι Σπάρτης, προῆγέ μιν ἐς τὰ οἰκία· ὅκως δὲ ἴδοιτο Κλεομένης τὰ ποτήρια, ἀπεθώυμαζέ τε καὶ ἐξεπλήσσετο· ὁ δὲ ἂν ἐκέλευε αὐτὸν ἀποφέρεσθαι αὐτῶν ὅσα βούλοιτο. τοῦτο καὶ δὶς καὶ τρὶς εἶπαντος Μαιανδρίου ὁ Κλεομένης δικαιότατος ἀνδρῶν γίνεται,[4] ὃς λαβεῖν μὲν διδόμενα οὐκ ἐδικαίου, μαθὼν δὲ ὡς ἄλλοισι διδοὺς τῶν ἀστῶν εὑρήσεται τιμωρίην, βὰς ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐφόρους ἄμεινον εἶναι ἔφη τῇ Σπάρτῃ τὸν ξεῖνον τὸν Σάμιον ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι ἐκ τῆς Πελοποννήσου, ἵνα μὴ ἀναπείσῃ ἢ αὐτὸν ἢ ἄλλον τινὰ Σπαρτιητέων κακὸν γενέσθαι.[5] οἱ δ' ὑπακούσαντες
149 ἐξεκήρυξαν Μαιάνδριον. τὴν δὲ Σάμον σαγηνεύσαντες[6] οἱ Πέρσαι παρέδοσαν Συλοσῶντι ἔρημον ἐοῦσαν ἀνδρῶν. ὑστέρῳ

[3] "Who carry chairs with them," rather than "carried in palanquins." See ch. 144. Slaves carried camp stools for the richer Persians (Athen. *Deipn.* xii. 514 A), as they did for the older Athenians (Ælian. *V. H.* iv. 12). So Sennacherib is represented on a bas-relief as seated before Lachish on a chair which he had carried with him, and διφροφορέω is used in this sense in Aristoph. *Birds*, 1552.

[4] A fresh definition of extreme righteousness—for a Spartan to refuse a bribe!

[5] *i.e.* to rescue a Greek state from thraldom to the Persians at some risk to themselves.

[6] "Having netted;" see vi. 31. The netting, however, could not have been very complete, or else Otanês must have repeopled the island very effectually, as a few years afterwards Samos furnished sixty ships to the leaders of the Ionic revolt. Strabo (xiv. p. 945) ascribes the depopulation of the island to the tyranny of Sylosôn, and quotes a proverb, ἔκητι Συλοσῶντος εὐρυχωρίη.

μέντοι χρόνῳ καὶ συγκατοίκισε αὐτὴν ὁ στρατηγὸς Ὀτάνης ἔκ τε ὄψιος ὀνείρου καὶ νούσου ἣ μιν κατέλαβε νοσῆσαι τὰ αἰδοῖα.

Ἐπὶ δὲ Σάμον στρατεύματος ναυτικοῦ οἰχομένου Βαβυλώνιοι 150
ἀπέστησαν,[7] κάρτα εὖ παρεσκευασμένοι· ἐν ὅσῳ γὰρ ὅ τε Μάγος ἦρχε καὶ οἱ ἑπτὰ ἐπανέστησαν, ἐν τούτῳ παντὶ τῷ χρόνῳ καὶ τῇ ταραχῇ ἐς τὴν πολιορκίην παρεσκευάζοντο. καί κως τάοτα ποιέοντες ἐλάνθανον. ἐπείτε δὲ ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανέος ἀπέστησαν, ἐποίησαν τοιόνδε. τὰς μητέρας ἐξελόντες, γυναῖκα ἕκαστος μίαν προσεξαιρεῖτο τὴν ἐβούλετο ἐκ τῶν ἑωυτοῦ οἰκίων, τὰς δὲ λοιπὰς ἁπάσας συναγαγόντες ἀπέπνιξαν· τὴν δὲ μίαν ἕκαστος σιτοποιὸν ἐξαιρεῖτο· ἀπέπνιξαν δὲ αὐτάς, ἵνα μή σφεων τὸν σῖτον ἀναισιμώσωσι.[8] πυθόμενος δὲ τάοτα ὁ Δαρεῖος, καὶ συλλέξας πᾶσαν 151
τὴν ἑωυτοῦ δύναμιν ἐστρατεύετο ἐπ' αὐτούς, ἐπελάσας δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν Βαβυλῶνα ἐπολιόρκει φροντίζοντας οὐδὲν τῆς πολιορκίης. ἀναβαίνοντες γὰρ ἐπὶ τοὺς προμαχεῶνας τοῦ τείχεος οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι κατωρχέοντο καὶ κατέσκωπτον Δαρεῖον καὶ τὴν στρατιὴν αὐτοῦ, καί τις αὐτῶν εἶπε τοῦτο τὸ ἔπος. "τί κάτησθε ὦ Πέρσαι ἐνθαῦτα, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀπαλλάσσεσθε; τότε γὰρ αἱρήσετε ἡμέας, ἐπεὰν ἡμίονοι τέκωσι." τοῦτο εἶπε τῶν τις Βαβυλωνίων

[7] Babylon revolted twice—first in B.C. 521 under Nidinta-Bilu, who called himself Nebuchadrezzar, son of Nabonidos, and (after ten months, as we learn from the contract-tablets) was captured and put to death in Babylon by Dareios himself, B.C. 520; and again in B.C. 515 under the Armenian Arakhu, son of Khaldita, who also pretended to be Nebuchadrezzar, but who was within the year taken and impaled by Intaphernês, the Mede, after the previous capture of Babylon. Neither event, as recorded in the Behistun Inscription, agrees with the account of Herodotos; and Ktêsias asserted—no doubt correctly—that the siege described by Herodotos really took place in the time of Xerxês, when Zôpyros, the governor of Babylonia, was killed by rebels, and his son Megabyzos mutilated himself, and so avenged his father. Comp. i. 183. The first siege of Babylon by Dareios is probably that ascribed by Herodotos to Kyros; see i. 190, note 2. It is unlikely that either Zôpyros or Megabyzos could have been, the one satrap of Babylonia, the other commander-in-chief of the Persian army (ch. 160), after the mutilation of their persons. Orientals dislike to serve under mutilated men (so of Gomates in ch. 73). According to Polyænos (vii. 11) the idea of the mutilation was taken from an attempt made by a Sakan beyond the Oxus to destroy the army of Dareios; and as we find the same story told of the Persian Firoz, the Indian Kanishka, and the Kashmirian Lalitaditya, not to speak of the Latin Sextus Tarquinius, it is easy to recognise in it, as Sir H. Rawlinson says, a "standard Oriental tale."

[8] The women could easily have been sent into the country, and no mention is made of the children; while Babylon was a spacious city with gardens and abundant stores of grain. In the two revolts under Dareios, Babylonia, and not Babylon only, shook off the Persian yoke, and Babylon was not besieged till after two successive defeats of Nidinta-Bilu outside the walls.

152 οὐδαμὰ ἐλπίζων ἂν ἡμίονον τεκεῖν. ἑπτὰ δὲ μηνῶν καὶ ἐνιαυτοῦ διεληλυθότος ἤδη ὁ Δαρεῖός τε ἤσχαλλε καὶ ἡ στρατιὴ πᾶσα οὐ δυνατὴ ἐοῦσα ἐλεῖν τοὺς Βαβυλωνίους. καίτοι πάντα σοφίσματα καὶ πάσας μηχανὰς ἐπεποιήκει ἐς αὐτοὺς Δαρεῖος· ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὡς ἐδύνατο ἑλεῖν σφεας, ἄλλοισί τε σοφίσμασι πειρησάμενος, καὶ δὴ καὶ τῷ Κῦρος εἷλέ σφεας, καὶ τούτῳ ἐπειρήθη. ἀλλὰ γὰρ δεινῶς ἦσαν ἐν φυλακῇσι οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι, οὐδέ σφεας οἷός τε ἦν
153 ἑλεῖν. ἐνθαῦτα εἰκοστῷ μηνὶ Ζωπύρῳ τῷ Μεγαβύζου τούτου ὃς τῶν ἑπτὰ ἀνδρῶν ἐγένετο τῶν τὸν Μάγον κατελόντων, τούτῳ τῷ Μεγαβύζου παιδὶ Ζωπύρῳ ἐγένετο τέρας τόδε· τῶν οἱ σιτοφόρων ἡμιόνων μία ἔτεκε.[9] ὡς δέ οἱ ἐξαγγέλθη καὶ ὑπὸ ἀπιστίης αὐτὸς ὁ Ζώπυρος εἶδε τὸ βρέφος, ἀπείπας τοῖσι ἰδοῦσι μηδενὶ φράζειν τὸ γεγονὸς ἐβουλεύετο. καί οἱ πρὸς τὰ τοῦ Βαβυλωνίου ῥήματα, ὃς κατ' ἀρχὰς ἔφησε, ἐπεάν περ ἡμίονοι τέκωσι, τότε τὸ τεῖχος ἁλώσεσθαι, πρὸς ταύτην τὴν φήμην Ζωπύρῳ ἐδόκει εἶναι ἁλώσιμος ἡ Βαβυλών· σὺν γὰρ θεῷ ἐκεῖνόν τε εἰπεῖν καὶ ἑωυτῷ
154 τεκεῖν τὴν ἡμίονον. ὡς δέ οἱ ἐδόκει μόρσιμον εἶναι ἤδη τῇ Βαβυλῶνι ἁλίσκεσθαι, προσελθὼν Δαρείου ἀπεπυνθάνετο εἰ περὶ πολλοῦ κάρτα ποιεῖται τὴν Βαβυλῶνα ἑλεῖν. πυθόμενος δὲ ὡς πολλοῦ τιμῷτο, ἄλλο ἐβουλεύετο, ὅκως αὐτός τε ἔσται ὁ ἑλὼν αὐτὴν καὶ ἑωυτοῦ τὸ ἔργον ἔσται· κάρτα γὰρ ἐν τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι αἱ ἀγαθοεργίαι ἐς τὸ πρόσω μεγάθεος τιμῶνται. ἄλλῳ μέν νυν οὐκ ἐφράζετο ἔργῳ δυνατὸς εἶναί μιν ὑποχειρίην ποιῆσαι, εἰ δ' ἑωυτὸν λωβησάμενος αὐτομολήσειε ἐς αὐτούς. ἐνθαῦτα ἐν ἐλαφρῷ ποιησάμενος ἑωυτὸν λωβᾶται λώβην ἀνήκεστον· ἀποταμὼν γὰρ ἑωυτοῦ τὴν ῥῖνα καὶ τὰ ὦτα καὶ τὴν κόμην κακῶς
155 περικείρας καὶ μαστιγώσας ἦλθε παρὰ Δαρεῖον. Δαρεῖος δὲ κάρτα βαρέως ἤνεικε ἰδὼν ἄνδρα δοκιμώτατον λελωβημένον, ἔκ τε τοῦ θρόνου ἀναπηδήσας ἀνέβωσέ τε καὶ εἴρετό μιν ὅστις εἴη ὁ λωβησάμενος καὶ ὅ τι ποιήσαντα. ὁ δὲ εἶπε "οὐκ ἔστι οὗτος ἀνήρ, ὅτι μὴ σύ, τῷ ἐστι δύναμις τοσαύτη ἐμὲ δὴ ὧδε διαθεῖναι· οὐδέ τις ἀλλοτρίων ὦ βασιλεῦ τάδε ἔργασται, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἐγὼ ἐμεωυτόν, δεινόν τι ποιεόμενος Ἀσσυρίους Πέρσῃσι καταγελᾶν." ὁ δ' ἀμείβετο "ὦ σχετλιώτατε ἀνδρῶν, ἔργῳ τῷ αἰσχίστῳ οὔνομα τὸ κάλλιστον ἔθεο, φὰς διὰ τοὺς πολιορκεομένους σεωυτὸν ἀνηκέστως διαθεῖναι. τί δ', ὦ μάταιε, λελωβημένου σέο θᾶσσον οἱ πολέμιοι παραστήσονται; κῶς οὐκ ἐξέπλωσας τῶν φρενῶν σεωυτὸν διαφθείρας;" ὁ δὲ εἶπε "εἰ μέν τοι ὑπερετίθεα

[9] Ktêsias, not without reason, denied the truth of this.

τὰ ἔμελλον ποιήσειν, οὐκ ἄν με περιεῖδες· νῦν δ' ἐπ' ἐμεωυτοῦ βαλόμενος[1] ἔπρηξα. ἤδη ὦν ἦν μὴ τῶν σῶν δεήσῃ, αἱρέομεν Βαβυλῶνα. ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ ὡς ἔχω αὐτομολήσω ἐς τὸ τεῖχος καὶ φήσω πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὡς ὑπὸ σέο τάδε ἔπαθον· καὶ δοκέω, πείσας σφέας τάοτα ἔχειν οὕτω, τεύξεσθαι στρατιῆς. σὺ δέ, ἀπ' ἧς ἂν ἡμέρης ἐγὼ ἐσέλθω ἐς τὸ τεῖχος, ἀπὸ ταύτης ἐς δεκάτην ἡμέρην τῆς σεωυτοῦ στρατιῆς, τῆς οὐδεμία ἔσται ὥρη ἀπολλυμένης, ταύτης χιλίους τάξον κατὰ τὰς Σεμιράμιος[2] καλεομένας πύλας· μετὰ δὲ αὖτις ἀπὸ τῆς δεκάτης ἐς ἑβδόμην ἄλλους μοι τάξον δισχιλίους κατὰ τὰς Νινίων καλεομένας πύλας· ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς ἑβδόμης διαλείπειν εἴκοσι ἡμέρας, καὶ ἔπειτα ἄλλους κάτισον ἀγαγὼν κατὰ τὰς Χαλδαίων καλεομένας πύλας, τετρακισχιλίους. ἐχόντων δὲ μήτε οἱ πρότεροι μηδὲν τῶν ἀμυνεόντων μήτε οὗτοι, πλὴν ἐγχειριδίων· τοῦτο δὲ ἐᾶν ἔχειν. μετὰ δὲ τὴν εἰκοστὴν ἡμέρην ἰθέως τὴν μὲν ἄλλην στρατιὴν κελεύειν πέριξ προσβάλλειν πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος, Πέρσας δέ μοι τάξον κατά τε τὰς Βηλίδας καλεομένας καὶ Κισσίας πύλας.[3] ὡς γὰρ ἐγὼ δοκέω, ἐμέο μεγάλα ἔργα ἀποδεξαμένου, τά τε ἄλλα ἐπιτρέψονται ἐμοὶ Βαβυλώνιοι καὶ δὴ καὶ τῶν πυλέων τὰς βαλανάγρας·[4] τὸ δὲ ἐνθεῦτεν ἐμοί τε καὶ Πέρσῃσι μελήσει τὰ δεῖ ποιεῖν." τάοτα 156
ἐντειλάμενος ἦιε ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας, ἐπιστρεφόμενος ὡς δὴ ἀληθέως αὐτόμολος. ὁρέοντες δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν πύργων οἱ κατὰ τοῦτο τεταγμένοι κατέτρεχον κάτω καὶ ὀλίγον τι παρακλίναντες τὴν ἑτέρην πύλην εἰρώτεον τίς τε εἴη καὶ ὅτεο δεόμενος ἥκοι. ὁ δέ σφι ἠγόρευε ὡς εἴη τε Ζώπυρος καὶ αὐτομολέοι ἐς ἐκείνους. ἦγον δή μιν οἱ πυλουροί, τάοτα ὡς ἤκουσαν, ἐπὶ τὰ κοινὰ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων· καταστὰς δὲ ἐπ' αὐτὰ κατοικτίζετο, φὰς ὑπὸ Δαρείου πεπονθέναι τὰ ἐπεπόνθει ὑπ' ἑωυτοῦ, παθεῖν δὲ τάοτα διότι

[1] "Of my own judgment." Cp. ch. 71, iv. 160; *Od.* i. 234. The full phrase is *ἐς θυμὸν (ἐπ' ἐμ.) βάλλεσθαι* (i. 84).

[2] As the name of Semiramis belongs not to Babylonian history but to Greek romance (see i. 184, note 3), it is not likely that a gate of Babylon bore the name. The "gate of Ninos" (not Nineveh), with which it is associated, shows that the Greek legend of Ninos and Semiramis was in the mind of the author.

[3] The Kissian gates ought to have been on the east, towards the mountains of the Kissii or Kossæi (see ch. 91, note 3). Khammuragas, the Kissian leader, who conquered Babylonia and founded a dynasty there, first made Babylon the capital of the country. However, Kis was the name of a city in Babylonia, now Hymer (a little to the east of Hillah). The only names of gates of Babylon as yet found on the monuments are *ellu*, "the illustrious," and "the gate of the goddess Zamama."

[4] The locks were pins of wood or iron, which dropped into holes, and had to be drawn up when it was necessary to open the gate.

συμβουλεῦσαί οἱ ἀπανιστάναι τὴν στρατιήν, ἐπείτε δὴ οὐδεὶς πόρος ἐφαίνετο τῆς ἁλώσιος. "νῦν τε" ἔφη λέγων "ἐγὼ ὑμῖν ὦ Βαβυλώνιοι ἥκω μέγιστον ἀγαθόν, Δαρείῳ δὲ καὶ τῇ στρατιῇ καὶ Πέρσῃσι μέγιστον κακόν· οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἐμέ γε ὧδε λωβησάμενος καταπροΐξεται· ἐπίσταμαι δ' αὐτοῦ πάσας τὰς διεξόδους
157 τῶν βουλευμάτων." τοιαῦτα ἔλεγε. οἱ δὲ Βαβυλώνιοι ὁρέοντες ἄνδρα τὸν ἐν Πέρσῃσι δοκιμώτατον ῥινός τε καὶ ὤτων ἐστερημένον μάστιξί τε καὶ αἵματι ἀναπεφυρμένον, πάγχυ ἐλπίσαντες λέγειν μιν ἀληθέα καί σφι ἥκειν σύμμαχον, ἐπιτράπεσθαι ἕτοιμοι ἦσαν τῶν ἐδεῖτό σφεων· ἐδεῖτο δὲ στρατιῆς. ὁ δὲ ἐπείτε αὐτῶν τοῦτο παρέλαβε, ἐποίει τά περ τῷ Δαρείῳ συνεθήκατο. ἐξαγαγὼν γὰρ τῇ δεκάτῃ ἡμέρῃ τὴν στρατιὴν τῶν Βαβυλωνίων καὶ κυκλωσάμενος τοὺς χιλίους, τοὺς πρώτους ἐνετείλατο Δαρείῳ τάξαι, τούτους κατεφόνευσε. μαθόντες δέ μιν οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι τοῖσι ἔπεσι τὰ ἔργα παρεχόμενον ὅμοια, πάγχυ περιχαρεῖς ἐόντες πᾶν δὴ ἕτοιμοι ἦσαν ὑπηρετεῖν. ὁ δὲ διαλιπὼν ἡμέρας τὰς συγκειμένας, αὖτις ἐπιλεξάμενος τῶν Βαβυλωνίων ἐξήγαγε καὶ κατεφόνευσε τῶν Δαρείου στρατιωτέων τοὺς δισχιλίους. ἰδόντες δὲ καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι πάντες Ζώπυρον εἶχον ἐν στόμασι αἰνέοντες. ὁ δὲ αὖτις διαλιπὼν τὰς συγκειμένας ἡμέρας ἐξήγαγε ἐς τὸ προειρημένον, καὶ κυκλωσάμενος κατεφόνευσε τοὺς τετρακισχιλίους. ὡς δὲ καὶ τοῦτο κατέργαστο, πάντα δὴ ἦν ἐν τοῖσι Βαβυλωνίοισι Ζώπυρος, καὶ στρατάρχης
158 τε οὗτός σφι καὶ τειχοφύλαξ ἀπεδέδεκτο. προσβολὴν δὲ Δαρείου κατὰ τὰ συγκείμενα ποιεομένου πέριξ τὸ τεῖχος, ἐνθαῦτα δὴ πάντα τὸν δόλον ὁ Ζώπυρος ἐξέφαινε. οἱ μὲν γὰρ Βαβυλώνιοι ἀναβάντες ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἠμύνοντο τὴν Δαρείου στρατιὴν προσβάλλουσαν, ὁ δὲ Ζώπυρος τάς τε Κισσίας καὶ Βηλίδας καλεομένας πύλας ἀναπετάσας ἐσῆκε τοὺς Πέρσας ἐς τὸ τεῖχος. τῶν δὲ Βαβυλωνίων οἳ μὲν εἶδον τὸ ποιηθέν, οὗτοι ἔφευγον ἐς τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Βήλου τὸ ἱερόν·[5] οἳ δὲ οὐκ εἶδον, ἔμενον ἐν τῇ ἑωυτοῦ τάξει ἕκαστος, ἐς ὃ δὴ καὶ οὗτοι ἔμαθον προδεδομένοι.

159 Βαβυλὼν μέν νυν οὕτω τὸ δεύτερον αἱρέθη.[6] Δαρεῖος δὲ ἐπείτε ἐκράτησε τῶν Βαβυλωνίων, τοῦτο μέν σφεων τὸ τεῖχος περιεῖλε καὶ τὰς πύλας πάσας ἀπέσπασε·[7] τὸ γὰρ πρότερον

[5] See i. 181, note 6.

[6] See i. 192, note 4.

[7] This could only apply to the second siege of Babylon during the reign of Dareios, when Arakhu revolted, and Dareios himself was not present. As Babylon withstood another siege in the time of Xerxês, and Herodotos himself

ἑλὼν Κῦρος τὴν Βαβυλῶνα ἐποίησε τούτων οὐδέτερον·[8] τοῦτο δὲ ὁ Δαρεῖος τῶν ἀνδρῶν τοὺς κορυφαίους μάλιστα ἐς τρισχιλίους ἀνεσκολόπισε.[9] τοῖσι δὲ λοιποῖσι Βαβυλωνίοισι ἀπέδωκε τὴν πόλιν οἰκεῖν. ὡς δ' ἔξουσι γυναῖκας οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι ἵνα σφι γένη ὑπογίνηται, τάδε Δαρεῖος προϊδὼν ἐποίησε· τὰς γὰρ ἐωυτῶν, ὡς καὶ κατ' ἀρχὰς δεδήλωται, ἀπέπνιξαν οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι τοῦ σίτου προορέοντες. ἐπέταξε τοῖσι περιοίκοισι ἔθνεσι γυναῖκας ἐς Βαβυλῶνα κατιστάναι, ὅσας δὴ ἑκάστοισι ἐπιτάσσων, ὥστε πέντε μυριάδων τὸ κεφαλαίωμα τῶν γυναικῶν συνῆλθε· ἐκ τουτέων δὲ τῶν γυναικῶν οἱ νῦν Βαβυλώνιοι γεγόνασι.

Ζωπύρου δὲ οὐδεὶς ἀγαθοεργίην Περσέων ὑπερεβάλετο παρὰ 160
Δαρείῳ κριτῇ οὔτε τῶν ὕστερον γενομένων οὔτε τῶν πρότερον, ὅτι μὴ Κῦρος μοῦνος· τούτῳ γὰρ οὐδεὶς Περσέων ἠξίωσέ κω ἑωυτὸν συμβαλεῖν. πολλάκις δὲ Δαρεῖον λέγεται γνώμην τήνδε ἀποδέξασθαι, ὡς βούλοιτο ἂν Ζώπυρον εἶναι ἀπαθέα τῆς ἀεικείης μᾶλλον ἢ Βαβυλῶνάς οἱ εἴκοσι πρὸς τῇ ἐούσῃ προσγενέσθαι. ἐτίμησε δέ μιν μεγάλως· καὶ γὰρ δῶρά οἱ ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος ἐδίδου τάοτα τὰ Πέρσῃσι ἐστὶ τιμιώτατα, καὶ τὴν Βαβυλῶνά οἱ ἔδωκε ἀτελέα νέμεσθαι μέχρι τῆς ἐκείνου ζόης, καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ ἐπέδωκε. Ζωπύρου δὲ τούτου γίνεται Μεγάβυζος, ὃς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἀντία Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν συμμάχων ἐστρατήγησε·[1] Μεγαβύζου δὲ τούτου γίνεται Ζώπυρος, ὃς ἐς Ἀθήνας ηὐτομόλησε ἐκ Περσέων.[2]

speaks of the wall as still encircling (περιθέει) the city (i. 178), Dareios could not have destroyed it.

[8] For the good reason, as we now know, that he did not "take" Babylon, which voluntarily opened its gates to him.

[9] This is contrary to the usage and character of Dareios as depicted in the Behistun Inscription.

[1] See Thuk. i. 109. He married Amytis, daughter of Xerxês, destroyed the Athenian fleet in Egypt, and subdued the country, and, after quarrelling with Artaxerxês (B.C. 447) for not observing the conditions granted to Inarôs, died full of age and honours.

[2] Ktêsias implies that this took place shortly before the death of Artaxerxês Longimanus (B.C. 425). Consequently the final edition of the work of Herodotos was not published till after this date. Zôpyros was killed while leading the Athenians against the Kaunians, the near neighbours of the youth of Herodotos (i. 171).

APPENDICES.

I.

EGYPT.

EGYPT, historically the oldest of countries, is geologically the youngest. It consists entirely of the soil deposited in comparatively recent times by the Nile. The triangle of the Delta marks the site of the ancient mouth of the river; and though the land has encroached upon the sea but slightly since the age of the Pharaohs, its height has year by year been slowly increasing. Some of the mouths of the river which were navigable streams in classical times have now ceased to be so; the Serbonian lake has in part become dry land, while desolate marshes are now cultivated fields. To the south of the Delta,—with the exception of the Fayûm, which owes its fertility to the canal called Bahr Yusûf, the former feeder of Lake Mœris,—Egypt is confined to the narrow strip of mud which lines both sides of the river, and is bounded by low hills of limestone, or the shifting sands of the desert. The Nile now flows for 1600 miles without receiving a single tributary; the heated deserts on either bank absorb all the moisture of the air, and almost wholly prevent a rainfall, and it is consequently only where the waters of the river extend during the annual inundation, or where they can be dispersed by artificial irrigation, that cultivation and settled life are possible. This, however, was not always the case. The channels of rivers and water-courses that once fell into the Nile can still be traced on both sides of it, from the Delta to the Second Cataract; and the petrified forests that are found in the desert, one about five miles westward of the pyramids of Gizeh, and two others, an hour and a half and four hours to the east of Cairo, show that the desert was not always the barren waste that it now is. The *wadis*, or valleys, and cliffs are water-worn, and covered with boulders and pebbles, which bear witness to the former existence of mountain-torrents and a considerable amount of rain; and the discovery of

palæolithic implements near the Little Petrified Forest, and in the breccia of Kurnah, at Thebes, as well as other geological indications, make it clear that the geographical and climatic changes the country has undergone have taken place since it was first inhabited by man.

It was long maintained that no traces of a prehistoric age existed in Egypt. Arcelin and the Vicomte de Murard, however, in 1868-9, discovered numerous relics of the neolithic age at Gizeh, El Kab, and the Biban el-Muluk, or Valley of the Kings, at Thebes; and MM. Hamy and Fr. Lenormant in 1869 collected further specimens of the same early epoch. Since then neolithic implements and chippings have been found as far south as the Second Cataract, and more especially on the plateau which overlooks Helwan. Though the discovery was at first disputed by certain Egyptian scholars, who knew more of the Egyptian monuments than of prehistoric archæology, no reasonable doubts in regard to it can any longer exist.[1]

It is impossible to calculate the rate at which the deposit of Nile-mud is taking place, since the amount deposited varies from year to year, and the soil left by the inundation of one year may be entirely carried away by the next. Shafts were sunk in it in ninety-six different places at Memphis by Hekekyan Bey in 1851-4, and in one of them, near the colossal statue of Ramses II., a fragment of pottery was found at a depth of 39 feet under strata of soil which had been covered by sand from the desert. As the statue, which was erected in the fourteenth century B.C., is now 10 feet below the surface, it would seem that the deposits have been increasing at the rate of 3·5 inches in each century, and that consequently the fragment of pottery is 13,530 years old. Such calculations, however, are exceedingly precarious, and at Heliopolis the alluvial soil has accumulated to a height of between 5 and 6 feet around the base of the obelisk erected by Usertasen I. (about B.C. 3000). All we can say is, that the Delta had no existence when the Nile was still fed by a number of tributaries, and flowed at a much higher level than it does at present.

[1] Many of the neolithic flints belong to the historical age. Those found at Gizeh for example, are associated with Roman remains, while the flint weapons in the neighbourhood of the Roman mud-brick fortress at Sheykh Gebel Embárak were probably the work of the wild tribes who destroyed it. The worked flints discovered by Gen. Pitt-Rivers in the breccia on the north side of the temple of Kurnah must be of great antiquity. See his and Mr. R. P. Greg's papers on the subject in the *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, x. 4, xi. 4 (May 1881, May 1882).

In some places the river has left behind it evidence of its former level. Thus, at Abu-Simbel, a line of water-worn caves on either bank, just above the heads of the sitting figures of the great rock-cut temple, proves the depth of the channel it has scooped out for itself; while we can actually determine the date at which the First Cataract was removed from Gebel Silsileh, or Silsilis, to Assuan (Syênê), and the highest rise of the river in Ethiopia was 27 feet 3 inches above its rise at the present day. Certain inscriptions of the reign of Amen-em-hat III. of the twelfth dynasty, and of the fourth king of the thirteenth dynasty, found at Semneh (about thirty miles south of the Second Cataract), show that this was the level to which the inundation then reached, and that the plains of Ethiopia, which are now far above the fertilising reach of the river, were then annually inundated. Before the accession of the eighteenth dynasty, however, the catastrophe had happened; the Nile forsook its old channel, still very visible, to the south-east of Assuan, the First Cataract was formed, and the highest level of the inundation above it was that attained at present.

The earliest traces of man in Egypt since the country assumed its modern features are probably to be found in the stone implements already mentioned. There is no evidence to show that Egyptian civilisation was introduced from abroad; on the contrary, everything seems to point to its having been of indigenous growth. And the high perfection it had reached before the date of the earliest monuments with which we are acquainted implies unnumbered ages of previous development. The civilisations of the ancient world — of Egypt, of China, and of Babylonia—were all the creations of great rivers. Every attempt hitherto made to discover a primitive connection between them has failed.

Race.—The racial affinity of the ancient Egyptians is still an open question. It is certain, however, that after the age of the Old Empire the dominant race ceased to be pure. Thus, the Pharaohs of the twelfth dynasty seem to have had Nubian blood in their veins, the Phœnicians of the Delta have left descendants in the natives of Lake Menzaleh, and the long dominion of the Hyksos cannot but have affected the population of the country. Even the conquering princes of the eighteenth dynasty married foreign wives and peopled Egypt with foreign captives, the twenty-fifth dynasty came from Ethiopia, and the Saites of the twenty-sixth were probably of Semitic, or, as Brugsch is inclined to think, of Libyan origin. At all events they introduced a new element, the Greek, into the population of Egypt.

The type of features presented by the monuments of the Old Empire is essentially different from that presented by the monuments of a later period; and while Egyptian skulls earlier than the sixth dynasty are dolichocephalic, those subsequent to the close of the Old Empire are brachycephalic. The physiological type of the Egyptian of the Old Empire—of the founders, that is, of Egyptian art and civilisation—is that of a somewhat short, thick-set man, with massive, good-tempered mouth, smooth hair, full nostrils, broad forehead, and reddish-brown complexion. He belongs to what ethnologists have vaguely termed the Caucasian or Mediterranean stock. Up to the last the Egyptian showed no resemblance whatsoever to the negro, and the colour of his skin alone would effectually mark him off from the Nubian. On the other hand, the monuments draw a careful distinction between him and the Libyans, who are painted white or pale yellow. Language casts no light on the question, since linguistic relationship proves nothing more than that races speaking allied forms of speech were once in social contact with one another. Moreover, the philological position of the Old Egyptian language presents many difficulties, though it seems probable that either it or its parent-speech was the sister of the parent-speech of the modern Libyan, Haussa, and Galla dialects on the one side, and of the parent-speech of the Semitic idioms on the other. We may, if we like, class the Egyptians and their language as "Hamitic," but nothing is thereby explained. In fact, so far as our present materials and knowledge are concerned, the Egyptians were as autochthonous and isolated as their own civilisation.

Geography.—Egypt naturally falls into two divisions: the Delta, formed by the mouths of the Nile, in the north; and the land fertilised by the Nile, between the Delta and the First Cataract, in the south. Below Syene and the First Cataract we are in Nubia. At the apex of the triangle formed by the Delta stood Memphis, built by Menes upon the ground he had reclaimed from the Nile by constructing a dyke,—that of Kosheish,—the remains of which may still be detected near Mitrahenny, and so confining the river to its western channel. Older than Memphis was Tini or This, the birthplace of Menes, and in after times a mere suburb of the younger Abydos. Here was the tomb of Osiris, in the neighbourhood of which every Egyptian of sufficient wealth and dignity desired to be buried. The accumulated graves formed the huge mound now known as the Kom es-Sultân. About one hundred miles southwards of This and Abydos stood Thebes, which under the Middle Empire became the metropolis of Egypt, and

attained its chief glory under the kings of the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties. It is doubtful whether even a village stood on the spot in the time of the Old Empire; indeed, it is possible that the population of the district at that early epoch was still mainly Nubian. Subsequently, the town extended from the east to the west bank, where the temple and palace of Ramses III. (now Medinet Abu), the Memnonium or Ramesseum,—perhaps the tomb of Ramses II.,—and the temples built by Seti I. at Kurnah, by Queen Hatasu at Deir el-Bahri, and by Amenophis III. farther south, rose at the foot of the vast necropolis of the city. In the classical era Thebes gave its name to the southern half of Egypt. In the extreme south, on the Egyptian side of the First Cataract, was Suan or Syênê, now Assuân, opposite to the island of Elephantinê, called Âb, "the elephant" isle, by the Egyptians, from which came the sixth dynasty. Two small islands southward of Elephantinê acquired the reputation of sanctity at least as early as the twelfth and thirteenth dynasties, and one of them, Senem, now Bigeh-Konosso, in the fourth and third centuries B.C., communicated its sanctity to the neighbouring island of Philæ. Philæ soon became the religious centre of Egypt, the reputed tomb of Osiris having been transferred to it after the decay of Abydos. The granite cliffs and boulders between Philæ and Syênê furnished the material for the obelisks, the sphinxes, the colossi, and the other great monuments of the Egyptian monarchs; and the early date at which they were worked may be gathered from the fact that the so-called granite-temple, close to the Sphinx of Gizeh, whose building may have preceded the reign of Menes, is constructed of blocks which must have been brought from Assuan.

Southward of the First Cataract was Nubia, and above that again Cush or Ethiopia. Nubia formed part of the kingdom of the sixth dynasty, while Usertasen III. fixed the boundaries of the empire at Semneh and Kummeh; and an Egyptian officer, entitled "the Prince of Kush," and first named in inscriptions of Thothmes I., whose capital was as far south as Napata, governed the country up to the age of the twenty-first destiny. The most perfect remains of Pharaonic fortifications now existing are the fortresses of sun-dried brick erected by Thothmes III. at Kobbân, opposite Dakkeh, and on both sides of the river at Semneh, thirty-five miles south of the Second Cataract.

The division of Egypt into Upper and Lower dates from the age preceding Menes, the first known king, who united the two kingdoms (B.C. 5004). Lower Egypt, called To Meh or To Mera—"the northern

country"—extended from the Mediterranean to Beni-Suef, and consequently included the marshes of the Delta, occupied in the time of the Old Empire by the long-forgotten hippopotamus, crocodile, and papyrus. It was defended from the attacks of the Amu or Semitic tribes of Western Asia by a line of fortresses called Matsor in Hebrew (whence Mizraim, or "the two matsors,"—that is, Upper and Lower Egypt). The line stretched from Migdol in the north to the neighbourhood of Suez in the south, and was originally established by the founders of the eighteenth dynasty. The main channels through which the Nile flowed into the sea were seven,—the Pelusiac, Tanitic, Mendesian, Bukolic or Phatnitic, Sebennytic, Bolbitinic, and Kanopic, —of which two only are now navigable. The Kanopic branch, ten miles from the mouth of which Alexandria was founded under the auspices of Alexander the Great, is now represented by a marshy inlet near Abukir. In the eastern part of the Delta lay the land of Goshen, with its cities of Tanis or Zoan, Bubastis, Pharbæthus, Pithom, and On or Heliopolis (near Cairo), not far from which was the site now known as the Tel el-Yehudîyeh, where the Jewish priest Onias, with the aid of Ptolemy Philomêtôr, raised the rival temple to that of Jerusalem. From Tanis and Daphnæ to Pelusium the fortified high-road led from Egypt to Palestine, along the edge of the Mediterranean. Upper Egypt, extending from Beni-Suef to Assuan, was known as To Kemâ, or To Res,—"the southern country,"—which, with the article *pâ* prefixed, is the original of the Hebrew and Greek Pathros. Like Lower Egypt, it was divided into nomes or districts,—*hesoph* in Egyptian,—supposed to represent the numerous small states of the prehistoric age out of which the historic Egypt was constituted. Each nome was subdivided into its *nut* or capital, its *uu* or cultivated land, fertilised by the Nile, the marsh lands (*pehu*), and the portion of cultivated land watered by canals. The civil and military administration of the nome was in the hands either of a hereditary governor (*hik*), or of a nomarch (*mer-nut-zât-to*), appointed by the king. Under the Ptolemies these monarchs were usually termed στρατηγοί, presided over by an ἐπιστρατηγός; the religious affairs of the province being managed by the high-priests of the principal temples, assisted by a numerous staff of prophets, scribes, astrologers, and sacristans. At the same time the nome was further subdivided into a certain number of τοπαρχίαι, composed of groups of towns (τόποι) and villages.

The number of nomes varied at different periods. Thus the hieroglyphic list at Edfu mentions thirty-nine, nineteen being in Lower

Egypt; while Diodoros (liv. 3) and Strabo (xxviii. 1, 3) reckon thirty-six.

LIST OF ANCIENT EGYPTIAN NOMES.

Upper Egypt.

Nomes.		Capitals.		
Egyptian.	Greek.	Egyptian.	Greek.	Arabic.
1. To Kens.	Ombites.	Abu (Elephantine).	Ombos (Egn. Nubti) in the Roman period	Geziret - Assuan, and Kôm Ombu.
2. Tes-Hor.	Apollinopolites.	Teb (Copt. Atbu) Khennu.	Apollinopolis Magna. Silsilis.	Edfu. Silsileh.
3. Ten.	Latopolites.	Nekheb. Sni.	Eileithyia. Latopolis	El Kab. Esneh.
4. Uas.	Diospolites. Phatyrites. Hermonthites.	Ni-Amun or T-Apu, afterwards Her Mont (An Res an Munt).	Thebai (Diospolis Magna) Hermonthis.	Luxor - Karnak and Medinet Abu Erment.
5. Horui.	Koptites.	Kebti.	Koptos.	Kuft.
6. Emsuh (?).	Tentyrites.	Ta-rer or Ta-n-taru (or Ta-nutri, Copt. Pi Tentore.	Tentyris or Tentyra.	Denderah.
7. Ha-Sekhekh (Hut-sokhem).	Diospolites.	Ha or Hu.	Diospolis Parva.	Hû.
8. Tenai (?).	Thinites.	Teni, afterwards Ab-tu or Abud with suburb Sui.	This or Thinis, afterwards Abydos, suburb Ptolemais	Girgeh and Kharâbet el-Madfûneh.
9. Khem or Apu.	Panopolites.	Khem or Apu (Copt. Shmin).	Panopolis or Khemmis.	Akhmîm.
10. Tuf.	Antæopolites.	Ni-ent-bak.	Antæopolis.	Gau el-Kebîr.
11. Bâar	Hypselites.	Shas-hotep (Copt. Shotp).	Hypselê.	Satb.
12. Atef Khent (Upper Atef).	Lykopolites.	Siaut (Copt. Siut).	Lykopolis.	Asyût.
13. Atef Pehu (Lower Atef).	Part of Lykopolites and Hermopolites.	Kus or Kast.	Khusai.	Kusiyeh.
14. Uaz.		Tebti.		
15. Unnu.	Hermopolites.	Sesunnu or Khimunu (Copt. Shmun).	Hermopolis.	Ashmunen.
16. Meh (or Sah).	North part of Hermopolites.	Hebennu or Hatuer (Copt. Tuho). Nofrus. Panubt. Menât-Khufu.	Theodosiopolis. Speos Artemidos.	Taha el-Medineh (?). Kûm el-Ahmar. Beni-Hassan. Minieh.
17. Anup.	Kynopolites.	Ko or Ha-Suten.	Kynopolis.	El-Kes.
18. Uab.	Oxyrrhinkhites.	Pa-Mâzat (Copt. Pemje). Sapt-moru.	Oxyrrhinkhos.	Behnesa.

UPPER EGYPT—*Continued.*

Nomes.		Capitals.		
Egyptian.	Greek.	Egyptian.	Greek.	Arabic.
19. Neht Khent.	Herakleopolites.	Ha-Khnensu, or Pi-her-Shefni (Copt. Hnes).	Herakleopolis Magna.	Ahnâs el-Medîneh.
20. Pa.		Ha-bennu.	Hipponon.	?
21. Neht Peht, including (To-she or)	Arsinoites.	Meri Tum, or Meitum. Shed (Pi-Sebek).	? Krokodilopolis.	Mêdûm. Medinet el-Fayum.
22. Matennu.	Aphroditopolites.	Pa Neb-tep-ahe.	Aphroditopolis.	Atfieh.

LOWER EGYPT.

1. Anbu-hat or Sebt-hat ("the white wall").	Memphites.	Men-nofer[1] ("good place").	Memphis.	Various villages.
2. Aa.	Letopolites.	Sekhem-t.	Letopolis and Kerkasoros.	?
3. Ament.	Nomos Libya.	Ni Ent Hapi.	Apis.	?
4. Sepi Res.	Saites.	Zoka.	Kanopos.	Near Abukir.
5. Sepi Emhit.	Saites.	Sai.	Sais.	Sâ el-Hager.
6. Ka-sit.	Xoites.	Khesauu.	Xois.	N.E. of Sais.
7. Ament.	?	Sonti-nofer.	Metelis.	?
8. . . . Abot.	Sethroites.	Pi-Tum (Pithom).	(Sethroê)	Tel el-Maskhuta.
9. At-pi.	Busirites.	P-Usir-Neb-tat.	Busiris.	Abusîr.
10. Ka-Kem.	Athribites.	Ha-ta-Hir-ab.	Athribis.	Tell Atrib.
11. Ka-Hebes.	Kabasites.	Ka-hebes.	Kabasos.	?
12. Ka-Theb	Sebennytes Superior.	Theb en-Nuter.	Sebennytos.	Semennûd.
13. Hak-at	Heliopolites.	Anu (On) and Pi-Ra.	Heliopolis.	Near Cairo.[2]
14. Khent Abot.	Tanites.	Zân (Zoan) or Zân pi-Ramses (Raamses)	Tanis.	Sân.
15. T-hut.	Hermopolites.	Pi-T-hut.	Hermopolis.	?
16. Khar.	Mendesios.	Paba-Neb-tat or Tatu.	Mendes.	Tmey el-Amdid (?).
17. Sam-hut.	Diospolites.	Pi-khun en-Amun.	Takhnamunis or Diospolis.	?
18. Am Khent.	Bubastites.	Pi-Bast.	Bubastis.	Tel Basta (Zagazig).
19. Am Pehu or Pa-To-Nuz.	Butikos or Phtheneotes.	Pa-Uz	Buto.	?
20. Lapt.	Pharbæthites.	Sheten.	Pharbæthos.	Horbet.

[1] Contracted into Moph and Noph (modern Tel-Monf). Memphis was also called Kha-nofer, "the good appearance;" Makha-ta, "land of the scales;" and Ha-ka-Ptah, "house of worship of Ptah," whence perhaps the Greek Αἴγυπτος. The fortified part was named Anbu-hat or "white wall." (See Thuk. i. 104).

[2] Brugsch would identify Heliopolis or Pi-Ra, on the north side of On, with Tel el-Yehudiyeh.

Chronology and History.—Egyptian chronology is full of difficulties, and without more materials than we possess at present can be little else than a system of guess-work. We must be content to date the period preceding the seventh century B.C. by dynasties rather than by years. All we can state with certainty is that the chronology, historically considered, is an enormously long one, and that the earlier dynasties must be placed at least 6000 years ago. Our authorities are partly classical, partly monumental. The most important is Manetho (in Egyptian Mei en-Tahuti—"Beloved of Thoth"), a priest of Sebennytos, who was intrusted by Ptolemy Philadelphus (B.C. 284-246) with the task of translating into Greek the historical works contained in the Egyptian temples. Unfortunately Manetho's work is lost, and we have to depend for our knowledge of it upon the meagre and sometimes contradictory extracts made by Josephus, Eusebius, Julius Africanus,[1] and George Syncellus.[2]

Eusebius and Africanus profess to give us Manetho's list of the Egyptian dynasties, with the length of time each lasted, and in many cases the names and regnal years of the monarchs of whom they were composed. The names and numbers, however, do not always correspond, nor does even the duration of certain dynasties agree with the totals of the reigns comprised in them, when added together. But what is most serious is, that the names of the kings, and the length of time they are said to have reigned, are not unfrequently irreconcilable with the statements of the monuments. Sometimes, too, reigns for which we have monumental evidence are omitted altogether. It is plain, therefore, that Manetho's list has come to us in a very corrupt condition, and that the numbers contained in it must be received with extreme caution. Moreover, the Christian writers who have handed them down were intent on reconciling the chronology of the Egyptian historian with that of the Old Testament, and were consequently likely to curtail it as much as possible. Nevertheless, in the want of other authorities, all attempts to restore Egyptian chronology must be based upon this imperfect reproduction of Manetho, to whom, it may be observed, the distribution of the kings into dynasties is due. That Manetho himself faithfully reported the evidence of the monu-

[1] Bishop of Emmaus (Nikopolis) at the beginning of the third century. Only fragments of his work on Chronology in five books have been preserved. (See Routh, *Reliquiæ Sacræ*, ii.)

[2] *i.e.* the "cell-companion" of the Patriarch of Constantinople, A.D. 800. His work was continued from 285 down to 813 by Theophanes the Isaurian.

ments—or rather, perhaps, of the native histories compiled from them —has been abundantly proved by the decipherment of the inscriptions. His statements, notwithstanding the imperfect state in which they have reached us, are in the main correct. The monumental names can generally be detected under their Greek disguises, the scheme of dynasties has received full confirmation, and the chronology of the Sebennytic priest seems rather to err on the side of defect than of excess. Startled by the long chronology Manetho's list necessitates, Egyptian scholars formerly imagined that several of the dynasties were contemporaneous. M. Mariette's researches, however, have shown that this is not the case. Thus the theory which made the fifth dynasty reign at Elephantinê, while the sixth was reigning at Memphis, has been overthrown by the discovery of monuments belonging to the two dynasties in both places; and the discovery of the colossi of the thirteenth Theban dynasty at Sân or Tanis, near Xois, upsets the scheme according to which this dynasty was contemporaneous with the Xoites of the fourteenth. In fact, as M. Mariette says, if the lists of Manetho "contain collateral dynasties, we should find in them, before or after the twenty-first, the dynasty of high-priests which (as we learn from the monuments) reigned at Thebes, while the twenty-first occupied Tanis; in the same way we should have to reckon before or after the twenty-third the seven or eight independent kings who were contemporary with it, and who ought, if Manetho had not disregarded them, to have added so many successive royal families to the list of the Egyptian priest; similarly the 'dodecarchy' would count, at least, as one dynasty coming between the twenty-fifth and the twenty-sixth; and finally, the Theban princes, the rivals of the Shepherds, would take their place before or after the seventeenth."[1] There were several periods in the history of Egypt, it is true, when more than one line of kings was ruling in the country; but it is clear that either Manetho or his epitomisers struck out all except the one line which was considered legitimate, and so drew up a catalogue of successive dynasties.

It is probable, however, that gaps occur between some of the latter. If at any period there was no dynasty which the Egyptian priests considered legitimate, it would necessarily be passed over in the annals of Manetho. Indeed, of one such period we have actual proof. No mention is made by Manetho of the so-called dodecarchy, when,

[1] *Aperçu de l'Histoire ancienne d'Égypte*, p. 67.

for more than twenty years, Egypt was under the domination of Assyria. The twenty-sixth dynasty is made to follow immediately upon the twenty-fifth. And there is no reason to think that this is an isolated case. The interval of 750 years, for instance, which, according to Africanus, intervened between the close of the Old Empire with the sixth dynasty, and the rise of the Middle Empire with the eleventh, seems hardly sufficient to account for the changes undergone by Egypt and its people during the time, and the interval is still further reduced to 391 or 466 years by Eusebius.

Reigns, too, have dropped out of the list in many places; thus, to take only the earlier dynasties, Noferkara or Nebkara is omitted in the third; Ratat-ef, the successor of Kheops, in the fourth; and Keka in the fifth. The efforts of Eusebius to shorten the chronology make his excerpts less trustworthy than those of Africanus; Kheneres, for instance, the Tefa or Hutefa of the tablet of Sakkârah, is omitted by him at the end of the second dynasty (though he makes Nepherkheres or Noferkafra the seventh and not the fifth successor of Binothris or Bainuter), and an example of the way in which he reduces the number of regnal years has already been noticed.

In commemorating the earlier monarchs of the country the priests of the various temples compiled selected lists of them. Thus at Abydos Seti I. is represented as honouring the spirits of sixty-five of his predecessors, beginning with Menes and ending with the last king of the twelfth dynasty, the kings of the eighteenth dynasty, who are made to follow immediately, being reckoned as twelve. At Karnak, again, Thothmes III. is pictured making offerings to the images of sixty-one of his predecessors; while a second list of kings, discovered at Abydos, in the temple of Ramses II., repeats the list given by Seti, with a few omissions. At Sakkârah, too, in the tomb of a priest named Tunari, who flourished under Ramses II., we see the dead man admitted to eternal life in the presence of fifty-eight of the earlier kings of Egypt. The principles upon which these selected lists were drawn up are still unknown to us. Certain prominent kings, such as Menes, the founder of the empire, or Kheops, the builder of the great pyramid, occur in them all, but in other parts of the lists the names chosen are different. Possibly the priests selected those monarchs who were reputed to have been benefactors to the particular shrines in which the lists are found; more probably the deceased is brought into spiritual relation with those who in some special way were supposed to have been his ancestors. At all events, it is one of these selected temple-lists that is

embodied in the catalogue of thirty-eight "Theban" kings extracted from the Greek mathematician Eratosthenês (B.C. 276-194) by Christian writers. The introductory sentence, which calls Menes a Theban, shows plainly the source from which it was derived.[1]

A sketch of Egyptian history is given by Diodôros, who probably derived it from Ephoros. The sketch is on the whole fairly accurate, though the blunder of Herodotos is repeated, which placed Kheops, Khephren, and Mykerinos 2000 years too late. Herodotos (see Introd.) derived his information as to earlier Egyptian history from the inventive ignorance of half-caste *ciceroni*, so that we need not wonder at its utter incompatibility with the truth. In saying, however, that the 341 generations of kings who preceded Sethos extended over 11,340 years, the Greek historian has made a gratuitous mistake of his own; not only is his arithmetic at fault, but he has confounded together reigns and generations.

It is possible that the sources from which Manetho composed his history may yet be recovered. What they were we may gather from the famous Turin papyrus, written in the time of Ramses II., and found probably in a tomb at Thebes. The carelessness of the natives who discovered it, and of the Europeans who brought it home, has unfortunately shivered it into more than 160 minute fragments, many of which it is impossible to put in their right places. In spite of this horribly mutilated condition, the papyrus is nevertheless of the highest value. A considerable number of royal names are preserved, many of them otherwise unknown, as well as the years and months each king reigned. With a complete papyrus of this kind we should be able to restore the whole skeleton of Egyptian history.

Like the histories of all other great nations, this history begins with its mythical age. The first dynasty of prehistoric Egypt was believed to have consisted of the gods. Each temple had its own peculiar list of these divine monarchs, in which its presiding deity took the first place. Thus at Memphis the dynasty of gods was composed as follows:—(1) Ptah or Hephæstos, "the father of the gods;" (2) Ra, the Sun-god, his son; (3) Shu (Agathodæmon), the Air-god, his son; (4) Seb, the earth, his son; (5) Osiris, his son; (6) Set (Typhon), the son of Seb; (7) Horos, "the redeemer," the son of Osiris. At Thebes, on the other hand, the order was:—(1) Amun-Ra, "the king of the gods;" (2) Mont, his son; (3) Shu, the son of

[1] The list of Eratosthenes, in which an attempt is made to give the meaning of the royal names, was edited by Apollodôros of Athens (about B.C. 140).

Ra; (4) Seb, his son; (5) Osiris, his son; (6) Horos, his son; Set, the evil principle, not being reckoned among the legitimate rulers. Next to these royal gods came the Hor-shesu, or "successors of Horos," divided by Manetho into the two dynasties of demi-gods and Manes; among the latter, according to the Turin papyrus, being the sacred animals, the Apis of Memphis and the Mnêvis of On. The reign of the Manes closed the mythical age of Egypt; they were followed by Menes of This, the founder of the united monarchy and the leader of the historical dynasties.

Modern research, however, has caught glimpses of the epoch which preceded the age of Menes, and was relegated by the Egyptian scribes to the reigns of the mysterious Hor-shesu. The country of the Nile was then divided into a number of small kingdoms, inhabited by a race similar in origin and customs, and already possessed of a considerable civilisation. The so-called granite temple, near the Sphinx of Gizeh, built of huge monoliths of Syenite granite, exquisitely cut and polished and fitted together, perhaps belongs to this remote period. It must have originally been a tomb, but when it was discovered in the sand in the time of Kheops, the builder of the great pyramid, the king seems to have imagined it to be the shrine of Harmachis,[1] the Sphinx. The building carries us back to an age when neither cement nor sculpture nor writing was known; but even at that remote date the principles of architecture had been studied, and the chieftain who lived on the edge of the Delta was able to have huge blocks of granite cut and transported for him from the distant quarries of Assuan. The Sphinx itself probably belongs to the same early time. At all events it was already in existence in the age of Khephren and the fourth dynasty, and no mention is made of its construction in the excerpts from Manetho.

Whoever has seen the rich plain in which the city of This once stood will easily understand how it was that the founder of the united monarchy came from thence. The plain is at once one of the largest and most fertile of those in the valley of the Nile, while it is protected from attack on three sides by the Libyan hills, and on the fourth side by the river. Everything was in favour of the progress of its inhabitants in wealth and power. At any rate it was from here,

[1] Egyptian Hor-em-khuti, "the sun on the horizon." In the inscription, which states that Khufu found a temple of Isis beside the temple of the Sphinx, the Sphinx is called Hu. The inscription, though probably dating from the age of the eighteenth dynasty, is a copy of an older text.

from the precincts of the tomb of Osiris himself, that Menes or Mena, "the constant," made his way northwards, passing on his road the ancient kingdoms of Ni ent-Bak (Antæopolis) and Sesunnu (Hermopolis), where Horus had defeated and slain his enemy Set, with the aid of Thoth. At last he established himself in the near neighbourhood of the Sphinx, which may possibly record his deeds and features, and by means of the great dyke of Kosheish won the land from the Nile whereon to build his capital, Men-nofer or Memphis.

The date to which this event was assigned by Manetho has, for reasons already given, been variously computed. Boeckh makes it B.C. 5702, Unger 5613, Mariette 5004, Brugsch 4455, Lauth 4157, Pessl 3917, Lepsius 3892, and Bunsen 3623.

We shall provisionally adopt the dates of Mariette, whose long-continued excavations in Egypt have given him an exceptional authority to speak upon the matter; but those who have sailed up the Nile, and observed the various phases through which Egyptian art has passed will be inclined to think that he has rather fallen short of the mark than gone beyond it.

Menes, we are told, undertook a campaign against the Libyans, and after a reign of sixty-two years was eaten by a crocodile (or hippopotamus), a legend which may have originated in the belief that Set, the enemy of order and government, revenged himself upon the successor of the royal Osiris. Teta, who followed him, was said to have written treatises upon medicine and anatomy, and the medical papyrus of Ebers contains a chapter which was supposed to have been "discovered" in his reign, while the sixty-fourth chapter of the Book of the Dead was ascribed to the same date. The only other noteworthy king of the first dynasty was Uenephes, the builder in all probability of the so-called step-pyramid of Sakkârah. The second king of the second dynasty, Kakau or Kaiekhos, established or more probably regulated the worship of the bulls Apis and Mnevis, and the goat of Mendes. After him Bainuter or Binothris laid down that women as well as men might henceforward inherit the throne.

With the death of the last king of the second dynasty (B.C. 4449) the line of Menes seems to have come to an end. It had succeeded in welding the whole country together, and suppressing those collateral princes whose names are occasionally met with on the monuments. The third dynasty was Memphite. To it belongs Snefru or Sephuris (B.C. 4290-4260), whose inscriptions in the Wady Magharah tell us that the turquoise-mines of Sinai were worked for his benefit, and

guarded by Egyptian soldiers. The lofty pyramid of Meidûm is his tomb, close to which are the sepulchres of his princes and officials, still brilliant with coloured mosaic-work of pictures and hieroglyphics.

But it is the era of the fourth dynasty that is emphatically the building era. The pyramid-tombs of Khufu (Kheops), Khafra (Khephren), and Men-ka-ra (Mykerinos or Menkheres), in the necropolis of Memphis, still excite the astonishment of mankind by their size and solidity. "The great pyramid" of Gizeh, with its two companions, towers like a mountain above the sandy plain, and neither the ruin of six thousand years nor the builders of Cairo have been able to destroy them. Khufu and Khafra, whose impiety was one of the "travellers' tales" told to Herodotos by his ignorant guides, were separated from each other by the reign of Tat-ef-Ra or Ra-tatf, who was possibly the son of Khufu, "the long-haired," and the brother of Khafra. The statue of Khafra, of hard diorite, found by M. Mariette, and preserved in the Museum of Bûlak, is one of the most beautiful and realistic specimens of Egyptian art, characteristic of its early phase, and illustrating the features of the Egyptians of the Old Empire. Men-ka-ra was followed by Ases-ka-f, the Asykhis of Herodotos, who built the pyramid of brick, and was, according to Diodoros, one of the five great lawgivers of Egypt. After a few more reigns, the fifth dynasty succeeds to the fourth, and we pass to the age of Ti, whose tomb at Sakkârah is among the choicest of Egyptian monuments. Its walls of alabaster are covered with delicate sculptures, brilliantly coloured, and resembling the most exquisite embroidery on stone. They trace for us the scenes of Ti's life; here he is superintending his labourers in the field; here he is watching a party of carpenters or shipbuilders; here, again, he is hunting hippopotami among the papyri of the Delta, while a kingfisher hard-by is seeking, with loud cries and outstretched wings, to drive a crocodile from her young. The kings of the fifth dynasty introduced the fashion of adding a second cartouche, with the name of honour, to that which contains their names as individuals. One of them, Tat-ka-ra Assa, who has left us monuments among the mines of Sinai, was the prince under whom the Papyrus Prisse was written by "the governor Ptah-Hotep." This, the most ancient book in the world, is a treatise on practical philosophy, very like the Book of Proverbs in the Old Testament. Thus, it tells us, that "if thou art become great after thou hast been lowly, and if thou hast heaped up riches after poverty, being because of that the chiefest in thy city; if thou art known for thy wealth and art become a great lord;—let not

thy heart be puffed up because of thy riches, for it is God who has given them unto thee. Despise not another who is as thou wast; be towards him as towards thy equal." Ptah-Hotep must have been advanced in years at the time he wrote his book, if we may judge from the feeling language in which he describes old age.

With the fifth dynasty the Memphite dynasties come to an end. The sixth was from Elephantinê. Its most illustrious monarch was Merira Pepi I., whose able minister Una has left us a record of his widespread activity. Ships of war were built at the First Cataract to convey blocks of granite to the north; multitudes of negroes were enrolled in the Egyptian army for campaigns against the Semites of Asia and the Herusha or Beduins of the isthmus of Suez; the garrisons in the Sinaitic peninsula were strengthened; and the temple of Hathor, at Denderah, built by the Horshesu in the mythical age, and repaired by Khufu, was rebuilt from the foundations according to the original plans, which had been accidentally discovered.[1]

The sixth dynasty ended with Queen Neit-akrit, or Nitokris, "with the rosy cheeks," who completed the third pyramid, left unfinished by Men-ka-ra, and, if we may believe Herodotos, avenged herself on the murderers of her brother. An age of trouble and disaster, it would seem, followed upon her death. The copyists of Manetho give but a short duration to the seventh dynasty, and the three kings placed after Neit-akrit by the Turin papyrus are made to reign severally only two years a month and a day, four years two months and a day, and two years a month and a day.

With the close of the sixth dynasty (B.C. 3500) we may also date the close of the Old Empire. For several centuries the history of Egypt is a blank. A few royal names are met with on scarabs, or in the tablets of Abydos and Sakkârah, but their tombs and temples have not yet been found. When the darkness that envelops them is cleared away, it is with the rise of the eleventh dynasty and the Middle Empire (B.C. 3064). How long it lasted we do not know, but the period cannot have been a short one. Profound changes have taken place when the veil is once more lifted from Egyptian history. We find ourselves in a new Egypt; the seat of power has been transferred to Thebes, the physical type of the ruling caste is no longer that of the Old Empire, and a change has passed over the

[1] Wiedemann doubts this, and believes that the whole story was invented in the time of Thothmes III., the real builder of the temple, in order to give the shrine the reputation of antiquity.

religion of the people. It has become gloomy, introspective, and mystical; the light-hearted freedom and practical character that formerly distinguished it are gone. Art, too, has undergone modifications which imply a long age of development. It has ceased to be spontaneous and realistic, and has become conventional. Even the fauna and flora are different, and the domestic cat, imported from Nubia, for the first time makes its appearance on the threshold of history.

Thebes is the capital of the Middle Empire, and a new deity, Amun, the god of Thebes, presides over it. Its princes were long the vassals of the legitimate dynasties of Herakleopolis, and the first of whom we know, Entef I., claimed to be no more than a simple noble. His son, Mentu-hotep I., still calls himself *hor*, or subordinate king, and it is not until three generations afterwards that Entef IV. throws off the supremacy of the sovereigns in the north, assumes the title of monarch of Upper and Lower Egypt, and founds the eleventh dynasty; though this honour is also claimed by Mentu-hotep IV. The era of Theban greatness, however, begins with the Amen-em-hats and Usertasens of the twelfth dynasty. Its founder, Amen-em-hat I., won the throne by war, and followed the fashion of the old Memphite kings by building for himself a pyramid. We possess in the Sallier papyrus the instructions which he wrote for his son. The relations between Egypt and the adjoining districts of Palestine are revealed to us in the story of an adventurer named Saneha, who is made to fly from the court of the Theban monarch to that of Ammu-enshi, king of Tennu in Edom, where, like David, the Egyptian killed a "champion" famous for his strength and size. The obelisk which marks the site of Heliopolis, near Cairo, was raised by Usertasen I., the son and successor of Amen-em-hat; it is the oldest of which we know. It characterises the Middle Empire, just as the pyramid characterised the Old Empire, and, in the later times at all events, was intended to serve as a lightning-conductor. At any rate, an inscription at Edfu speaks of it as thus employed. Meanwhile, new colonists were sent to Sinai, and the turquoise-mines were re-opened. The Nubians and negroes of Aken and Kush were conquered, and in the eighth year of the reign of Usertasen III. the southern boundary of the empire was fixed at the fortresses of Semneh and Kummeh, thirty-five miles beyond the Second Cataract, no negro being allowed to come northward of them, except for purposes of trade. Here, in succeeding reigns, the height of the inundation was marked year by year on the

rocks, from which we learn that its highest rise was 27 feet 3 inches above its rise at the present day. The enormous basin, with its tunnel and canal, dug by Amen-em-hat III. on the western bank of the Nile, created the modern province of the Fayûm. Its name, Meri, or "lake," was changed by the Greeks into the name of an imaginary being, Mœris. Its site is now marked by a depression in the south-east of the Fayûm. Strangely enough, the province and its inhabitants were so abhorred by the Egyptians on account of their worship of the god Sebek, and his sacred animal, the crocodile, that they are never mentioned on the monuments. It is possible that Amen-em-hat peopled the district with the captives he had carried away from the south. We know from the paintings on the tomb of Prince Khnum-hotep at Beni-hassan that the immigration of the Semites into the Delta, which eventually gave it the name of Keft-ur, or Caphtor, "Greater Phœnicia," had already begun in the reign of Usertasen II. In the sixth year of the latter's reign a family of thirty-seven Amu or Semites from Absha arrived with their asses and goods, and craved permission to settle on the banks of the Nile. We may still see them with their black hair and hooked noses, and Phœnician garments of many colours like the one which Joseph wore. They were the forerunners of numerous hordes, who succeeded at last not only in making the Delta their own, but even in conquering the whole country that had given them hospitality, and under the name of the Hyksos ruling over it for more than 500 years. They borrowed the alphabet of the Egyptians, under the form assumed by it in the hieratic papyri of the Middle Empire; and this alphabet, after being carried to Phœnicia, has become the mother of the alphabets of the civilised world.

The kings of the thirteenth dynasty ably maintained the empire which had been handed down to them. More than 150 are named in the Turin papyrus, proving that the number 60, given by the copyists of Manetho, is incorrect. Monuments of some of them have been found at Asyut, at Abydos, at Bubastis, at Tanis, and elsewhere. The twenty-sixth sovereign of them erected colossi in the island of Argo, in the very heart of Ethiopia, thus penetrating far beyond the southernmost limits of the conquests of the twelfth dynasty. But the following dynasty from Xois (Sakha), whose seventy-six kings, according to Manetho, reigned for 484 or 134 years, allowed the power it inherited to slip through its hands. The fifteenth dynasty bears the ominous title of Shepherds, or Hyksos, and testifies to the fact that Egypt had passed under the yoke of a foreign domination.

Hyksos is the Egyptian *hik-shasu*, "chief of the Beduins," or "Shepherds," Shasu being the name given to the Semitic nomades of North-western Arabia. The Hyksos, however, are called Men or Menti in the inscriptions, Menti being explained in the geographical table of Edfu to be the natives of Syria. In accordance with this, Manetho speaks of Jerusalem as a Hyksos town, and their Egyptian capital, Zoan or Tanis, is connected with Hebron in Numb. xiii. 22. It is possible that their leaders were Hittite princes, though Lepsius believes them to have come from Punt or Southern Arabia; at any rate, their features, as revealed by the few memorials of them that exist, more especially the lion of Sân, belong to a very peculiar and non-Semitic type.[1] But their monuments are rare; after their expulsion the Egyptians did their utmost to destroy all that reminded them of the hated strangers, and it is only within the last few years that M. Mariette's excavations at Sân or Tanis have brought to light some scanty relics of the Shepherd kings.

Their rule lasted, according to Manetho, for 511 years,[2] and this seems to be confirmed by a granite slab found at Sân, of the time of

[1] M. Maspero has lately questioned whether the peculiar type represented by the monuments of Sân is really that of the Hyksos, and not rather of the original population of the district.

[2] This number is obtained from the valuable fragment of Manetho preserved by Josephus (*Cont. Ap.* i. 14, 15). Africanus and Eusebius are hopelessly confused. Africanus makes the fifteenth dynasty consist of six "Phœnician" kings, reigning in all 284 years; but the number of years assigned to each does not always agree with that given by Josephus, and the leader of the dynasty, Salatis, is confounded with Saites, the leader of the seventeenth. Africanus further makes the sixteenth dynasty consist of thirty-two "Greek" Shepherd kings and last 518 years, the seventeenth dynasty consisting of forty-three Shepherd kings for 151 years. Eusebius, on the other hand, passes over two of the Shepherd dynasties, and, doubtless following the example of Manetho, reckons the contemporary native princes at Thebes as alone legitimate. His fifteenth dynasty consequently consists of Thebans for 250 years, and his sixteenth dynasty also of five Thebans for 190 years. In the seventeenth dynasty he enumerates four Phœnician Shepherd kings for 103 years, though forty-three independent sovereigns had time meanwhile to reign at Thebes. While, therefore, according to Africanus, the Shepherds occupied the country for 953 years, according to Eusebius the contemporary Theban dynasties extended over only 543 years (or, supposing the seventeenth dynasty to be contemporary with the latter, only 440 years). The numbers are plainly exaggerated, and the round numbers in Eusebius suspicious; but it is probable that the Theban princes did not recover their independence until some time after the Hyksos conquest, so that it was only during the reigns of the later Shepherd kings that Manetho was able to reckon the Theban dynasties as collateral. The seventeenth Shepherd dynasty is distinguished on the monuments from the two preceding ones by the name of Menti-Petti.

Ramses II., which is dated in the 400th year of the (Hyksos) king, Set-aa-pehti Nubti,—if, that is, the latter can be identified with the Saites who leads the seventeenth dynasty of Manetho (B.C. 1806).[1] It must, however, be admitted that Set was specially the god of the Shepherds, and that his name enters into the composition of several of theirs (such as Staan, Asseth, and Sethos). Some time appears to have elapsed before the Semitic hordes consolidated themselves under the rule of a single prince, to whom the name of Salatis or Shaladh, "the Sultan," is given, and who established his court at Memphis. Like the Moors in Spain, the Hyksos seem never to have succeeded in reducing the whole of Egypt to subjection, though the few native princes who managed to maintain themselves in the south were no doubt tributary to the earlier Shepherd monarchs; and Wiedemann's discovery that the granite statue (A) in the Louvre, which was usurped by Amenophis III., is really a monument of the Hyksos prince Apepi, proves that the latter subjected to his sway thirty-six districts of Nubia. Gradually, however, the power of the Hyksos became weaker, the tributary princes made themselves independent, and the *hik* or governor of Thebes collected around him a rival court. Meanwhile the Hyksos kings had fully submitted themselves to the influence of Egyptian civilisation. They had adopted the manners and customs, the art and literature, even the religion and the gods, of their conquered subjects. They gave themselves the titles of their predecessors, and raised temples and sphinxes in honour of the deities of Egypt. Zoan or Tanis was made their capital and adorned with splendid buildings, so that its foundation could well be ascribed to them. Here they surrounded themselves with the scribes and savans of both Egypt and Asia, and a geometrical papyrus written under their patronage has survived to tell us of the culture they professed. Their hold upon the country was confirmed by the construction of two fortresses at Ha-uar or Avaris, in the Sethroite nome, and Sherohan[2] on the frontier, the first of which was garrisoned with 240,000 men; but their direct power does not seem to have extended further south than the Fayûm. It was during the domination of one of the three Hyksos dynasties that first Abraham and then Joseph must have entered Egypt, and found a ready welcome among a people of kindred race.

But the rule of the Shepherds was drawing to a close. Their

[1] Maspero, however, holds that the date merely refers to the 400th year of the mythical reign of Set or Typhon, like the year 363 of Harmakhis mentioned at Edfu.

[2] Sharuhen in Josh. xix. 6.

monarch Apepi or Apophis, as we learn from the legend in the Sallier papyrus, had deserted Tanis and established his capital at Avaris,—an indication, perhaps, that the limits of Hyksos authority had been gradually contracting. Nevertheless, he still claimed supremacy over the subordinate native princes of the south, and in an evil day determined to displace Ra-skenen, the *hik* or governor of Thebes. Ra-skenen submitted to his first demand that he should worship no other gods but Amun-Ra; but when the tyrant sent a still more exacting message, Ra-skenen ventured to raise the standard of revolt, and summoned the other oppressed chieftains of Egypt to his aid. The war of independence was begun, the foreigners were driven from one position to another, and a national fleet was built by Ra-skenen Taa II., whose three successors, Ra-skenen III., Kames,[1] and Aahmes, concluded the work. Avaris was captured in the fifth year of the last-named prince and Sherohan in the sixth, and Egypt was now free. Aahmes founded the eighteenth dynasty and the new empire (B.C. 1703), and with it a new era of prosperity and glory for the country of his ancestors.

The same outburst of vigour and military activity that followed the expulsion of the Moors from Spain followed also the expulsion of the Hyksos. The injuries Egypt had endured at the hands of Asia were avenged upon Asia itself. The old policy of exclusiveness and non-interference in Asiatic affairs was renounced, the war was carried into the East, and the boundaries of the empire were laid on the banks of the Euphrates. Palestine was occupied by Egyptian garrisons, and in thus flinging herself upon Asia, Egypt became an Asiatic power. The penalty was paid by a future generation. Asiatic customs and aspirations penetrated into the kingdom of the Pharaohs, the population and the court itself became semi-Asiatic, and, exhausted by the efforts it had made, Egypt at last fell a prey to internal dissensions and the assaults of foreign enemies.

But for a time, under the great monarchs of the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties, the brilliant policy they had inaugurated seemed eminently successful. Time after time their armies marched out of "hundred-gated Thebes," returning with new rolls of conquered provinces, with the plunder and tribute of the East, and with trains of captives for the erection of the gigantic monuments in which the

[1] Uot-kheper-Ra-Kames is the Alisphragmuthosis of Manetho, who captured Memphis, *l* being read for *t*, and *kh* represented by *s*, as in Suphis for Khufu. Men-kheper-Ra (Thothmes III.) is Mespheres (Misaphris) in Manetho and Pliny.

spirit of the conquerors sought expression. The city-like ruin of Karnak, with its obelisks and columns and carvings, the huge monoliths of granite that watched over the plain of Thebes, the temple of Abu-Simbel, hewn out of a mountain and guarded by colossi, whose countenances betokened the divine calm of undisputed majesty, were all so many memorials of titanic conceptions and more than human pride. Nobler and better than these, however, were the earlier monuments of a Thothmes or a Hatasu, in which Egyptian art gave utterance to its renaissance in delicately-finished and brilliantly-painted sculpture on stone. The little temple of Amada in Nubia, built by Thothmes III. in honour of his young wife, or the ruined walls of Queen Hatasu's temple at Deir el-Bahri, on which is carved the story of Egyptian exploration in the land of Punt, are, in the artist's eyes, worth far more than the colossal monuments of Ramses II.

The first care of Aahmes or Amosis, after driving out the foreigner, was to unite Egypt again into a single monarchy. Gradually the petty kings were reduced to the rank of feudal princes, and the defeat of the Nubian sovereign Teta placed the country between the Cataracts once more in Egyptian hands. But it was his second successor, Thothmes I., who was the first of a long line of great conquerors. In the south he added the Soudan to Egypt, and appointed "a governor of Kush;" in the east he carried his arms as far as Naharina, or the land of the Orontes. But his achievements were eclipsed by those of his second son, Thothmes III. For a while his elder sister Hatasu ruled as regent with more than masculine energy and ability, and her little brother was believed in later legend to have fled, like the god Horos, to the marshes of Buto in the north. The loftiest obelisk in the world was, by her orders, carved out of the granite rocks of Assuan, engraved, floated down the Nile, and set up at Karnak, in the short space of seven months. Stately temples rose at her command, and a voyage of discovery was made to the land of Punt and the African coast near Cape Guardafui, whence the explorers brought back strange plants and stones and animals, among them a chimpanzee. For fifteen years Hatasu ruled supreme. Then the youthful Thothmes, grown to man's estate, claimed and received a share in the government, and six years later the queen died.

As a military power, as the arbiter of the destinies of the ancient civilised world, Egypt reached its zenith under the sway of Thothmes. During his long reign of fifty-three years eleven months and four days, the country was covered with monuments, and became the centre of

trade and intercourse. Countless treasures flowed into it, and Thebes took rank as the capital of the world. A royal botanical and zoological garden was established, stocked with the curious plants and animals the king had brought back with him from his campaigns, among which we may recognise the *mama* or dom-palm. In the year after his sister's death, he shattered the combined Canaanite forces, under the Hittite king of Kadesh on the Orontes, at Megiddo, where the enemy left behind them, among other spoil, chariots of silver and gold that had been made in Cyprus. A fortress was built at the foot of Lebanon, near Arados, to secure the new conquests. But it needed fourteen campaigns before Western Asia could be thoroughly subdued, and in the course of these we hear of the Egyptian king hunting elephants near the town of Ni, midway between Carchemish and Kadesh. After this, year by year tribute and taxes of every kind came in regularly to the Egyptian treasury from the towns of Palestine and Phœnicia, from Cyprus and the Hittites, from Mesopotamia, Assyria, and perhaps even Babylon itself. Kush, too, sent its offering, and Egyptian officials visited the Soudan; while Punt—the coasts of Somali and Southern Arabia—poured its products into the trading vessels of the Egyptian king.

His successors, Amen-hotep or Amenophis II., Thothmes IV., and Amenophis III., maintained the empire they had inherited, with occasional raids upon the negroes, for the sake partly of slaves, partly of the gold found in their country. The two colossi in the plain of Thebes, one of them the miracle-working Memnon of classical days, are statues of Amenophis III. But the latter sovereign left a legacy of trouble behind him. He seems to have made a *mésalliance* by marrying a wife neither royal nor Egyptian, named Taia, and their son, Amenophis IV. or Khu-en-Aten, was regarded as an usurper by the priestly aristocracy of Thebes.[1] But Amenophis IV. was more than an unlawful ruler. He was a heretic, acknowledging only the

[1] The tomb discovered by Mr. Villiers-Stewart at Thebes shows no more than that the peculiar style of art introduced by the architects of Khu-en-aten at Tel el-Amarna, was introduced into Thebes itself during the latter part of the king's reign. The right-hand side of the façade of the tomb which is decorated in this peculiar way is unfinished, and both on the right and on the left-hand sides the cartouches of Amenophis IV. and Khu-en-Aten are joined together. M. Maspero has shown that Taia was an Egyptian name, so that the Asiatic origin of the princess is not absolutely certain. A fragment of sculptured stone with the uneffaced cartouches of Khu-en-Aten, found at Erment, a little south of Thebes, proves that the "heretic king" built a temple in the near vicinity of the old capital.

one God of Light, whom he worshipped, like his mother, under the symbol of the solar disk (aten), and fanatically intolerant of Amun-Ra and the state-gods of Thebes. Open war soon broke out between him and the priests. By royal edict the sacred names of Amun and Mut were erased from the monuments of Egypt, the king's own name was changed to Khu-en-Aten—"the splendour of the solar disk;" and Thebes, the city of Amun, with all its temples and monuments of victory, was left, in order that a new capital might be founded at Tel el-Amarna. Here a magnificent shrine was built to the new divinity of the Pharaoh, not after the venerable model of the temples of Egypt, but of those of the subject Phœnicians. It would seem that the king had originally intended to plant this in the city of Thebes itself, and that his retirement to his new capital was an enforced flight. Here he surrounded himself by his relations and the converts to the new doctrines,—one of the latter, Meri-Ra, being made chief prophet of his temple and adorned with a golden chain. His generals, indeed, continued to gain victories in Syria and Ethiopia, but the upper classes of Egypt were in secret revolt, and the country was fermenting with the suppressed bitterness of religious hatred. He died leaving seven daughters and no sons, and was followed by two of his sons-in-law and the master of his horse, whose united reigns hardly filled up a single generation. Ai, the master of the horse, had married the foster-mother of Khu-en-Aten, and during his short reign seems to have carried out a vigorous policy. He returned to the orthodox worship of Amun, and was accordingly allowed a place in the royal burial-ground of Thebes by the priests. But his death was the signal for fresh dissensions, which were healed only by the accession of Hor-em-hib, the Armais—not Horos—of Manetho (whose list of the kings of the eighteenth dynasty is in the greatest confusion). Hor-em-hib had married the sister-in-law of Khu-en-Aten. He enlarged the great temple of Amun at Thebes, re-conquered Kush, and received tribute from Punt. With him the eighteenth dynasty came to an end.[1]

Ramses (Ramessu) I., the founder of the nineteenth dynasty, came from Lower Egypt, and was probably of Semitic extraction. He

[1] Among the kings belonging to the close of the eighteenth dynasty may be mentioned Teta Menephthah, who was worshipped under the nineteenth dynasty. Ra-en-tui, another king of the same period, is called king of Lower Egypt only in the temple of Ramses II. at Abydos, from which we may infer that the nineteenth dynasty began with reigning over the Thebaid alone. Ai seems to have been followed by his two brothers-in-law, Tut-ankh-Amun and Ra-s-aa-ka-nekht-kheperu.

was related—apparently by marriage—to Hor-em-hib, and his short reign of six years was chiefly signalised by the beginning of the long struggle with the Kheta or Hittites, now the most powerful people in Western Asia. His son, Seti Menephthah I., or Sethos, the builder of the great hall of columns at Karnak and the principal temple of Abydos, once more restored the waning military fame of Egypt. The incursions of the Beduins into the Delta were mercilessly avenged. Palestine was overrun from one end to the other; the Phœnicians of the Lebanon submitted voluntarily; Kadesh, "in the land of the Amorites," once the southern stronghold of the Hittites, was captured; and Mautenur, the Hittite monarch, after several years of conflict, was forced to make alliance with the Egyptian conqueror. A new enemy had meanwhile appeared on the coast in the shape of the Libyans. They, too, however, were defeated, and Thebes was filled with the spoil of the stranger.[1] Such victories were needed to condone the religious failings of the new dynasty, which worshipped the foreign gods of Canaan, at the head of them all Baal-Sutekh, or Set, once the patron-deity of the hated Hyksos, but now the divinity after whom the Egyptian king was himself named. Ramses II. or Sestesura, the Sesostris of the Greeks, son and successor of Seti, seems to have been a boy of about ten years at his accession, and to have died at the ripe age of eighty. He was the *grand monarque* of Egypt. His long reign, his colossal buildings, his incessant wars, and the victories he claimed, all make him the prototype of Louis Quatorze. For a time he had been associated in the government with his father, whose death was the signal for a renewal of the war between Egypt and the Hittites. The Hittites had summoned their allies from the furthest regions of their empire. The Dardanians (*Dardani*) came from the Troad, the Masu or Mysians from their cities of Ilion (*Iluna*)[2] and Pedasos, the Kolkhians or Keshkesh from the Kaukasos, the Syrians from the Orontes, the Phœnicians from Arvad. Kadesh, on the Orontes, was the centre of the war. It was here that Ramses saved himself from an ambush of the enemy, partly perhaps by his personal bravery, partly by the swiftness of his horses. But the event was made the subject of a long heroic poem by Pentaur, the Egyptian Homer, who

[1] It is difficult to determine the exact extent of Seti's successes, since, like many other Egyptian kings, he has at Karnak usurped the inscriptions and victories of one of his predecessors, Thothmes III., without taking the trouble to draw up a list of his own.

[2] Brugsch reads this as Mauna, "Mæonia."

won the prize for his verses above all other competitors in the seventh year of the king's reign. It was treated with true epic exaggeration; the interference of the gods was freely invoked, and the achievement transferred to the region of myth. But the vanity of Ramses never wearied of reading the legend in which he played the leading part. The poem was inscribed on the walls of Abydos, of Luxor, of Karnak, of Abu-Simbel,—everywhere, in short, where the *grand monarque* raised his buildings and allowed his subjects to read the record of his deeds. As a matter of fact his victories over the Hittites were Kadmeian ones. At one time the Egyptian generals prevailed over the enemy, and the statues of Ramses were erected in the city of Tunep, or carved in stone at the mouth of the Nahr el-Kelb, while hymns of victory were sung at Thebes, and gangs of captives were lashed to work at the monuments of the mighty conqueror; but at another time the tide of fortune changed, and Carchemish rather than Thebes had reason to triumph. For years the struggle continued, until, in the thirty-fourth year of Ramses, the two nations, exhausted with the equally-balanced conflict, were fain to make peace. Ramses and Khita-sira, "the great king of the Hittites," entered into an alliance, defensive and offensive, agreeing that neither side should punish the political offenders who had fled from the one country into the other during the time of war. The Hittite text of the treaty was engraved on a tablet of silver in the peculiar characters of Carchemish, while the Egyptian copy was sculptured on the walls of the temples of Ramses. It was ratified by the marriage of Ramses with the daughter of the Hittite king.

Meanwhile raids were made upon the hapless negroes in the south, and Askalon, which had dared to resist the will of the Egyptian monarch, was stormed and sacked. The Libyans sent tribute, and fresh gold-mines were opened in Nubia, where miserable captives rotted to death. The Israelites in Goshen built the treasure-cities of Pithom and Raamses, or Zoan, and colossal statues of the monarch were carved out of the granite rocks of Syene, and set up in front of the temple of Ptah at Memphis, and of the Ramesseum, "the tomb of Osymandyas," at Thebes. The monolith of the Ramesseum, now shattered by earthquake, was no less than sixty feet high. But Ramses cared more for the size and number of his buildings than for their careful construction and artistic finish. The work is mostly "scamped," the walls ill-built, the sculptures coarse and tasteless. To this, however, Abu-Simbel forms a striking exception. Here, among

the silent sands of Nubia, one of the world's wonders was carved in the rock. A huge and solemn temple was hewn out of a mountain, and its entrance guarded by four colossi, each with a divine calm imprinted upon its mighty features, and with eyes fixed towards the rising of the sun. Abu-Simbel is the noblest memorial left us by the barren wars and vainglorious monuments of Ramses-Sesostris.

His family must have been a large one. The temple of Abydos records the names of sixty daughters and fifty-nine sons, the fourteenth of whom, Menephthah II., was the next king. His first work was to repel a formidable naval attack by Libyans and various tribes from the north, in whom some have seen Sardinians, Sicilians, and Akhæans. They were led by the Libyan king, Marmaiu, the son of Did, and had penetrated as far as Heliopolis, sweeping over the Delta like a swarm of locusts. The invaders were almost completely destroyed, and prodigious booty fell into the hands of the royal army. This was in the fifth year of the king's reign. Shortly afterwards, according to the most accepted theory, the exodus of the Israelites took place (B.C. 1320).

Three more inglorious reigns over a divided Egypt bring us to the end of the nineteenth dynasty. It had been a period of civil war and foreign invasion. Arisu, a Syrian from Phœnicia, made himself master of a large part of the country, at the head of an army of revolted slaves. The history of this troubled time is glanced at in the great Harris papyrus; it is given in more detail by Diodôros Siculus,[1] who calls the rebels Babylonians, and by Manetho,[2] who terms their leader Osarsiph, and identifies him with Moses. Osarsiph had been a priest of Heliopolis, and in conjunction with the Hyksos, who had sent troops from Jerusalem, occupied Avaris, the old fortress of the Shepherds. For thirteen years Egypt suffered under this foreign rule; then Set-nekht, whom Manetho names Amenophis, advanced with an army from the south, drove out the Semites and slaves, put down the rival chiefs, and united the country under one sceptre. He ushered in the twentieth dynasty (B.C. 1288), and was succeeded by his son,

[1] i. 1, 56.

[2] Ap. Joseph. cont. Ap. i. 27. As Manetho makes the legitimate king under whom this happened an Amenophis, it is possible he has divided the name of Menephthah Si-ptah, the tomb of whose wife, Ta-user (the Thuoris of Manetho), is at Thebes, between Amenophis and Osar-siph. Menephthah Si-ptah was one of the kings or anti-kings who preceded Arisu, with whom he has sometimes been identified, and owed the crown to a Theban noble, Bai, and Seti the governor of Kush. The foreign slaves were called lepers by the Egyptians, which Manetho has mistaken for leprous Egyptians.

Ramses III., the Rhampsinitos of Herodotos, who had been a boy of five years of age at the time of his father's successes. Ramses III. is the last of the native heroes. Egypt was surrounded by its enemies when he assumed its double crown. The Libyans, under their princes Zamar and Zautmar, were the first to attack it. But they were driven off after a fierce battle, in which they left 12,535 dead upon the field. The next struggle was by sea. The Hittites of Carchemish, and their allies from the islands of the Mediterranean, from Asia Minor, and from the Kaukasos, came in overwhelming force in the ships of Arados. But they, too, were defeated and the waters reddened with their slaughter, while their camp on land was plundered and burned. Then, in the king's eleventh year, came a new assault by the Maxyes under their chief Massala, the son of Kapur. They had penetrated as far as the Kanopic branch of the Nile when the avenging hand of Ramses fell upon them. They were partly slain, partly drafted into the Egyptian forces, for Egypt was now obliged to depend largely upon mercenary troops. Even the negroes had ventured to invade the south, but they too were chastised, and the country was at last at peace. Ramses had filled his coffers with the spoil of his enemies, and now increased his wealth by building a fleet of merchantmen in the harbour of Suez, by renewing the mining-stations of Sinai, and by opening mines of copper elsewhere. The construction of new temples marked the revival of Egyptian prosperity; and at Medinet-Abu, opposite Luxor, the solitary example of an Egyptian palace that remains was erected. But with all his riches and success, Ramses was not preserved from a dangerous harem-conspiracy, which, however, was detected and its authors put to death. When he died he left his son, Ramses IV., a prosperous and peaceful kingdom; the empire of earlier days had gone, and Egypt was contracted to its own borders, but within those borders it was at peace. The succeeding kings of the nineteenth dynasty were all named Ramses, and each was as insignificant as his predecessor. The high priests of Amun at Thebes gradually supplanted their power, until at last all things were ripe for revolution, and the high priest Hirhor seized the throne and established a new dynasty (B.C. 1110).

But though Hirhor claimed to be king of Upper and Lower Egypt, it was only in the Thebaid that his authority was undisputed. The descendants of Ramses XIII. and their adherents had been banished to the Great Oasis; but a rival dynasty, alone recognised by Manetho under the title of the twenty-first, and founded by Si-Mentu Mei-Amun

or Smendês, ruled at Tanis. Another power, however, soon appeared upon the scene. A great-grandson of Ramses XIII., the last king of the twentieth dynasty, had married the daughter of Panu-res-nes, "the great prince" of the Libyan mercenaries in the Delta, whom Brugsch supposes to have been an Assyrian monarch. But the names which he believes to be Assyrian are in no way so, and are probably to be regarded as Libyan.[1] Pinotem (Pinetsem) II., the great-grandson of Hirhor, had been succeeded by his son Men-kheper-Ra, when Sheshank or Shishak, the leader of the mercenaries in the Delta, and fifth in descent from a certain foreigner named Bubuï or Buaï, with his son Naromath, established himself as independent king at Bubastis. A movement seems to have previously broken out at Thebes in favour of the banished Ramessids, in consequence of which the latter were recalled. Sheshank must have extended his power as far as Middle Egypt, since his son Naromath was buried in state during his father's lifetime at Abydos, while the throne of Tanis was occupied by Psiunkha or Pisebkhan I.,[2] the Psusennes of Manetho. It was during this period of internal dissension that the bodies of Thothmes III., of Ramses II., and of the other great princes of the 18th and 19th dynasties, were transferred from their tombs to the secret cavern near Deir el-Bahâri, at Thebes, where they were interred along with the members of the family of Pinotem.[3] Hor Psiunkha II.[4] was the successor of Psiunkha I., and was perhaps the king who sought to strengthen himself against the growing power of the Libyan mercenaries by marrying his daughter to Solomon. But all precautions were in vain. Sheshank I., the descendant of the Sheshank already mentioned,

[1] The *Mat*, of whom Panu-res-nes and his successors were princes, were the Libyan Mashuash or Maxyes. Wiedemann (*Geschichte Aegyptens von Psammetich I. bis auf Alexander den Grossen*, p. 34), points out that the passage rendered by Brugsch, "A memorial tablet was erected in the language of the land of Bab(el)," is really, "A stele was set up to her made of stone from the land of Ba . . su-t."

[2] Called Pasiuenkha by Birch.

[3] The discovery of these mummies has enabled M. Maspero to restore the genealogy of the line of Hirhor as follows:—(1) Hir-hor, high-priest and king, reigned at least sixteen years; (2) Pionkhi, his son, high-priest; (3) Pinotem I., his son, high-priest; (4) Pinotem II., his son, king. His two sons were (5) Masahirti, the high-priest, and (6) Men-kheper-Ra, the king. Men-kheper-Ra's son and successor was (7) Pinotem III. Pinotem II. had married, first, Neithibreshnu, by whom he had Masahirti, whose daughter was the princess Isimkheb (Ast-em-kheb), and, secondly, queen Mâ-ke-Ra, whose son was Men-kheper-Ra. The latter married Isimkheb, and built the great mud-brick fortress of El Haybî, between Beni-Suef and Minieh.

[4] Called Har-pasebensha by Birch.

overthrew both the rival dynasties of Tanis and Thebes, and heads the twenty-second dynasty, B.C. 980, establishing his court at Bubastis.

Sheshank signalised his reign by overrunning Judah, Edom, and the southern part of Israel, and capturing Jerusalem, a list of the conquered towns being engraved on the wall of Karnak. His successors, whose names have been erroneously imagined to be Assyrian, proved a race of *rois fainéants*. Egypt became once more divided among a number of petty kings, and the Ethiopian monarchs of Napata, who derived their origin from the banished family of Hirhor, claimed suzerainty over their former rulers. One of these, Pi-ankhi, has left us a record of his triumphs over Tefnekht of Sais, — called Tnêphakhthos, the father of Bocchoris, by Diodôros, — who had captured Memphis and made himself master of all Lower Egypt. The rebel prince himself fled to Cyprus, but was pardoned and allowed to return to Egypt. His son Bak-en-ran-ef, or Bocchoris, occupied the whole of Manetho's twenty-fourth dynasty, while Mi-Amun Nut, the son of Piankhi, reigned at Thebes. Bocchoris was captured and burned alive by the Ethiopian Shabaka or Sabako,[1] the son of Kashta, who founded the twenty-fifth dynasty and reunited the Egyptian monarchy. After his defeat by Sargon, the Assyrian king, at Raphia in B.C. 720, he died, and was followed first by Shabatuk and then by Taharka (Tirhakah or Tarakos), the brother-in-law of Sabako. Tirhakah found himself in possession of a prosperous kingdom,— threatened, however, by the rising power of the Assyrians, and undermined by native discontent at the rule of the Ethiopian stranger. After the indecisive battle with Sennacherib at Eltekeh in B.C. 701, Tirhakah was left in peace for some years, until, in the twenty-third year of his reign (B.C. 672), he was attacked and driven out of Egypt by the Assyrian armies of Esar-haddon. Egypt became a province of Assyria, divided into twenty satrapies, each governed by a native prince. It was these twenty satrapies that constituted the dodecarchy of Herodotos.

But more than once Tirhakah marched down from Ethiopia and endeavoured to recover his lost dominion. He was aided by the satraps and people, who naturally preferred the rule of the Ethiopian to that of the Assyrian. Twice did he advance as far as the Delta, and twice was he driven back again by the Assyrians, Necho of Memphis and Sais, and the chief ally of Tirhakah, being on the

[1] Called So in 2 Kings xvii. 4.

second occasion sent in chains to Nineveh. At last the old Ethiopian monarch died, and his successor Rut-Amen, or Urdaman, the son of Sabako, determined once more to wrest the sovereignty of Egypt from Asia. Thebes and Memphis opened their gates, and even Tyre sent help. But the Assyrians returned and executed terrible vengeance. No-Amon or Thebes was plundered and destroyed, the ground strewn with its ruins, and two of the obelisks at Karnak sent as trophies to Nineveh.[1]

But the Assyrian yoke was at last shaken off. Psamtik or Psammetikhos, the son of Necho of Sais, led the insurgents. Born in the Delta, he was probably of Semitic origin, but his marriage with a princess of the house of Bocchoris gave him the rights of a legitimate king. The moment was a favourable one for revolt. The Assyrian empire had been exhausted by the conquest of Elam, and the Viceroy of Babylonia was in open rebellion in concert with the nations of the west. Gyges of Lydia sent Karian and Ionian troops to the aid of Psammetikhos, and with these he drove out the Assyrian garrisons and reduced the vassal-kings. The decisive battle was fought at Menuf or Momemphis. Psammetikhos became the sole and independent lord of united Egypt, and the foreign mercenaries were rewarded with a permanent settlement near Bubastis. With the twenty-sixth dynasty (B.C. 660), the St. Luke's summer of Egyptian history begins. The revival of peace, of power, and of prosperity, was marked also by a revival of art. Sais was adorned with buildings which almost rivalled the mighty monuments of Thebes; the sacred bulls were enshrined in vast sarcophagi in a new gallery of the Serapeum; screens were introduced in the temples to hide the interior from the vulgar gaze; and a new cursive hand, the demotic, came into use. But the government had ceased to be national; it had gained its power by Hellenic aid, and from this time forward Greek influence began to prevail. The king's person is protected by a Greek bodyguard; the native soldiers desert to Ethiopia, and the oldest Ionic inscription we possess records the pursuit of them by the foreign mercenaries of Psammetikhos. The mart of Naukratis is founded by the Milesians at the mouth of the Kanopic channel, and a new class of persons, interpreters or dragomen, spring up in the country.

Necho the son of Psammetikhos flung aside the old exclusive policy of Egypt, and in rivalry with the merchant cities of Ionia strove to

[1] The destruction of the city is alluded to in Nahum iii. 8-10.

make the Egyptians the chief trading people of the world. An attempt was accordingly made to unite the Red Sea and the Mediterranean by cutting a canal from Bubastis to the Bitter Lakes, and only given up after the death of 120,000 of the labourers. Phœnician ships were sent to circumnavigate Africa, and returned successful after three years' absence. But the inland trade of Asia, which passed through Carchemish and Tyre, still remained to be secured. The fall of the Assyrian empire allowed this project also to be realised, and Josiah, who stood in the way of the Egyptian army, was defeated and slain. But the hymns of triumph once chanted to Amun were now replaced by an embassy to the Greek oracle of Brankhidæ, carrying with it the war-tunic of the Egyptian king. Egypt was fast becoming Hellenised; the old riddle of the sphinx was being solved, and the venerable mystery of Egypt yielding to the innovating rationalism of the upstart Greek. Necho's dreams of Asiatic sovereignty were dissipated by his defeat at Carchemish at the hands of Nebuchadrezzar. His successor, Psammetikhos II., reigned but five years; Uah-ab-ra (Hophra), or Apries, who followed (B.C. 589), avenging his grandfather's reverses by capturing Sidon and Gaza. But Nebuchadrezzar again shattered the Egyptian forces, and even overran Egypt itself. Then came the ill-fated expedition against Kyrênê and Barka, followed by the revolt of the army and the accession of Aahmes II., or Amasis, to the throne (B.C. 570). Apries and his Greek mercenaries were overthrown at Momemphis, and Apries himself soon afterwards put to death. Amasis, a nobleman of Siuf, who had married a sister of the late king, and whose mother, Tapert, was related to Apries,[1] continued the policy of his predecessors. One of his wives was a Greek of Kyrênê. Naukratis was granted a charter and constitution, all Hellenes whatsoever being admitted to its privileges, and temples were raised to Hellenic gods. Meantime Kypros was conquered, and wealth and plenty flowed into Egypt. The end, however, was at hand. Kambyses declared war against the Egyptian king, and, led across the desert by a Greek refugee, entered Egypt (B.C. 525). Amasis died at this critical moment, and his young and inexperienced successor, Psammetikhos II., was defeated, captured in Memphis, and put to death. And so the land of Thothmes and Ramses became a dependency of the Persian Empire.

In B.C. 486 a revolt broke out under Khabash, the effect of which

[1] Révillout in *Rev. égyptologique*, 1881, pp. 96-8.

was to divert the preparations Darius had made for attacking Greece, and thus save Greece and the West. But the revolt itself was crushed by Xerxes in 483, and Achæmenes Kyros, whose tomb still exists at Murghab, the brother of Xerxes, was appointed satrap. Once more, in B.C. 463, Egypt revolted again. Its leaders were Amyrtaeos and the Libyan king Inaros. Aided by the Athenians they won the battle of Paprêmis and fortified themselves in Memphis. But Megabyzus, the Persian general (B.C. 457), finally succeeded in capturing the Egyptian capital. Inaros was impaled, and Amyrtaeos fled to the marshes of Elbo, his son Pausiris being appointed Persian viceroy, and Thannyras vassal king of Libya.[1]

In B.C. 415 came the third revolt. This time the insurgents were successful. Amyrtaeos emerged from his place of refuge,—if, indeed, he were the Amyrtaeos who had escaped from the Persians near half a century before, and ruled over an independent Egypt for six years. His successor, Naifaarut or Nepherites I., founded the twenty-ninth or Mendesian dynasty. Then came Hakar or Akhoris, who sent help to the Spartan king Agêsilaos during his campaigns against Persia (B.C. 395), and allied himself with Evagoras of Kypros, who had driven the Persians from the island. His son was the last of the dynasty. He was followed by Nekht-hor-heb or Nektanebos I., the leader of the thirtieth, who entrusted the command of his fleet to the Greek Khabrias. The army of Artaxerxes was repulsed, and temples were built or restored in Lower Egypt. But it was the last effort of the old Egyptian spirit. Tsiho or Teos, his successor, with the help of Agesilaos, was deposed by his nephew, Nektanebos II., and fled to the Persian court. Eighteen years later Artaxerxes Okhos despatched an army to avenge the wrongs of Teos and recover a lost province to Persia. Sidon, with its Egyptian garrison, was taken, and the Persians, aided by Greek mercenaries, besieged and captured Pelusium. The Greek garrison of Bubastis surrendered, Nektanebos fled with his treasures to Ethiopia, and the last native dynasty ceased to exist (B.C. 340).

The Persians did not enjoy their victory long. The empire soon passed from them to Alexander (B.C. 332). But for Egypt it meant only a change of masters. The Ptolemies might assume the dress and titles of the ancient Pharaohs, might worship the same gods and build the same temples, but they were as Greek in spirit as in language.

[1] See bk. iii. 15, note 9.

The mission of Egypt among the nations was fulfilled; it had lit the torch of civilisation in ages inconceivably remote, and had passed it on to the other peoples of the west. Its task now was to receive and shelter Alexandria, through which the culture of the West might be carried in turn to the decaying nations of the ancient East. In Alexandria, the meeting-place of Orient and Occident, of old and new, of mysticism and science, the history of Pharaonic Egypt fitly comes to a close.

Religion and Mythology.—The exact character of Egyptian religion is a matter of dispute. All we can assert is that, as everywhere else, it underwent change and development during its long period of existence, and that there was a considerable difference between the religious ideas of the upper and lower classes. The chief difficulty it presents is the mixture of high spiritual conceptions and debased animal-worship which we find in it. Hence the conflicting theories it has called forth. According to De Rougé, Egyptian religion was essentially monotheistic, other scholars see in it a pure pantheism, while Renouf makes it what has been termed henotheistic. The animal-worship has been accounted for by a mixture of race, a primitive Nigritian population being supposed to have been conquered by monotheistic or pantheistic conquerors from Asia, who allowed the subject race to retain its old superstitions. But this hypothesis is overthrown by further acquaintance with the monuments.

One thing is quite clear. The kernel of the Egyptian state religion was solar. Each great city had its own deities, which, before the time of Menes, had been united into a hierarchy. But at the head of each hierarchy stood a form of the Sun-god, worshipped as Ptah at Memphis, Amun-Ra at Thebes, Tum at Heliopolis, Osiris at This and Abydos, Mentu at Hermonthis. The unification of the empire brought with it the unification of these various circles of gods. They were all grouped together under the sovereignty of Ptah while the Old Empire lasted, of Amun when Thebes gained the supremacy.

Nuter, "god," has been shown by Renouf to have originally meant "the strong one," a curious parallel to the Greek ἱερός, the equivalent of the Sanskrit *ishiras*, whose primitive signification is still preserved in such Homeric phrases as ἱερὸν μένος. Like men and animals, each god had his *ka* or "shadow," which was regarded not only as a second self, but also as more real and permanent than the self which we perceive. The abstract notion of divinity presented itself to the mind of the Egyptian as the *ka* or soul of the universe. God in the

abstract, with which each of the gods was identified in turn by the worshipper, or, in the later pantheistic period, into which they were all resolved, was conceived as one perfect, omniscient, and omnipotent being, eternally unchangeable, yet eternally begetting himself in the liquid chaos called *Nu*. The sun, which afterwards symbolised him, was primarily the object of adoration itself. And since the sun rises as the youthful Har-makhis or Horos, shines in his full strength at mid-day as Ra, and sets in the evening as Tum, the Christian doctrine of the Trinity found its counterpart in Egyptian religion from the dawn of the historical period. Even the sun that shines at night in the lower world received also his name and worship, and ended by becoming the enemy of light and of the sun that illuminates the day. By the side of the Sun-god stood Isis, the dawn, the mother, sister, wife, and double of the Sun-god himself. Out of the manifold myths that described the relations of the sun to the dawn and the evening arose various deities and conceptions of the divine, each of which assumed a different form in different localities, and eventually found a place in the syncretic religion of the united empire.

The oldest and most widespread of these myths was that embodied in the legend of Osiris. The Sun-god Osiris, like his sister Isis, was the child of Nut, the vault of heaven, and of Seb, the earth. While still in their mother's womb they produced the ever-youthful Horos, who is one with his father, and yet a different divinity. Set or Typhon, the husband of his sister Nephthys or Neb-hat, and brother of Horos, imprisoned Osiris in an ark or chest, which, with the help of seventy-two of his followers (the seventy-two days of summer drought), he flung into the sacred Nile. The ark was borne across the sea to the holy city of Phœnicia, Byblos or Gebal, and there found by the disconsolate Isis. Isis, however, after hiding the corpse of the god, made her way to Horos, who had been banished to the marshes of Buto, and during her absence Set discovered the body of Osiris, which he cut into fourteen pieces and scattered to the winds. They were again carefully collected by Isis and buried in a stately tomb, while Horos made ready to avenge his father's death. But Osiris had died only to rise again, after ruling for awhile, during the hours of night, in the dark regions of the under world. It was thus that he became the judge and monarch of the dead. The struggle between Horos and Set was long and fierce; but at length the god of light triumphed, and Set, the symbol of night and evil, was driven from his throne in the upper world. Horos became the mediator and saviour of mankind,

through whom the righteous dead are justified before the tribunal of his father.

In the philosophic system of the priesthood, Nun or Chaos was the first cause from which all proceed,—unshaped, eternal, and immutable matter. Kheper, the scarabæus with the sun's disk, was the creative principle of life which implanted in matter the seeds of life and light. Ptah, "the opener," was the personal creator or demiurge, who, along with the seven Khnumu or architects, gave form to these seeds, and was at once the creator and opener of the primæval egg of the universe —the ball of earth rolled along by Kheper—out of which came the sun and moon according to the older myth, the elements and forms of heaven and earth according to the later philosophy. Nut, the sky, with the star and boat of the sun upon her back; Seb, the earth, the symbol of time and eternity; and Amenti or Hades, now took their several shapes and places. Over this threefold world the gods and other divine beings presided.

It would be wearisome to recount more than a few of the principal divinities. Ptah, with his wife Sekhet, the cat-headed goddess of Bubastis, and his son Im-hotep or Æsculapius, comes first. He is represented with the body of a mummy and the symbols of power, life, or stability in his hands. It was to him that the bull Hapi or Apis, the representative of the creative powers of nature and the fertilising waters of the Nile, was sacred. Next to Ptah stands Ra, the Sun-god of Heliopolis, worshipped under seventy-five forms, and called the king of gods and men. Into his hands Ptah had delivered the germs of creation, and, like Ptah, he had existed in the womb of Nu. Here he first appeared as Tum, the setting sun; then, as he passed in his boat over the waters of the lower world and the folds of the serpent Apepi during the night, he was known as Khnum; while it is as the child Har-makhis (Hor-em-khuti), whose symbol is the sphinx, that he rises again from death and sleep each morning on the bud of the lotus-flower that floats on the breast of Nu. This daily birth was held to take place in the bosom of Isis, Mut, or Hathor. Ra is represented with the head of his sacred bird, the hawk, and the solar disk surmounted by the uræus above; and the mystical Phœnix (*bennu*), which brings the ashes of its former self to Heliopolis every 500 years, seems also to have been his symbol. When worshipped as Tum (or Atum), he has a man's head, with the combined crowns of Upper and Lower Egypt, though as Nofer-Tum he wears a lion's head, above which stands a hawk with a lotus crown. The name of Khnum

(Khnubis or Knuphis) was originally derived from the local cult of Elephantinê, but came to be applied to Ra when regarded as passing from one day to another after his descent to the infernal world. His old attributes remained attached to him, so that he sometimes takes the place of Ptah, being represented as moulding the egg of the universe, and fashioning mankind. He has a ram's head, and the symbols connected with him show that his primitive worshippers regarded him as presiding over generation. Horos, symbolised now by the winged solar disk, now by a hawk-headed man, now by the hawk bearing a scourge, now again by a child on a lotus flower, merges in the days of the united monarchy into Har-makhis, the avenger of Osiris.

But after the rise of the Theban dynasty the supreme form under which Ra was worshipped was Amun, "the hidden one." In course of time he absorbed into himself almost all the other deities of Egypt, more especially Ra and Khnum. He reigns over this earth, as his representatives, the Pharaohs, over Egypt, and inspires mankind with the sense of right. He is called Khem as the self-begetting deity, "the living Osiris" as the animating principle of the universe. On his head he wears a lofty crown of feathers, sometimes replaced by the crowns of Upper and Lower Egypt or the ram's head of Khnum, and Mut and Khunsu form with him the trinity of Thebes. Ma or T-mei, the goddess of truth and justice, was the daughter of the Sun-god, who carries on her head the upright ostrich-feather, and has her eyes covered with a bandage. Beside her stands Isis, at once the sister and wife of Osiris, and the mother of Horos. At Thebes she was known as Mut, "the mother," with the vulture's head; at Bubastis as Sekhet, the bride of Ptah and daughter of Ra. As mother of Horos, she was named Hathor or Athor, "the house of Horos," identified by the Greeks with their Aphroditê, and confused with Astoreth by the Semites. The cow, with its horns, symbolising the crescent moon, which in Egypt appears to lie upon its back, was consecrated to her, indicating at how early a time the bride of Osiris, the Sun-god, was held to be the moon. She was also identified with Sothis, the dog-star, and in later days with the planet Venus. All that is good and beautiful among men comes from her; she watches over the birth of children, and rocks the cradle of the Nile. As Neit, too, she is the authoress of weaving and of the arts of female life.

Against her stands Set or Typhon, primarily the night, into whose character and attributes a moral meaning was gradually read, so that

in the time of the New Empire he became the representative of evil, the enemy of the bright powers of light and goodness, the prince of the powers of darkness. The crocodile was sacred to him, though Sebek, the crocodile-god, continued to be worshipped in the Fayûm and the neighbourhood of Kom-Ombos up to the classical period. Apepi also, the serpent of night, was associated with him, and came to partake of his demoniac character. His wife Nephthys or Neb-hat, the queen of the lower world, was the nurse of Horos and the sympathising sister of Isis. Her son, by Osiris, was the jackal-headed Anubis, "the master of Hades," who, like the Greek Hermês, guides the dead to the shades below.

But it was with Tehuti or Thoth that the Greeks preferred to identify their Hermês. Originally the god of the moon, like Khunsu, the ibis-headed Thoth, with his consort Safekhu, became the inventor of writing, the regulator of time and numbers, and the patron of science and literature. The cynocephalous ape and the ibis were his sacred animals.

These animal forms, in which a later myth saw the shapes assumed by the affrighted gods during the great war between Horos and Typhon, take us back to a remote prehistoric age, when the religious creed of Egypt was still totemism. They are survivals from a long-forgotten past, and prove that Egyptian civilisation was of slow and independent growth, the latest stage only of which is revealed to us by the monuments. Apis of Memphis, Mnevis of Heliopolis, and Pacis of Hermonthis, are all links that bind together the Egypt of the Pharaohs and the Egypt of the stone age. They were the sacred animals of the clans which first settled in these localities, and their identification with the deities of the official religion must have been a slow process, never fully carried out, in fact, in the minds of the lower classes.

Another conception which the primitive Egyptians shared with most other barbarous or semi-barbarous tribes was the magical virtue of names. This also survived into the historical epoch, and, in union with the later spirit of personal ambition, produced an absorbing passion for preserving the name of the individual after death. His continued existence was imagined to depend upon the continued remembrance of his name. The Egyptian belief in the immortality of the soul and the resurrection of the body thus had its root in the old childlike superstition which confused together words and things. In the philosophical system of the priesthood, however, it

was given a new and more rational form. According to this, man consists of three parts: the *khat* or body, which belongs to matter; the *sahu* or soul, which ultimately returns to its home in the lower world; and the *khu* or spirit, an emanation from the divine essence.[1] Each of these parts can exist separately, and each is eternal and immutable. But it is the soul which receives after death the rewards or punishments due to it for its thoughts and actions while in the body. If the soul had triumphed over the bodily passions,—had been pious towards the gods, and righteous towards men,—it passed in safety through all the trials that awaited it below. Fortified by sacred texts and hymns and amulets, and trusting in Horos the mediator, it subdued the demons and horrible beasts that opposed its way, and at length reached the hall of justice where Osiris with his forty-two assessors sat as judge. Horos and Anubis now weighed the soul in its vase against the goddess of truth, and Thoth recorded the result. If the soul went down, it was sentenced to the various torments of hell, or to wander like a vampire between heaven and earth, scourged and buffeted by the tempests, or else doomed to transmigrate into the bodies of animals, until permitted to regain its original body and undergo a fresh trial; there were cases even in which it might be annihilated. If, on the other hand, the soul remained evenly balanced, it was allowed to enter the blissful fields of Aalu, there to be purified from all the stains of its early life, and, after becoming perfect in wisdom and knowledge, to be absorbed into the divine essence, or to live again upon earth in any form it chose. Finally, however, in the great day of resurrection, soul, spirit, and body were again to be united, and for this purpose every care had to be taken lest the body should decay or become injured.

Our knowledge of Egyptian mythology as distinct from Egyptian religion is still but scanty. Mention has already been made of the Osiris myth, which entered so largely into the religious faith of the people. There was another legend which told how mankind had emanated from the eyes of the deity, and spread themselves over the earth as "the flock of Ra," the Rotu, or Egyptians, and Nahsi, or negroes, being under the guardianship of Horos; the 'Amu, or Semites, and the white-skinned populations of Libya and the north, being under that of Sekhet. According to another version, however, mankind, with the exception of the negroes, had sprung from the

[1] *Khu* is strictly the intelligence, and thus closely allied to the Johannine Logos.

tears of Horos and Sekhet. Another myth, again, discovered by M. Naville in the tomb of Seti I., states that mankind once uttered hostile words against their creator Ra, who took counsel with Nun. Hathor or Sekhet, accordingly, was sent to slay them, and the earth was covered with their blood as far as Herakleopolis. Then Ra drank 7000 cups of wine made by Sekti of Heliopolis from the fruits of Egypt and mingled with the blood of the slain; his heart rejoiced, and he swore that he would not again destroy mankind. Rain filled the wells near Lake Mareotis, and Ra went forth to fight against his human foes. Their bows were broken, and themselves slaughtered, and the god returned victorious to heaven, where he created the Elysian fields of Aalu and the people of the stars, charging the sacred cow, the incarnation of Nut, and the prototype of the Greek Io, with their guardianship; while Shu, like Atlas, supports her on his two hands. Seb was then ordered to keep watch over the reptiles of earth and water, and Thoth over the lower world; the ibis, the cynocephalous ape, and the lunar disk, coming into existence at the same time.

Though it is difficult to trace much change or development in the religion of Egypt during the historical period as opposed to the prehistoric one, it is nevertheless plain that as time went on it assumed a more mystical and esoteric character, which shows itself most conspicuously in the monuments of the Ptolemaic and Roman age. It was from this theosophic phase that the Neo-Platonism of Alexandria and Neo-Platonic Christianity derived a large part of their ideas and principles. At the same time monotheism, or rather pantheism, became more clearly defined among the educated classes, the popular gods being resolved into mystical manifestations or emanations of the one divine substance. From the first, however, as is shown more especially by the solar hymns, the Egyptian priests had a clear sense of the unity of God, in so far as to regard the deity they happened to be addressing at the moment as the one omnipotent, omniscient, and eternal ruler of the universe, to the exclusion of all others. But this is strictly what Professor Max Müller has called henotheism. A further change may be observed in the conception of the future life between the monuments of the Old Empire and those of the Middle and New Empires. The sadness and gloom that overshadow the latter had not yet been felt. The tomb of Ti at Sakkarah, for instance, presents us with pictures of the after world, in which the dead man lives over again his life in this; he farms, hunts, superintends his workmen and slaves, and feasts, just as he had done on earth. The shadow of the

grave was not yet ever before the eyes of the Egyptian, and though he built tombs for himself while still alive, they mostly took the shape of pyramids, raised on the ground and pointing to the sky, not of dark and gloomy subterranean chambers. We should look in vain in them for those representations of the torments and trials which await the dead below, of the headless souls and horrible coils of the monstrous serpent Apepi, that startle us on the pictured walls of the royal tombs at Thebes. The myth of Osiris had not yet begun to exercise the terrible influence it afterwards obtained over the imagination of the people, and the Book of the Dead still consisted of only a few simple chapters.

The Apotheosis of the Roman emperors had been long anticipated in Egypt. The kings were representatives and, in a political sense, incarnations of the deity; divine worship was offered to them, and priests were attached to their cult. The cult of the most powerful of the kings lasted for centuries, or after being discontinued was sometimes revived for dynastic and other reasons. Thus the cult of Sent of the second dynasty, and Sahura of the fifth, lasted into the age of the Ptolemies; that of Menes, of Ser (of the third dynasty), of Kheops, Khephren, Ra-tatf, Snefru, and Ramses II., down to the time of the Persian conquest; that of Usertasen III. to the reign of Thothmes III.; though the pyramid-builders seem to have been forgotten in the epoch of the twelfth and thirteenth dynasties. The adoration paid to the kings had its root in that ancestor-worship which was always popular in Egypt, and was a survival from the prehistoric past.

The priesthood was divided into several classes; the high-priest of Amun and his associates ranking at their head, at all events under the New Empire. Next to these priests came the four orders of prophets, out of whom the ministers of the worship of the deceased kings were chosen; and below them again the *abu*, or divine fathers. Sacred scribes were attached to the temples, as well as servants and slaves. Monks, too, lived in cells in the precincts. Besides the priests and prophets there were also priestesses and prophetesses; and women of the highest rank were proud to be the prophetesses, the singing-women, and the sistrum-players of Amun. The priests and their families were supported out of the revenues of the temple to which they belonged, and so formed a corporation; and all matters relating to religion and public worship were under their control. The embalmers were an inferior order of priests.

Art, Science, and Literature.—Egyptian art falls into two broadly-

marked periods. The art of the Old Empire is realistic, vigorous, and full of originative genius; that of later times, stiff, conventional, and hieratic. Art is at its best in the age of the pyramid-builders; its future history is a history of continuous decline. Those who have not seen the diorite statue of Khephren or the wooden statue of the "Sheikh el-Belad" in the Bûlak Museum, or the exquisitely painted bas-reliefs of the tomb of Ti, have no conception of what Egyptian art once was. The colossal productions of the Middle and New Empires hardly make up by grandness of design for the want of artistic originality. Spontaneousness and faithfulness to nature were but ill replaced by mysticism and symbolism.

Fluted columns with sixteen sides, which bear a close general resemblance to the Doric column (though wanting the *echinus* that distinguished the latter), first meet us in the tombs of Beni-Hassan and Siut, and thus make their appearance as soon as the pyramid was superseded by the rock-cut tomb. Columns in the shape of four lotus stalks bound together, their blossoms forming the capital, also occur along with them, and introduce a series of columnar architecture, which reaches its final perfection in the papyrus and palm crowned pillars of Edfu and Esneh. The most peculiar and unpleasing feature of these columns is the square box on the top of the capitals. In the Ptolemaic age the shaft often terminates in a square adorned with four masks of Hathor, above which is a miniature temple façade. From the time of the eighteenth dynasty downwards, the shaft of the column is frequently replaced by the figure of Osiris, with the arms crossed over the breast.

The *Mastâbas* or mortuary chapels of the Old Empire, several of which may still be seen adjoining the pyramids of Gizeh, were replaced in later days by sumptuous temples, of which the Memnonium at Thebes may be taken as an example. These temples were built after the model of those raised to the gods by the monarchs of the Middle Empire, since we know of none that belong to the age of the Old Empire. They were intended, not for religious service, but for processions, and were jealously protected from the eyes of the "profanum vulgus." Hence the lofty shrines of stone with which they were surrounded; hence, too, the fact that walls and columns and ceilings were covered with sculptures and paintings that could not be seen until light was introduced into them by the ruin of the buildings themselves. Even the secret passages at Denderah are decorated with carefully-executed bas-reliefs. Since the temples were used as

fortresses, as well as for sacred purposes—a fact which will explain the ruined condition of many of them—they were guarded at the entrance by two pylons or towers, where the temple-watchmen lived. Before the pylons standards were planted, and between them was the entrance through which the procession passed into court after court, chamber after chamber, until the shrine itself was at last reached. Here stood the images of the gods. In the rock-cut temples of Nubia the Theban Trinity is hewn out of the stone, with the king himself seated in its midst.

The surface of the stone was covered throughout with bas-reliefs and brilliant paintings. In the latter art the Egyptians excelled from the earliest period. But they ostentatiously disregarded the most elementary rules of perspective, under the influence of the hieratic canon, though such objects as flowers, animals, fish, and butterflies, were reproduced with pre-Raffaelite fidelity.

The Egyptians were skilful artificers. Their chairs, couches, and other articles of household furniture, display great taste and variety, and their work in the precious metals and gems is of the highest order. Porcelain and glass are among their earliest productions, and they were acquainted with the art of soldering metals, including iron, —which shows that Herodotos (i. 25) was wrong in ascribing the discovery of this art to Glaukos—as far back at least as the eighteenth dynasty. Imbrication, or the art of laying plates of metal one upon the other, was also known to them, as well as the art of damascening.

Art in Egypt, as elsewhere, attained an earlier development than science. At the same time, the monuments left by Egyptian art imply a considerable knowledge of mechanics, geometry, and engineering. The Great Pyramid faces the four points of the compass with marvellous exactitude, and the obelisk of Queen Hatasu at Karnak, the tallest in the world, was cut out of the granite quarries of Assuan, engraved, polished, floated down the Nile, and set up in its place, in seven months! Professor Eisenlohr has discovered that mathematics were studied at the court of the Hyksos princes, as the Rhind papyri contain a work on geometry (written for Apepi I.) which may be described as a treatise on applied arithmetic. Astronomy of a somewhat elementary character was cultivated for the sake of the calendar. The year was divided into twelve months of thirty days, to which, in the prehistoric age, were added five more; but as in this way a whole day was lost every four years, recourse was had to the famous Sothic cycle, determined by the heliacal rising of Sopt or Sothis, the Dog-star,

on the first of Thoth (the 28th of July), once in 1460 years, when the year returned to its normal condition, and the inundation of the Nile commenced on the Egyptian New Year's Day. The end of one Sothic cycle fell in A.D. 139;[1] and the festival which commemorated the rising of Sothis was ascribed to the mythical days of the Hor-shesu. The *akhimu-urdu* or planets (*Har-tep-sheta* Jupiter, *Har-ka-her* Saturn, *Harmakhis* or *Har-desher* Mars, *Sebek* Mercury, and *Duau* or *Bennu* Venus) were distinguished from the *akhimu-seku* or fixed stars, and the sun was believed to wander through the heavens like the planets. It may be added that the month was divided into three decades, as among the Greeks and early Latins (cp. the *nundinæ*), each day being further divided into twelve hours, as in Chaldea.

It was in medicine, however, that Egypt attained any real scientific eminence. According to Manetho, the successor of Menes wrote treatises on anatomy, and a medical work mentioned in the Berlin papyrus is said to have been first composed in the reign of a predecessor of King Sent of the second dynasty. Such statements, however, are due to the Egyptian fancy for antedating literary productions, and the oldest medical papyrus we possess (the Papyrus Ebers) does not mount back beyond the eighteenth dynasty. By that time medicine was in almost as advanced a state as in the age of Galen; the various diseases known were carefully distinguished from one another, and their symptoms were minutely described, as well as their treatment. The prescriptions recommended in each case are made out in precisely the same way as the prescriptions of a modern doctor. One of these was derived from a fashionable Semitic oculist of Byblos, but the greater part belonged to earlier Egyptian medical men, some of whom flourished under the first dynasties. The medicines used were of four kinds—draughts, blisters, powders, and clysters, minerals as well as vegetables being employed in their composition. But progress in medical knowledge, as in art, was checked in the time of the Middle Empire by the rule that new medicines and treatment were adopted by the doctor at the risk of being put to death if the patient died. Anatomy does not seem to have advanced so far as medicine, and Sir E. Wilson disputes the statement that mummies have been found with their teeth stopped with gold, while some have

[1] See Censorinus: "De Die Nat." 13. Lauth has shown that the era of Menophrês, mentioned by Theon, came to an end in B.C. 1321, and that consequently Menophrês must have reigned B.C. 2781. Scarabs exist bearing the name of Men-nofer-Ra.

been found with broken bones grown together naturally. In fact, the anatomical theory of the Egyptians is sufficient to show that anatomy was still in its infancy. According to this the breath is drawn from the breast to the head, through thirty-two channels or veins, and then transmitted to the limbs. In the later days of Egyptian history, magical formulæ and exorcisms began to take the place of the older medical prescriptions; diseases were referred to the malignity of evil spirits, and the priest and sorcerer superseded the physician. A demotic papyrus at Leyden is almost wholly occupied with charms, especially love-philtres.

Egyptian literature embraced the whole circle of the knowledge of the time. Writing was as old as the united monarchy, and the son of Menes was believed to have been an author. Already, in the time of the sixth dynasty, we find an official buried at Gizeh who bears the title, "Controller of the library." But of this literature only a few papyri, and still fewer texts engraved on stone, like the poem of Pentaur, have come down to us, the papyri being written in hieratic and demotic. The most ancient we possess is the "Papyrus Prisse," composed under the eleventh dynasty, and containing two ethical treatises, one by Kakimma, who lived in the reign of Snefru, the other by Ptah-hotep, the son of king Assa of the fifth dynasty. Both treatises are collections of homely, practical wisdom, resembling the book of Proverbs, or the writings of Confucius. Equanimity, honesty, benevolence, and prudence, are inculcated, and the husband is told: "Love thy wife and cherish her as long as thou livest; be not a tyrant; flattery acts upon her better than rudeness." "If thou art wise," says Ptah-hotep again, "bring up thy son to fear God. If he obey thee, walking in thy steps, and caring for thy goods as he ought, then show him all favour. Yet thy foolish son is also thine own offspring; estrange not thine heart from him, but admonish him." Ptah-hotep lived to the ripe age of 110 years, and though he begins by enumerating all the miseries of old age, like the writer of Ecclesiastes, he finds in the wisdom and experience it brings more than compensation.

The chief monument of the religious literature of Egypt is the Book of the Dead, in 106 chapters, now being critically edited by M. Naville. Portions of it were inscribed on the mummy-cases and tombs, and are met with in the latest of the demotic papyri. It was, in fact, the funeral ritual of the Egyptians, describing in mystical language the adventures of the soul after death, and the texts it must

quote in order to escape the torments and trials of the lower world. It is the literary reflection of the Osiris myth, and grew along with the latter. A hieratic text of the eleventh dynasty gives two varying versions of the sixty-fourth chapter, ascribed to King Men-ka-ra, from which we may infer the antiquity of the latter. But only the essence of the work went back to the Old Empire. The rest consisted of additions and glosses, and glosses of glosses, which continued to be made up to the time of the Persians. The oldest portion seems to have been of a practically moral character, contrasting strikingly with the mystical tone of the later accretions, where the doctrine of justification by faith in Osiris has taken the place of that of good works. Besides the Book of the Dead may be quoted the Litanies to the Sun-god, which are full of deep spiritual feeling, and are monotheistic in tone. Magical works are plentiful, but they mostly belong to the closing days of the kingdom. With these may be coupled the popular tales and romances, such as "The Tale of the Two Brothers," written by Enna under the nineteenth dynasty, and bearing some resemblance to the history of Joseph, or the story of Setna, which turns on the magical powers of the Book of Thoth, or the legend of the cure of Bent-resh, the daughter of the prince of Bakhten and sister-in-law of Ramses XII. A document at Leyden contains an exorcism by the help of which a husband sought to rid himself of the visits of his wife's ghost. Correspondence also occupies a considerable place in Egyptian literature. We have copies of private letters, like that of "The Sotem Mersuatef to his mistress, the priestess of Isis, Tanur," of public and royal correspondence, and of collections similar to Lord Chesterfield's letters or the "Complete Letter-writer." Among these is a letter in which the scribe contrasts the pursuit of literature with other trades and professions, very much to the disadvantage of the latter. The account of the Mohar's travels in Syria and Palestine, where he visited Aleppo and insular Tyre among other places, and describes his sufferings at the hands of robbers, in the time of the nineteenth dynasty, may also be included under this head. So, too, may the autobiography of Saneha, a Semite of the Delta, who fled from Egypt for political reasons, and after slaying a sort of Goliah obtained wealth and power in the court of Ammu-anshi, king of Upper Tennu, the later Edom. The desire of seeing his native land again came upon him in his old age, and he obtained permission from Amen-em-hat I. to return home. Perhaps, however, this latter work should more fitly be classed, as it is by Maspero, among the historical romances of the

Egyptians, like the story of the capture of Joppa by Thutii, the general of Thothmes III., which bears a striking resemblance to the tale of Ali-Baba in the *Arabian Nights*. Closely connected with the epistolary branch of Egyptian literature are the papyri, which contain memoranda or accounts, as well as the official documents kept by the royal scribes. Among these are accounts, which show that provision was made for the support of sick labourers. Tribute-lists and geographical catalogues are perhaps the most important of this class of documents, though the mutilated Turin papyrus, with its chronological table of Egyptian kings, has a still higher value. Judicial records, again, are not rare, even if the oldest deeds are those of the time of Tirhakah. One record describes the trial of certain conspirators against the life of Ramses III., with the punishments allotted to them. From others we learn that commissioners might be appointed to investigate charges afterwards brought before the judges in court, that the evidence was taken down in writing, and that even cases between master and slave had to come before the judge. Petitions were presented directly to the king. Egyptian law was mild; torture seems to have been unknown, and mutilations exceptional. Even the punishment of death was rare, and usually took the form of decapitation or compulsory suicide. It is noticeable that the artist who has portrayed the naval victory of Ramses III. at Medinet Abu has depicted some of the triumphant Egyptians attempting to rescue the sinking crew of an enemy's ship—an act of humanity unparalleled among the other nations of the ancient world. The treaty between Ramses II. and the Hittites gives us an insight into the international law of the time.

As in most despotic countries, satirical writing and beast-fables were employed; indeed, Professor Mahaffy suggests that the beast-fable owes its origin to Africa. One of the caricatures in the satirical papyrus of Turin represents Ramses III. with a lion's head, playing draughts (a game of which he seems to have been very fond) with one of his harem, who is transformed into a gazelle.

Poetry, apart from the religious hymns, was much cultivated. The Epic of Pentaur, the poet-laureate of Ramses II., has been compared with the Iliad, though it resembles the Greek poem only in general character, since it never became popular, and owes its preservation to the vanity of the king whose imaginary deeds it records, and who, like Akhillês, is made to address his horses by their names. The poem seems to have been selected after a sort of competitive examina-

tion. Its author, Pentaur, had been the private secretary of the royal librarian, Amenemen, who, in a letter preserved in the Sallier Papyrus I., scolds him for not having sent the provisions of the season to the palace. But epics and religious hymns were not the only forms in which Egyptian poetry clothed itself. A long poem on the praise of learning, probably composed in the time of the twelfth dynasty, is found in the Sallier Papyrus II.; the ode to the Nile, by Enna (the author of the "Tale of the Two Brothers"), is secular rather than religious; and the lyrics contained in the Anastasi Papyri are of great beauty. Egyptian poetry was simple in structure, and chiefly depended, like Hebrew poetry, upon the parallelism of ideas; but Ebers has shown that it also made use of rhyme and alliteration.

Historical literature is unfortunately rare, if we except such documents as the Harris papyrus, the largest papyrus known, which gives the history of Ramses III. For the annals of the kings we must rather look to the walls of the temples and the tombs, or to the stelæ and similar monuments. It is seldom that we come across so straightforward an inscription as that of Piankhi, or one so free from interminable titles, and Piankhi was an Ethiopian.

Egyptian writing was a system of survivals. It was at once ideographic, syllabic, and alphabetic. The older phases through which it passed were preserved along with those which, in a less conservative country, would have superseded it. The oldest written monuments we possess exhibit it already formed and complete. Its invention must, therefore, long precede the age of Menes. The characters are pictorial, primarily representing objects and ideas, while some are used as determinatives. Each character also denotes one or more syllables, and several further represent the single letters with which the words symbolised by them begin. For the sake of clearness the same word may be expressed ideographically (by a pictorial hieroglyph), syllabically, and alphabetically, all at once. Before the time of the Middle Empire, and probably as early as the first dynasty, a "hieratic" running-hand had been formed out of the hieroglyphics, and in the ninth century B.C. this became the "demotic" hand, the characters of which are still more unlike the original forms from which they were derived than those of the hieratic papyri. Hieratic is always written from right to left, whereas the hieroglyphics may run indifferently from left to right, or from right to left. As was shown by De Rougé, the Phœnicians of the Delta or Caphtor (Keft-ur, "Greater Phœnicia") adopted the letters of the Egyptian alphabet in the hieratic forms

current in the Hyksos period, and handed them on to their kindred in Canaan, among whom they received new names, while retaining their old values. The first letter, for example, ceased to be called Ahom, "the eagle," and became *Aleph* (*alpha*), "the ox."

Language, Law, Trade, and Culture.—The Egyptian language bears a distant resemblance to the Semitic dialects in grammar, though not in vocabulary. It is simple in structure, and inflectional in form, marking the relations of words by suffixes and composition. It is already an old language when we first meet with it on the monuments, and it changed considerably during the course of Egyptian history. The language of the Old or Middle Empire would have been unintelligible to the ordinary Egyptian of the time of Herodotos; thus on the phonetic side, *ts* became successively *d* and *t*, and Khufu or Kheops was called Shufu in later days.

Law has already been mentioned under the head of literature. As in England, the king was regarded as the source of justice, and at all events in the Ptolemaic period the judges went on circuit. The government was imperialistic. The king was a deified autocrat, but affairs were really managed by an organised bureaucracy. A council of thirty seems to have accompanied the monarch on his military expeditions, and he and the royal princes nominally commanded the army. The latter was divided into different corps, each named after its patron divinity. From the time of the nineteenth dynasty downward it consisted largely of Negro, Libyan, and other mercenaries; in fact, as in the case of the Roman Empire, it came eventually to consist of them almost entirely. The fleet, with its one-oared galleys, never attained a high development. The soldiers acted as a police-force at home, under magistrates (*ga*), who heard civil suits, and prefects (*mer*) were appointed over the large cities. The nomes had each their *ha* or governor.

Trade during the Old Empire seems to have been small. Egypt mainly depended on domestic agriculture, and, like China, was jealous of strangers. The *mafka*, or turquoise, and copper mines of Sinai, however, were early occupied and worked, and the use of bronze implies a knowledge of tin. A fragment of wrought plate-iron has been found in the Great Pyramid,[1] but this may have been made of *baa en-pe* or meteoric iron, rather than of *ba-nu-ta* or terrestrial iron. Certainly Thothmes III. received iron vessels as tribute from Syria and Phœ-

[1] See *Transactions of the Oriental Congress in London*, 1875, pp. 396, 397.

nicia. Gold was worked under the first dynasties, but it was the Middle Empire that opened the Nubian gold mines. A plan of those of Rhedesieh and Kuban (Kobban) exists in a Turin papyrus of the nineteenth dynasty. With the rise of the New Empire and the Semitic occupation of the Delta trade largely increased, favoured by the conquests in Asia. Corn, linen, and horses were exported in return for the products of Asia and Cush. The expedition sent by Hatasu to Punt, or the Somâli coast, had a commercial object, and Punt henceforth supplied Egypt with incense, gums, cosmetics, monkeys, apes, hounds, and panther-skins. The Phœnicians brought vases of gold, silver, and terra-cotta, many of them with covers made in the shape of animals' heads. Sesostris attempted to join the Mediterranean and the Red Sea by a canal, and Necho despatched Phœnician sailors to circumnavigate Africa.

From the age of the earliest monuments downwards, the Egyptians were acquainted with all the luxuries and comforts of cultivated life. The country swarmed with artisans and handicraftsmen of all kinds. Glass-blowers are depicted on monuments of the twelfth dynasty, and a fragment of dark-blue glass bears the praenomen of Antef III. of the eleventh. Vases of beautiful blue porcelain go back to the age of the Old Empire, and the dyed cloths of Egypt were justly celebrated. Wine and beer were drunk, and dinner-parties were given by the wealthy, at which the guests sat on chairs. For amusements they had dancers, musicians, singers, tumblers, and jugglers, games like that of draughts, or field-sports. Their dress was light, as was natural in a hot climate, and sandals were unknown before the fifth dynasty. The head was shorn, and enormous wigs worn over it, partly for the sake of cleanliness, partly for protection from the sun. Artificial beards were also used. Children went undressed before the age of puberty, and were distinguished by a single lock of hair on the left side. Their education was carefully attended to, and they were trained in "all the wisdom of the Egyptians." As stated by Herodotos, the Egyptians were monogamous; the king, however, was allowed to have several wives, and the great nobles might keep harems. Marriage between brother and sister was also permitted,—a survival from a primitive condition of polyandry. But the woman in Egypt held a high position, very unlike that occupied by her in Greece or in modern Oriental countries. She was the equal of her lord, went about freely and unveiled in public, and could ascend the throne in her own right as far back as the beginning of the second dynasty. Indeed, it would

seem that at this period the children traced their descent through the mother rather than through the father. In character the Egyptians formed a strong contrast to the other leading nations of antiquity. Gentle, good-tempered, unwarlike, and humane, they achieved success in war only by the help of superior organisation and equipment. Home-loving and industrious, they made their country the seat of culture and material prosperity. If, like other southern races, they had not the same notions of truth as the northern European, their legal institutions show that they had a profound sense of justice and equity. Under the ever-increasing tyranny and servility of the New Empire, it is true, their political character deteriorated; but up to the last the pure-blooded inhabitants of Middle Egypt preserved some of that democratic spirit which still distinguishes the Egyptian of to-day. Their deep religious fervour was tempered by light-heartedness, and prevented from passing into fanaticism; and if from time to time they showed themselves excitable, it was the excitability of healthy children under a warm sun and a bright sky.

II.

BABYLONIA AND ASSYRIA.

GEOGRAPHICALLY, as well as ethnologically and historically, Babylonia and Assyria form but one country. It is therefore with justice that classical writers sometimes speak of the whole district between the Euphrates and Tigris as Assyria, though Babylonia would no doubt have been a more accurate name. The district naturally falls into two divisions, the northern being more or less mountainous, while the southern is flat and marshy, and a sharp line of separation is drawn between them at a spot where the two rivers approach closely to one another, and the undulating table-land of the north sinks suddenly into the alluvial flats of Babylonia. It was in these rich and loamy flats, however, that the civilisation of Western Asia first developed. The northern plateau was inhabited by a mixture of uncultivated tribes at the earliest period of which we have any knowledge, and was known under the general name of Gutium or Guti (Kutu in Assyrian), first identified by Sir H. Rawlinson with the Goyim of Gen. xiv. 1. Gutium comprised the whole country which stretched from the Euphrates on the west to Media on the east; the land of Nizir, with

the mountain of Rowandiz, on which the ark of the Chaldean Noah was believed to have rested, being included within it. The later kingdom of Assyria formed a portion of it, as well as the great plain of Mesopotamia, which was bounded on the west by Palestine or Martu, the land of "the path of the setting sun," and on the north by Subarti, "the highlands" of Aram or Syria. The plain of Mesopotamia, now known as El-Jezireh, is about 250 miles in length, and is intersected by a single mountain ridge, which rises abruptly out of the plain, and, branching off from the Zagros range, runs southward and eastward under the modern names of Sarazûr, Hamrin, and Sinjar. The numerous *tels* and other remains of old habitations, even apart from the evidence of the Assyrian inscriptions, show how thickly this level region must once have been populated, though it is now for the most part a wilderness. North of the plateau rises a well-watered and undulating tract of country, diversified by low ranges of limestone hills, sometimes barren, sometimes clothed with dwarf-oaks, which often shut in rich plains and fertile valleys between their northern and north-eastern slopes and the main mountain-line from which they detach themselves. Beyond them are the lofty summits of the Niphates and Zagros ranges, where the Tigris and Euphrates have their sources, and by which Assyria was cut off from Armenia and Kurdistan.

Geography and Race.—Assyria took its name from the primitive capital of A-sur (or A-usar, "water-bank," later Assur), now *Kaleh Sherghat*, which stood on the right bank of the Tigris, midway between the Greater and the Lesser Zab, and was founded in prae-Semitic times. Some sixty miles to the north, beyond the greater Zab, was another city of nearly equal age, but originally of smaller size and importance, called *Nina*, Ninua, or Nineveh, "the fish-town," now represented by the mounds of Nebi Yunus and Kouyunjik, opposite Mossul, and built on the banks of the Tigris and Khusur, the modern Khosr. After the northward extension of the Assyrian kingdom, the capital was moved from Assur to Nineveh by Shalmaneser I. (about B.C. 1300), and from henceforward Nineveh remained the chief city of the empire. Calakh or Calah, however, the modern Nimrûd, founded by the same Shalmaneser, from time to time proved a formidable rival of its sister city, and was a favourite residence of Assur-natsir-pal, Shalmaneser II., and Tiglath-Pileser II. Between Calah and Nineveh lay Res-eni or Resen ("the head of the spring"), probably the Larissa (Al Resen, "city of Resen") of Xenophon (*Anab.*

iii. 4), occupying the site of the mound of Selamiyeh. About ten miles to the north of Nineveh was Dur-Sargina (now Khorsabad), built in the shape of a square by Sargon, whose palace was erected on a platform shaped like a T on its north-west side. Nine miles to the east of Nimrûd is Balawât, called Imgur-Bel, "the habitation of Bel," by Assur-natsir-pal, who built a temple there to the Dream-god, and from which the bronze gates commemorating the achievements of Shalmaneser II., and now in the British Museum, have been brought. On the northern frontier of Assyria was Tarbitsu, now Sherîf Khan, while Arbela, now Ervil, on the east, was an early seat of the worship of Istar, and a city of considerable importance. South-west of it lay Kalzu, enlarged and fortified by Sennacherib; while the Mespila (Muspilu, "low-ground") of Xenophon, where the Medes made a final stand against Kyros, must have been a little to the north of Nineveh. Besides these there were numerous other cities, more than twenty of the most important of which are enumerated among the insurgents against Shalmaneser II.; while the Bavian inscription of Sennacherib contains a long list of the smaller towns and villages in the immediate neighbourhood of the capital.

But in populousness and antiquity Assyria was far exceeded by the southern kingdom of Babylonia. Here were the centre and starting-point of the civilisation which afterwards spread throughout Western Asia. Its primitive inhabitants, whom we will term Accadians, traced their origin to the mountainous country south of the Caspian, from whence they had spread over Elam or Susiania, the shores of the Persian Gulf, and the fertile plain of Babylonia. The country subsequently known as Assyria was also once inhabited by them; and even Harran, in the western part of Mesopotamia, seems to have been of Accadian foundation. Their physical type was a peculiar one; the features were long and narrow, the eyes small, the cheek-bones prominent, the nose slightly *retroussé*, and the beard long and straight. The languages and dialects spoken by them were agglutinative, and in phonology,—more especially the laws of vocalic harmony,—grammatical machinery, and vocabulary, approach more nearly to the Ural-Altaic family of speech than to any other known group of tongues. So far as we are at present acquainted with them, they fall into two divisions,—the first comprising the Amardian or Protomedic of Susiania, the Cassite of Kossæa, and the dialect spoken in the neighbourhood of Susa; while the second includes the two closely-related dialects spoken in Babylonia itself, chiefly distinguished by the substitution of *m* in

the one for *b* in the other, and the use of different words, such as *duga* and *tsibba* for "good." The civilisation of Babylonia seems to have originated in Anzan or Southern Susiania and the coasts of the Persian Gulf, out of which, according to the legend, the semi-human Oannes arose at dawn with the revelation of culture and knowledge. The pictorial hieroglyphics which afterwards became the cuneiform characters were first invented in Elam, as is shown by such facts as the want of a simple character to denote the palm, or the use of the picture of a mountain to signify a country. In Babylonia, however, the civilisation which had been brought from the mountains of the East underwent a rapid development. The country was divided into two halves, the northern half, comprehending Sippara and Babylon, being known as Accad (*Acada*), "the highlands," or rather the country of "the highlanders;" and the southern half, which included Erech, Lar'sa, and perhaps Ur, as Sumer or Shinar. The land on the western bank of the Euphrates went under the general name of Edinna, "the desert," the Eden of Scripture, the sacred grove and garden in the neighbourhood of Eridu, at the junction of the Tigris and Euphrates, being the "Garden of Eden" of Genesis. The sea extended as far as the latter city, identified by Sir H. Rawlinson with the modern Dhib, in which we may perhaps see a reminiscence of its old Sumerian title, Tsibba, "the good." The date of its foundation may be approximately fixed by the rate at which the alluvial soil has grown below it. In the time of Alexander the Tigris and Euphrates flowed by different mouths into the sea, as did also the Eulæus or Karun in the Assyrian epoch; and Dr. Delitzsch calculates that a delta of between forty and fifty miles in length has been formed since the sixth century B.C.[1]

The land of Edinna was irrigated by canals, and Ur, now Mugheir, was built on its outskirts. Sumer, called also "the country of the black faces," and "*the* country" *par excellence*, was the earliest seat of Chaldean civilisation, and consequently took rank before Accad, the population of which had descended from the mountains of Elam after the settlement of the southern province. Among its cities may be mentioned Erech or Uruk, now Warka, whose Accadian name, "the city," implies that it had once been the capital of the whole country; Nipur, the city of Bel, now Niffer; Lar'sa, perhaps the Ellasar of Genesis, the city of the sun, now Senkereh or Sinkara; Zirgulla, now Zerghul; Dur or Diru, "the fortress," now Deyr; Chilmad, now

[1] See Pliny, *N. H.* vi. 130.

Kilwadha; Duran or Duban, Karrak or Nisin, Amarda or Marad, Abnunna or Umliyas, and Kul-unu, the biblical Calneh. Babylon, however, and the neighbouring town of Kis, now El Hymer, were not included in Sumer. Babylon consisted of the two Accadian towns of Ca-dimirra, "the gate of God," and Din-Tir, "the seat of the tree (of life)," on opposite sides of the Euphrates, which, after the Semitic conquest, were united into one, known as Bab-ili or Babel, the Semitic translation of Ca-dimirra. The city was made the capital of the county by the Cassite invader Khammuragas, a position it retained up to its entire destruction in B.C. 690 by Sennacherib, who choked the stream of the Arakhtu with its ruins. Rebuilt by Esar-haddon, it soon recovered its old importance, and after being united with its suburb, Barzip or Borsippa, became the centre of the empire of Nebuchadrezzar.

The chief city of Northern Accad was, like Babylon, built on the two banks of the Euphrates, the larger half being called 'Sipar or Sippara, "the city of the sun" (now Abu Habba), and the smaller half Agané (or Agadhé). Agané subsequently took the title of "Sippara of the moon-goddess," whence the scriptural name Sepharvaim, "the two Sipparas." To the east of Sepharvaim was Tiggaba or Kute (Cuthah), now Tel-Ibrahim, and to the north Dur-aba, now Akkerkuf, and Is, now Hit. The northern part of Accad is frequently termed Kar-Duniyas or Gan-Duni.

The country was intersected by a network of canals, the regulation of which was under special officers. The three chief of those which carried off the waters of the Euphrates to the Tigris above Babylon, were the Ar-malcha, entering the Tigris a little below Bagdad; the Nahr-malcha, running across to the site of Seleukeia; and the Nahr-Kutha, which passed through Tel-Ibrahim. The Pallacopas, on the western side of the Euphrates, supplied an immense lake in the neighbourhood of Borsippa. On the same side, to the south of Babylon, is the fresh-water lake of Nedjef, surrounded by sandstone cliffs of considerable height, forty miles in length and thirty-five in breadth at the broadest part. Below the lake the marshes where Alexander nearly perished (Arrian, *Exp. Al.* vii. 22; Strabo, xvi. 1, 12) extend as far as the sea. Here, on the shores of the Persian Gulf, lived the Caldai or Chaldeans, with their capital Bit-Yakin, when we first hear of them in the ninth century B.C. Under Merodach-baladan they made themselves masters of Babylonia, and gave their name to the whole country in the Greek period. Northward of the Caldai

were the Gambulai and other nomad tribes, among whom the Arameans, Nabatheans, and Pukudu or Pekod, may be mentioned.

The fertility of the soil was great. Pliny tells us (*H. N.* xviii. 17) that wheat after being cut twice was good keep for sheep; and according to Bêrôsos, wheat, barley, sesame, ochrys, palms, apples, and many kinds of shelled fruit, grew wild. Indeed, wheat still does so in the neighbourhood of Anah, and we need not be surprised at the statement of Herodotos that grain commonly returned two hundredfold to the sower, and sometimes three hundredfold. Chaldea was the native country of the palm, the 360 uses of which were recounted by a Persian poem (Strabo, xvi. 1, 14); and we learn from Ammianus Marcellinus (xxiv. 3) that from the point reached by Julian's army to the margin of the Persian Gulf was one continuous forest of verdure.

As already stated, the primitive population of Babylonia and Assyria belonged to a race which may have been allied to the Turanian or Finno-Tatar. At all events it spoke an agglutinative language which has many affinities with those of the Ural-Altaic family. This primitive population was supplanted by the Semites—the Casdim or "conquerors" of the Bible—at some unknown period before the second millennium B.C. The Semitic element, however, was stronger and purer in Assyria than in Babylonia, where it produced a mixed type, which was still further crossed by the Elamite and Chaldean conquests. The Assyrian, on the other hand, displays all the physical and moral characteristics of the Semitic race; and while Babylonia was the home of culture and learning, Assyria produced a breed of ferocious warriors and quick-witted traders.

History.—Until the decipherment of the cuneiform inscriptions our knowledge of Babylonian and Assyrian history was at once meagre and uncertain. With the exception of Herodotos, whose notices were scanty and of doubtful value, we had to depend almost entirely on the copyists and excerptists of Ktêsias and Bêrôsos. Ktêsias was a native of Knidos, and the physician of Artaxerxes Mnêmôn, but he seems to have been devoid of critical power. Portions of the annals compiled by Persian writers were translated for him, and with the help of these he endeavoured to destroy the credit of Herodotos as a historian. The annals, however, like those of Firdusi or of later Arabic writers, consisted for the most part of mere legendary tales and rationalised myths; we have, therefore, to seek in them not the history, but the mythology of the Babylonians. Semiramis was the goddess Istar, Ninos

the city of Nineveh, Ninyas or Zames the Sun-god. With these legends Ktêsias mingled the Greek romance of Sardanapallos, and eked out his list of Assyrian kings with names partly imaginary, partly geographical. Some of these were doubtless due to the translators on whom he depended. In the later Persian period, however, Ktêsias becomes more trustworthy.

The work of Bêrôsos was of a far different character. He was a priest of the temple of Bel at Babylon, and is said by Eusebios and Tatian to have been a contemporary of Alexander the Great, and to have lived into the reign of Antiokhos Sôtêr. He had, therefore, special opportunities of knowing the history and astronomy of his country, upon which he wrote in Greek. Recent discoveries have abundantly established the trustworthiness of this Manetho of Babylonia, whose works, unfortunately, are known to us only through quotations at second and third hand. Since a cylinder of Antiokhos, the son of Seleukos, has been found inscribed in Babylonian cuneiform, while bilingual fragments in cuneiform and cursive Greek of the Seleukid age have also been discovered, and a contract tablet in Babylonian cuneiform, dated in the fifth year of the Parthian king, Pakoros, the contemporary of Domitian, exists in the Museum of Zürich, there is no reason why Bêrôsos should not have been equally well acquainted with both the Greek language and the old literature of his native country. And in spite of the fragmentary and corrupt state in which his fragments have come down to us, we now know that he was so. His account of the Deluge, for instance, agrees even in its details with that of the cuneiform texts.

Josêphos seems to have known the original work of Bêrôsos, but the Christian writers quote him only indirectly through the compilation of Alexander Polyhistor (B.C. 80). Hence we can put no confidence in the numbers attached to the dynasties in which Bêrôsos, like his contemporarary, Manetho, arranged the list of Babylonian kings. His Arabian dynasty, for example, seems to correspond with the Cassite dynasty of the inscriptions; but if so, the title "Arabian" must be corrupt, as well as the nine kings and 245 years assigned to it, since we know of at least nineteen Cassite monarchs, and the length of time the dynasty lasted must have been over 600 years. Minor dynasties, again, have been either run together or omitted from the list, as a fragmentary tablet which once contained a complete catalogue of legitimate Babylonian monarchs arranged in dynasties introduces a number of very short ones. This was probably the work of either

Polyhistor or his copyists; at all events, the Assyrian dynasty of forty-five kings which is made to follow the Arabian one includes at least two dynasties, that of the Assyrian conqueror Tiglath-Adar, which lasted only a few years, and that of the native princes, who succeeded in shaking off the Assyrian yoke and maintaining their independence for more than four centuries.

Bêrôsos confined his attention to Babylonian history; the history of Assyria seems to have been compiled by Megasthenês in the time of Seleukos Nikatôr (B.C. 290), from whom (as Professor Schrader has shown) it was extracted by Abydênos (B.C. 260). Abydênos in turn survives only in the quotations of the Christian writers. But as Nineveh and its monuments had long been destroyed, the only sources Abydênos could have had for his history must have been the records of Babylonia; and it is not surprising, therefore, that the extracts we possess from his work all relate to the period of the Second Assyrian Empire, when Babylonia was brought into close contact with the northern kingdom. The earlier period must have been for the most part a mere blank, or else filled up with myth and legend.

One more classical authority for Babylonian history remains. This is the valuable Canon of Ptolemy, preserved in the Almagest, and giving the chronology of Babylon from B.C. 747 downwards. It probably came from Bêrôsos. Other classical notices of Assyro-Babylonian history may be passed over; like those of Diodôros, they are little more than echoes of Ktêsias. It is only the Old Testament which gives us fuller and more trustworthy information.

It is, therefore, to the native texts that we have mainly to look for the history of Assyria and Babylonia. These are partly contemporaneous with the events they record, partly more recent compilations. The statements of those that are contemporaneous may be frankly accepted, due allowance being made for oriental exaggeration and tendency to self-praise. The Assyrian historical documents, however, are singularly free from these faults. They were intended to be read by a large and well-educated public, and the practical character of the Assyrians made them realistic in style. The historical inscriptions are scrupulous in recording the names, and if possible the parentage, of the foreign princes whom they mention; every small town is carefully noted by name, and the numbers, whether of conquered populations and spoil, or of the Assyrian armies, are seldom round and never excessive. Even the disaster which befell Sennacherib—the least trustworthy of all the royal authors—in Palestine is not denied or glossed over; it is simply

omitted, leaving a break which presupposes it. Of course, the same accuracy or trustworthiness cannot be expected in later compilations, and many of these, like the legend of Sargon of Agadê, merely embody popular tales. But such legends belong rather to Babylonia than to Assyria, where the historical sense was really remarkably developed, and the extreme faithfulness with which old documents were copied inspires us with confidence in the statements made regarding them. The Assyrians early possessed a fixed chronology, reckoned by the names of officers called *limmi*, who were changed every year, and, like the eponymous archons at Athens, gave their name to their year of office. The chief events of each year were added to the name of its eponym, and in the earlier period of the empire the king himself assumed the office in his year of accession. We possess fragments of several editions of the Canon in which the names of the eponyms were recorded in order, and thus have an exact chronology of the empire from B.C. 913 to B.C. 659. Since the inscription of Rimmon-nirari I. is dated in the eponymy of Shalman-karradu, it is clear that the system of dating by eponyms was already in existence in the fourteenth century B.C.; and we may therefore trust Sennacherib when he asserts that a seal which belonged to Tiglath-Adar was carried off to Babylon 600 years before his own capture of that city, and that 418 years had elapsed between his invasion of Babylonia in B.C. 692 and the defeat of Tiglath-Pileser I. by the Babylonians; or this same Tiglath-Pileser, when he tells us that Samas-Rimmon had built the temple of Anu and Rimmon at Kalah-Sherghat 701 years before his own restoration of it. The system of eponyms, however, seems to have been confined to Assyria, and the early Chaldeans do not appear to have had any settled system of chronology. Their inscriptions, if dated at all, are dated by such events as the capture of a city or an inundation of the river. Still they must have had some more definite mode of counting time, since Assur-bani-pal affirms that Cudur-Nankhundi, the Elamite, had oppressed Accad 1635 years before his own conquest of Shushan; while the table of Babylonian dynasties, first discovered by Mr. Smith, assigns to each king the length of his reign in years, months, and days. It must have been some such table as this which was used by Bêrôsos. It is unfortunate that only fragments of this table are preserved, as our acquaintance with early Babylonian history and chronology is extremely meagre and uncertain, and has to be gathered chiefly from the brick-legends of the early kings or stray notices in later inscriptions. An inscription of Assyrian origin which gives brief

notices of the occasions on which the monarchs of Assyria and Babylonia had come into contact with each other since the reigns of Assur-bil-nisi-su and Cara-indas is useful, since our knowledge of Assyrian chronology enables us to tabulate the Babylonian kings mentioned in the text. It is only with the era of Nabonasar (B.C. 747), and the mutual help afforded by the Assyrian inscriptions and the Canon of Ptolemy, that an exact chronology of Babylonia begins. For the empire of Nebuchadrezzar the records of the Egibi banking firm are invaluable—dated deeds extending, year by year, from the reign of Nebuchadrezzar to the close of that of Darius Hystaspis.

The history of Babylonia, like that of most great nations, begins with myth. Ten kings reigned over the country before the Deluge, their reigns lasting for 120 *sari*, or 432,000 years. The chronology as well as the number of reigns has a purely astronomical origin: the origin of the names has yet to be discovered. The first of these antediluvian kings was Alôros of Babylon, which indicates the Babylonian parentage of the whole story. Alôros took the title of "shepherd," a title which we find assumed by the early Chaldean princes, and which, like the ποίμην λαῶν of Homer, proves the pastoral habits of the people before they became civilised citizens. The second successor of Alôros, Amêlôn, came from Pantibibla or Booktown, possibly Sippara, as did also Daônus, the Dun or "mighty one" of the inscriptions. Otiartes, which the native name Ubara-Tutu, "servant of the Setting Sun," shows must be corrected to Opartes, was the ninth of the line, and belonged to Larankha, the Surippak of the texts. His son and successor was Xisuthros, the hero of the Deluge.

With the Deluge the mythical history of Babylonia takes a new departure. From this event to the Persian conquest was a period of 36,000 years, or an astronomical cycle called *saros*.[1] Xisuthros, with his family and friends, alone survived the waters which drowned the rest of mankind on account of their sins. He had been ordered by the gods to build a ship, to pitch it within and without, and to stock it with animals of every species. Xisuthros sent out first a dove, then a swallow, and lastly a raven, to discover whether the earth was dry; the dove and the swallow returned to the ship, and it was only when the raven flew away that the rescued hero ventured to leave his ark. He found that he had been stranded on the peak of the mountain of

[1] This assumes that Brandis is right in supplying 258 years for the fourth dynasty of Alexander Polyhistor where the numerals have dropped out in the MS.

Nizir, "the mountain of the world," whereon the Accadians believed the heaven to rest,—where, too, they placed the habitation of their gods and the cradle of their own race. Since Nizir lay among the mountains of Pir Mam, a little south of Rowandiz, its mountain must be identified with Rowandiz itself. On its peak Xisuthros offered sacrifices, piling up cups of wine by sevens; and the rainbow, "the glory of Anu," appeared in heaven, in covenant that the world should never again be destroyed by a flood. Immediately afterwards Xisuthros and his wife, like the biblical Enoch, were translated to the regions of the blessed beyond Datilla, the river of death, and his people made their way westward to Sippara. Here they disinterred the books buried by their late ruler before the Deluge had taken place, and re-established themselves in their old country under the government first of Evêkhoos, and then of his son Khomasbolos. Meanwhile other colonists had arrived in the plain of Sumer, and here, under the leadership of the giant Etana, called Titan by the Greek writers, they built a city of brick, and essayed to erect a tower by means of which they might scale the sky, and so win for themselves the immortality granted to Xisuthros. The spot where the tower was raised was the mound at Babylon, now known as the Amrám, where stood the temple of Anu, the palace of the kings, and the hanging gardens of Nebuchadrezzar, and the season they chose for building it was the autumnal equinox. But the tower was overthrown in the night by the winds, and Bel frustrated their purpose by confounding their language, and scattering them on the mound. Hence the place was called "the gate of God," though a later punning etymology connected it with *bâlal*, "to confound."

Now happened the war waged by Etana, Bel, Prometheus, and Ogygos, against Kronos or Hea, and the adventures of the giant Ner, who, along with Etana, finally found a seat among the crowned heads in the underworld of Hades. Now, too, the goddess Istar descended from heaven to woo the sons of men;—Alala, the wild eagle, the lion-son of 'Silele; Isullanu, the woodsman; and above all, Tammuz, the young and beautiful Sun-god, the Adônis of Semitic and Greek story. Slain by the boar's tusk of winter, Tammuz sank to the underworld, whither he was followed by Istar, and not released till he had drunk of the waters of life. More famous even than Tammuz, however, was the solar hero whose name is provisionally read Gisdhubar, and who has been identified with the biblical Nimrod. Gisdhubar was the prototype of the Melkarth of Tyre and the Hêraklês of Greece, and

the twelve labours of Hêraklês may be traced back to the adventures of Gisdhubar, as recorded in the twelve books of the great Epic of early Chaldea. The Epic, whose authorship was ascribed to one Sin-lici-unnini, was preserved in the library of Erech, a city with which Gisdhubar was specially associated, though his birthplace was supposed to be Amarda, the city of "solar glory." Its date may be roughly ascribed to about B.C. 2000, but it belongs to the period when the Semitic race was already in possession of the land.

The Semitic conquest must have been a gradual one. The evidence of language shows that when the Semites first came into contact with the civilisation of Accad, they were mere desert-nomads, dwelling in tents, and wanting even the first elements of culture. These, however, they soon acquired from their neighbours, and with the trading instinct of their race quickly made themselves indispensable to the agricultural Accadians. Ur and the other towns on the western bank of the Euphrates were the earliest places in which they settled, but they soon overflowed into the whole plain of Sumer. The oldest contemporaneous records we possess are those of Lig-Bagas or Ur-Bagas, king of Ur, whose rule extended over the whole of both Accad and Sumer. The great temple of the Moon-god at Ur was founded by him, and he adorned Erech, Nipur, Lar'sa, and other cities, with temples of vast size dedicated to the Sun, to Istar, and to Bel. Viceroys were established in different parts of the country; Khassimir was the governor of Nipur; and Gudea, the grandson of Lig-Bagas, ruled at Zerghul, where the statue of his architect has lately been found. Lig-Bagas seems to have been the first of the great Babylonian builders, and the enormous brick structures he has left behind, cemented with bitumen in the place of lime, show that architectural knowledge was already advanced. Buttresses, drains, and external ornamentation are all freely employed. The cuneiform system of writing had attained its full development; libraries, stocked with clay books, existed in the towns, signet stones were carved with artistic skill, and the country was intersected by canals and roads. The amount of human labour at the disposal of the monarch may be judged from the fact that the Bowariyeh mound at Warka, which covers the ruins of the temple of the Sun-god, is 200 feet square and 100 feet high, so that above 30,000,000 of bricks must have been used in building it. The calendar was already fixed and regulated, and the towers attached to the temples were used as observatories. According to Nabonidos, Lig-Bagas lived 700 years before the age of Khammuragas.

His son and successor was Dungi, "the mighty one." Among his Accadian inscriptions he has left us a short one in Semitic,—a proof of the importance to which the Semites had now attained. They had in fact become a commercial aristocracy, and the time was not far distant when this commercial aristocracy would usurp the supreme power. It is difficult to know with which of the dynasties of Bêrôsos these kings of Ur are to be identified. If the Arabian dynasty is that founded by Khammuragas, they ought to belong to the nameless dynasty which followed the eight "Median" kings. These Medes, it may be observed, must have taken their name from the Accadian *mada*, "country," and may possibly have come from Sumer, often called *Kingi*, "the land." In this case the capture of Babylon by them would represent the overthrow of a local line of princes who held sway in that city.

The unification of the country under Lig-Bagas and Dungi was of short duration. It soon broke up again into small independent states. When Cudur-nankhundi, the powerful Elamite monarch, invaded Babylonia he seems to have found kings with Semitic names reigning there; but the book of Genesis represents another Elamite conqueror, Chedorlaomer or Cudur-Lagamar, as dominating over two Babylonian princes, Amar-phel of Sumer, and Arioch of Lar'sa, as well as over a king of Gutium. It is curious that the inscriptions contain a record of a second Eri-Acu or Arioch, king of Lar'sa, who was son and vassal of an Elamite sovereign, Cudur-Mabug; and it is still more curious that just as Cudur-Lagamar extended his power to Palestine according to Genesis, Cudur-Mabug also styles himself "the citizen of Phœnicia."

The power of Cudur-Mabug and his son Eri-Acu, however, did not extend over the whole of Chaldea, though Eri-Acu (or Rim-Agu, as he also calls himself) claimed to be "king of Sumer and Accad." Accad, however, including Babylon, was in the possession of a Semitic dynasty, whose capital was Agadé. The most brilliant representative of this dynasty was Sargon I., whose patronage of learning caused the library of Agadé to become one of the most famous in Babylonia. It was for him that the great work on astronomy and astrology was compiled in seventy-two books, which Bêrôsos translated into Greek, and another work on terrestrial omens was also compiled for the same monarch. Legends naturally gathered round the name of this Babylonian Solomon. Not only was he entitled "the deviser of law, the deviser of prosperity," but it was told of him how his father had died while he was still unborn, how his mother had fled to the mountains

and there left him, like a second Moses, to the care of the river in an ark of reeds and bitumen; and how he was saved by Acci, "the water-drawer," who brought him up as his own son, until the time came when, under the protection of Istar, his rank was discovered, and he took his seat on the throne of his forefathers. It is indeed possible that Sargon was a usurper, since his name means "the constituted king," and seems as if it had been assumed after his accession to power. However this may be, he was a conqueror as well as a legislator and friend of literature. More than once he attacked the Elamites successfully, though he was unable to wrest Sumer out of their hands. He made several campaigns against Syria and Palestine, in the course of which he crossed into Cyprus, and there, as on the opposite shores of the mainland, he caused images of himself to be erected. These campaigns occupied three years, and it was to them that the influence of Babylonian culture upon the populations of the eastern basin of the Mediterranean must first be traced. Towards the end of his life he even penetrated as far as Maganna, or the peninsula of Sinai, in quest, no doubt, of the turquoise and copper mines that had so long been worked there by the Egyptians. It is perhaps to these expeditions that Manetho refers when he asserts that the Hyksos fortified Jerusalem for fear of the Assyrians. After overthrowing Kimbila of Cazalla, and quelling an insurrection which broke out among "the elders" of Accad, Sargon ended his long reign of fifty-four years, and was succeeded by his son, Naram-Sin, who maintained the military fame of his father by conquering Ris-Rimmon of Apirak and marching into Maganna. A Babylonian cylinder, in which the title of divinity is given to Naram-Sin, was found by General di Cesnola in the treasury of the Cyprian temple of Kurion, and not only shows that apotheosis was not unknown in Babylonia, but also that the influence of the kings of Agadé was still strong in the far west. But the reign of this deified king ended after all in disaster. The conquest of Maganna seems to have brought the dynasty of Sargon under Egyptian influence, to which the apotheosis of his son may perhaps be traced. At all events in Agadé, as in Egypt, it became possible for a woman to be at the head of the state, and Naram-Sin was followed by a queen, Ellat-Gula. But a custom which suited Egypt did not equally suit the Semites of Babylonia, and Ellat-Gula was the last of her race. A horde of Cassites or Kossæans swept down from the mountains of Northern Elam under their leader, Khammuragas. Accad was conquered, a foreign dynasty established

in the land, and the capital transferred from Agadé to Babylon. Babylon now became a city of importance for the first time; the rank assigned to it in the mythical age was but a reflection of the position it held after the Cassite conquest.

The Cassite dynasty is probably the Arabian dynasty of Bêrôsos, though if so, as has already been noted, the number of kings included in it, as well as the length of their united reigns, must be largely increased. We shall not be far wrong in placing its rise about B.C. 2000.[1] The first care of Khammuragas, after establishing himself in Accad, was to extend his sway over the southern kingdom of Sumer as well. Rim-Agu or Arioch was now on the throne, and after the conquest of Karrak and Duran, which gave him possession of the marches and the whole country as far as the shores of the Persian Gulf, he claimed the imperial title of "king of Sumer and Accad,"—a title, however, to which he had no right. He filled Ur, which at one time had been subject to the princes of Karrak, as well as other cities, with public buildings, though his capital was fixed at Lar'sa. With the help of his Elamite allies he succeeded in repulsing the first attack of the Cassite invader; but a second attack proved too strong for him; the forces of Elam and Sumer were overthrown, and Khammuragas became king of the whole of Babylonia. From this time onward the country remained a united monarchy.

The Cassite dynasty must have lasted for several centuries, and probably included more than one line of kings. At any rate it is otherwise difficult to find a place for a Cassite dynasty which traced its descent from the god Sukamuna, and one of whose kings, Agu-kak-rimi, the son of Tassi-gurumas, has left us a long inscription, unless we throw it back into the period that preceded the era of Sargon of Agadé, and identify it with the Median dynasty of Bêrôsos. It is certainly noticeable that Agu-kak-rimi calls himself king of Accad and Babylon only, not of Sumer. However this may be, it was under the Cassite dynasty that the kingdom of Assyria first took its rise,—partly, perhaps, in consequence of the Asiatic conquests of the Egyptian monarchs of the eighteenth dynasty. Later legends ascribed the foundation of the kingdom to the Moon-god, while Sargon boasts of "the 350 kings" who had preceded him and had "sent forth the people of the land of Bel"; but Assyria was but a portion of the empire of Gutium in the age of Cudur-Lagamar, and the earliest

[1] A newly-found inscription of Nabonidos, however, makes the date B.C. 3750.

Assyrian princes of whom we know were merely petty rulers of Assur, the original capital of Assyria, from which it derived its name. One of these rulers was Samas-Rimmon, the son of Ismi-Dagon, who built the temple of Anu and Rimmon at Assur, and whose date is fixed at B.C. 1820 by an inscription of Tiglath-Pileser I. It was not till long afterwards that "the kingdom was founded" by Bel-sumeli-kapi, and the chieftains of Assur became kings of Assyria. From this time forward, however, their power continued steadily to grow; Assur-zacir-esir and Adar-tukul-Assur even ventured to contend with Babylonia, and in B.C. 1400 the Cassite king married an Assyrian princess. Her son Kara-Murdas was murdered by the party opposed to Assyrian influence, but the usurper, Nazi-bugas, was quickly overthrown by the Assyrians, who placed a vassal-prince on the throne. This event may be considered the turning-point in the history of the kingdoms of the Tigris and Euphrates; Assyria henceforth takes the place of the worn-out monarchy of Babylonia, and plays the chief part in the affairs of Western Asia until the day of its final fall. In little more than a hundred years later the Assyrians were again in Babylonia, but this time as avowed enemies to all parties alike; Babylon was captured by the Assyrian monarch Tiglath-Adar in B.C. 1270, and the rule of the Cassite dynasty came to an end.

But the avenger was at hand. Hardly was Tiglath-Adar dead when the Hittites assailed the Assyrian empire on the north and west, and the Babylonians seized the opportunity to make themselves free. The new line of Babylonian sovereigns, however, was Semitic in name and race. It lasted a short time only. The country was divided both in nationality and in interests. Civil wars distracted the kingdom, and shortlived dynasties were founded by the non-Semitic tribes of the sea-coast or the Semitic inhabitants of the great cities. The adherents of the old Cassite dynasty, as well as the partisans of Assyria, contrived from time to time to place a nominee of their own upon the throne; while the Elamites on the east and the Assyrians on the north were perpetually at war with the unhappy kingdom, or else intriguing in its midst. The literature and culture of Babylonia migrated into Assyria, where kings whose real delight was in war and hunting affected to patronise learning and encourage horticulture. The most eminent among these was Tiglath-Pileser I. He carried his arms as far as Kiliḳia and the Mediterranean, shattered the power of the Hittites and their kinsmen in the north, swept the wild district of Kurdistan, and in B.C. 1130, after a momentary

repulse at the hands of Merodach-iddin-akhi, the Babylonian king, defeated his antagonist on the banks of the Lower Zab and ravaged Babylonia, capturing Sippara, Opis, and even Babylon, the capital, itself. Merodach-iddin-akhi saved himself by a timely submission; but a desultory war continued between his successors and Assur-bel-kala, the son of Tiglath-Pileser.

After this Assyria sinks for a while below the horizon of history. Its power had been founded on the individual energy and military skill of its monarchs, and vanished altogether under a feeble prince. Pethor, at the junction of the Sajur and Euphrates, along with the adjacent territory, fell into the hands of the Hittites and Syrians; David was enabled to carry the Israelitish arms as far as the banks of the Euphrates; and Assyria itself was overrun by the victorious armies of the Babylonian king, Sibir. Once more, however, it revived under Assur-dayan II., whose son, Rimmon-nirari II. (B.C. 911-889), and great-grandson, Assur-natsir-pal (B.C. 883-858), made the name of Assyria again terrible to the surrounding nations. Assur-natsir-pal was the most brutal and ferocious of even the Assyrian kings; but he was also an energetic warrior and a great conqueror. The limits of his empire exceeded those of Tiglath-Pileser I.; Kurdistan, Armenia, and Mesopotamia were traversed by his armies again and again, and his image was sculptured on the rocks at the sources of the Tigris by the side of those of Tiglath-Pileser I. and his own father, Tiglath-Adar II. Nizir and its mountains, where the ark of the Chaldean Noah had rested, were overrun and ravaged, and the footsteps of the Assyrian conqueror were marked by impalements, by pyramids of human heads, and by unspeakable barbarities. Nebo-bal-iddina of Babylon was defeated; Sangara of Carchemish and his brother princes paid tribute, and on the shores of the Mediterranean Assur-natsir-pal received the submission and treasure of the rich and unwarlike cities of Phœnicia. But these distant raids produced little else than misery abroad and accession of wealth to the royal treasury at home; no attempt was made to hold the conquests that had been gained, or to compensate for the destruction of culture in the West by introducing into the rude regions of the East the borrowed civilisation of Assyria. The cities of Assyria, nevertheless, were enriched with the spoils of foreign victory. Splendid palaces, temples, and other public buildings were erected, and adorned with elaborate sculptures and rich painting. Calah, which had been founded by Shalmaneser I., B.C. 1300, was rebuilt by Assur-natsir-pal, who made it his favourite

residence, and established a library there. His successor was his son, Shalmaneser II., named probably after the founder of Calah.

Shalmaneser II., whose long and prosperous reign of thirty-five years marks the climax of the First Assyrian Empire, inherited his father's vigour and military talent, along with greater political ability and appreciation of culture. His opening campaign was directed against the wild tribes of the north-east; Arame of Van and the Minnians of Urumiyeh were next attacked; and after them the Hittites of Carchemish and their allies, among whom Pikhirim of Kilikia may be mentioned. By the conquest of Tul-Barsip or Barsampsê, on the eastern bank of the Euphrates, and the capture of Pethor (now Tash-atan), the Assyrians regained possession of the ford across the river, and in B.C. 854 came into conflict with Hamath. Here Shalmaneser found himself confronted by a confederacy of western princes, under the leadership of Hadad-idri, or Hadadezer, of Damascus and Irkhulena of Hamath, whom a common danger had aroused to oppose the threatened advance of the Assyrian forces. But the confederacy was shattered in the battle of Karkar or Aroer, in which, among others, Ahab of Israel took part with 2000 chariots and 10,000 infantry, and the Orontes was choked with the slain. The Assyrians, however, had themselves suffered so much that Shalmaneser was unable to follow up his victory, and two years afterwards turned his attention to Babylonia, which he invaded and reduced to a state of vassalage, under the pretext of helping the legitimate king, Merodach-suma-izcur, against his insurgent brother. It is on this occasion that we first hear of the Caldai or Chaldeans, whom the Assyrians found inhabiting the marshy district of the Persian Gulf. After thus securing his frontier on the south, Shalmaneser again marched against Syria (B.C. 850). The war lasted, at intervals, for eleven years, during which Hadadezer was succeeded by Hazael, and Shalmaneser obtained several barren victories, and claimed others which a strict criticism must deny to him. In B.C. 842, however, Hazael really suffered a decisive defeat on the heights of Shenir, and his camp, along with 1121 chariots and 470 carriages, fell into the hands of the Assyrians, who proceeded to besiege him in his capital, Damascus. But the siege was soon raised, though not before Jehu of Israel had sent tribute; and after wasting the Hauran, Shalmaneser marched to Beyrout, and there carved an image of himself on the rocky promontory of Bahli-rasi, at the entrance to the Nahr el-Kelb.

The defeat of Hazael had removed the only rival Assyria had to

fear. From this time forward Shalmaneser contented himself with expeditions to distant regions, such as Phœnicia, Melitêne, Kappadokia, and Armenia, for the sake of exacting tribute. After B.C. 834 he ceased to command his troops in person, the tartan or general-in-chief, Dayan-Assur, taking his place. The infirmities of old age, which had no doubt obliged him to take this step, further led to the rebellion of his eldest son, Assur-dayan-pal, which troubled the last days of the old king, and well nigh proved fatal to him. Twenty-seven cities, including Nineveh and Assur, which probably resented the preference shown to Calah, as well as numerous smaller towns, declared for the pretender, and it was with considerable difficulty that the revolt was put down by Shalmaneser's second son, Samas-Rimmon, who shortly afterwards succeeded him. Samas-Rimmon (824-811), and his son, Rimmon-nirari III. (811-782), fairly maintained the empire they had received, but their efforts were chiefly expended upon campaigns in Armenia, Media, and the neighbouring regions, from which we may perhaps infer that the wild tribes of the east had begun to infest the Assyrian frontier. Samas-Rimmon, however, also endeavoured to restore the supremacy of Assyria in Babylonia. Merodach-baladhsu-ikbi of Babylon and his allies were defeated with great slaughter at Dur-Papsukul about B.C. 820, and eight years later he succeeded in entering Babylon. Rimmon-nirari III. obliged Mariha of Damascus to pay him tribute, as well as the Phœnicians, Israelites, Edomites, and Philistines. But though the royal annals show that the kings still led their armies out to battle year by year, it is plain that the power and vigour of the reigning dynasty were wearing out. The campaigns were either resultless, or else were made for purely defensive purposes. The empire of Shalmaneser had melted away. A few more princes followed Rimmon-nirari III., and then in B.C. 763 an eclipse of the sun took place on the 15th of June, and the city of Assur revolted. In B.C. 761 the revolt had spread to Arrapakhitis, and two years later to Gozan. In B.C. 758 it was indeed stamped out in Assur, but the more distant provinces were lost. Three years afterwards, Assur-nirari, the last of his line, ascended the throne. His reign lasted only ten years. What was left of the Assyrian empire had been undermined by decay and discontent, the army finally declared against the monarch, and he and his dynasty fell together. On the 30th of Iyyar, or April, B.C. 745, Pul or Pôros seized the vacant crown, and assumed the name of the ancient conqueror, Tiglath-Pileser.

With the accession of Tiglath-Pileser II. the Second Assyrian Empire may be said to begin. This Second Empire differed essentially from the first. The usurper was an organiser as well as a conqueror, and sought for the first time in the history of Western Asia to give his conquests a consolidated and permanent character. The conquered provinces were no longer loosely connected with the central power by the payment of tribute, which was refused as soon as the Assyrian armies were out of sight; nor were the campaigns undertaken by the kings of Nineveh mere raids, whose chief objects were prestige and plunder. The conquests of the Second Empire were made with a fixed purpose, and in pursuance of a definite line of policy, and, once made, they were tenaciously preserved. The conquered nations became subject provinces, governed, wherever possible, by Assyrian satraps; while turbulent populations were deported to some distant part of the empire. Each province and capital city had its annual contribution to the imperial treasury fixed and regulated; and centralisation, with its attendant bureaucracy, superseded the old loose union of mutually hostile states and towns. Tiglath-Pileser took good care that the revolts to which he owed the crown should for the future be impossible. To him is due the inauguration of the principle which was afterwards applied by Darius Hystaspis with so much success to the organisation of the Persian empire. The title to power which his birth denied him was secured by the institutions he established.

The Second Assyrian Empire was essentially a commercial one. It was founded and maintained for the purpose of attracting the trade and wealth of Western Asia into Assyrian hands. The instincts of the warrior and crusader had made way for the more deeply-rooted trading instincts of the Semitic race. The expeditions undertaken against the barbarous tribes of the east and north were made solely for the purpose of protecting the frontier and caravan roads, and of keeping the predatory excursions of the mountaineers in check. The resources of the empire were really reserved for the subjugation of Babylonia, Syria, Palestine, and Egypt, the rich and civilised marts of the ancient world. It was to divert the stream of commerce into their new satrapy of Carchemish that the Assyrian monarchs endeavoured to destroy the merchant communities of Tyre and Sidon.

Babylonia was necessarily the first to feel the effects of the new policy. Before six months were over Tiglath-Pileser was leading his forces against the southern kingdom. The northern part of Babylonia was annexed to Assyria, and secured by a chain of fortresses. After

chastising the Kurds, the Assyrian king next turned westward. Sarduris of Armenia, at the head of a confederacy of northern princes, in vain essayed to bar his way. The confederacy was defeated in Komagênê, Arpad (now Tel Erfâd) was captured, and all Syria lay at his feet. For the present he was content with exacting tribute from the Hittites, the Arameans, and the Phœnicians. Hamath, then in alliance with Uzziah of Judah, was conquered in 738, and its nineteen districts placed under Assyrian officers. For the first time we find the system of deportation applied on a large scale. Three years later Sarduris of Ararat was again attacked, and the neighbourhood of his capital, Dhuspas or Tosp, now Van, was devastated over a space of 450 miles. Freed from any danger from the north, Tiglath-Pileser now eagerly seized the opportunity of overthrowing the power of Damascus offered by the request of the Jewish king, Ahaz, for protection from his Syrian and Israelitish enemies. Rezin was defeated and besieged in his capital, Damascus, in 734, and the whole country far and near, including Samaria, Ammon, Moab, and the Philistines, was reduced to subjection. At length, after a siege of two years, Damascus surrendered, its inhabitants were enslaved, and Rezin was put to death. Syria became an Assyrian province, and all the princes of the West were summoned thither to do homage to the conqueror, while Tyre was fined 150 talents of gold, about £400,000. One of the chief objects of Tiglath-Pileser's policy had thus been achieved. But Babylonia still remained. In B.C. 731, accordingly, the Assyrian armies again marched into Chaldea. Ukin-ziru, the Khin-ziros of Ptolemy, was slain, Babylon and the other great cities were taken, and in B.C. 729 Tiglath-Pileser assumed the imperial title of "King of Sumer and Accad."

But he did not live long to enjoy his success. In B.C. 727 he died, probably without children, and Shalmaneser III., one of his generals, succeeded to his empire and his policy. Shalmaneser, however, failed to found a dynasty. After an unsuccessful attempt to capture Tyre, he died, or was murdered, during the siege of Samaria in B.C. 722, and the supreme power was seized by another general, who assumed the venerable name of Sargon, "the constituted king." Sargon claimed descent from two early kings, Bel-bani and Adasi, but his claim was probably admitted only by the flattery of a court. In B.C. 720 he took Samaria, and deported 27,200 of its leading inhabitants into Gozan and Media, the remainder being placed under an Assyrian governor. Meanwhile Sargon had been reminded that the

work of Tiglath-Pileser had been but half accomplished. As long as Elam remained unconquered, it was always able to threaten Babylonia, and menace the flank of the Assyrian empire. Entrenched behind its mountains, however, and furnished with all the resources of an ancient civilisation, Elam was difficult to subdue, and its subjugation could bring no profit to its conqueror. The news, therefore, that the Elamite king, Khumba-nigas, had invaded Babylonia was highly disturbing, but Sargon was obliged to content himself with simply driving the Elamites back. Affairs in the west more imperatively claimed his attention. Here the weak point in the empire was, strangely enough, the little kingdom of Judah. But Judah was a mountainous country, its capital was almost impregnable, and its conquest, troublesome as it would be, was valueless to the traders of Nineveh. At the same time it screened Egypt, whose Ethiopian conquerors endeavoured to defend themselves against the growing power of Assyria by stirring up trouble in Palestine. Sargon's aim, therefore, was to inflict a blow upon the Egyptians without throwing away his strength on the barren conquest of Judah. He effected his purpose by crushing the Philistines, and so making his way to the Egyptian frontier along the sea-coast. The Egyptian army was defeated at Raphia in B.C. 720, and Sargon was satisfied with carrying the spoil of Hanun, king of Gaza, to Nineveh. The last attempt of Syria to free itself, under the leadership of a Jew, Ilu-bihid or Yahu-bihid, had been already stamped out in fire and blood, and Hamath, where he had ruled, was colonised with 4300 Assyrians. In 717 all was ripe for the final assault upon Carchemish (now Jerablûs), the wealthy capital of the once powerful Hittites. The city was taken: its last monarch, Pisiris, with all his treasures, fell into the hands of Sargon, and Assyria became mistress of the trade of Western Asia. Carchemish commanded the great caravan road from the East, and its satrap was one of the most important of the Assyrian governors. From this time onward every effort was made to attract all the commerce of Asia to Carchemish: its maund became the standard weight of the empire, and no pains were spared to destroy the rival trade of the Phœnicians.

But the fall of Carchemish was not unavenged by the kindred population of the north. Mita of the Moschians, Ursa of Armenia, and their allies from the ranges of the Taurus, now fell upon the conqueror. The struggle was long and bitter, but at length Sargon prevailed. Van submitted, Armenia was ravaged, and Ursa, the leader of the coalition, committed suicide. The Assyrian forces penetrated

into the trackless mountains of distant Media; Kilikia and the Tibarêni were placed under an Assyrian governor, and the city of Malatiyeh was razed to the ground. Sargon could now turn to Palestine, where Hezekiah of Judah, encouraged by Babylonia and Egypt, had refused to pay the tribute due to his Assyrian lord. But in 711 Sargon swept Phœnicia and Judah, Jerusalem was captured, and the Jewish king compelled to submit. The suppression of the revolt in Palestine came none too soon. Aided by the Elamites, Yagina or Yugæos, a Chaldean prince, had made himself master of Babylonia after Tiglath-Pileser's death, and the short campaign of Sargon in 721 did not prevent his son, Merodach-baladan, from succeeding to his power. For twelve years Merodach-baladan was undisturbed. But he knew well that the Assyrian king was only waiting to complete his work in the east before asserting his claim to Babylonia. When, therefore, the coalition of the northern nations was breaking down before the Assyrian arms, the Babylonian king sent embassies to Judah and the neighbouring principalities, in order to concert measures of defence against the common enemy. Sargon, however, fell upon Palestine before either Babylonia or Egypt was ready to move, and when Merodach-baladan at last stirred he found himself single-handed face to face with the whole might of the Assyrian empire. The issue could not be doubtful, and though the Elamites hastened to his assistance he was driven first from Babylon, and then from the cities of the south. His last refuge, Bit-Yagina in the marshes, was taken by storm in 709, and he himself was loaded with chains and sent to Nineveh. Sargon now set himself to obliterate all traces of the Chaldean usurpation. The turbulent desert tribes, whom the late king had settled in Babylonia, were exterminated or expelled, and Sargon did his utmost to ingratiate himself with the native priesthood. His coronation in Babylon was like the coronation of the German emperors at Rome, and seemed to give him that title of legitimacy which was wanting in his own country. In the following year his pride was gratified by the voluntary submission of Uperi of Dilvun, in the Persian Gulf, the sacred island of Accadian mythology, as well as of the Greek and Phœnician kings of Kypros, the island of Yavnan or the "Ionians," where he caused a monument of himself to be erected at Kition or Larnaka, inscribed with pseudo-archaic cuneiform characters. It was the first direct contact between Greek and Assyrian; the culture of Babylonia and Assyria had long since been indirectly leavening the Hellenic world, but the barrier that had existed between them was

now broken down. The divided nationalities of Western Asia had been fused into the Assyrian empire, and Assyria had stepped into the place once occupied by Egypt in the history of mankind. Elam was left the solitary rival of the new power in Asia, and the last years of Sargon's life were spent in a desultory war with it.

The political idea conceived by Tiglath-Pileser was thus realised. Egypt, it is true, was still unconquered, but for how long depended on the energy and ability of Sargon's successors. At first, however, these seemed to be wanting. The fierce old king was murdered in his new city of Dur-Sargina or Khorsabad, and succeeded by his son Sennacherib on the 12th of Ab (July), B.C. 705. Brought up in the purple, Sennacherib had none of his father's virtues or talents. Vain-glorious, tyrannical, and weak, he owed the preservation of the empire that had been bequeathed to him rather to the thoroughness with which all elements of opposition had been crushed than to any efforts of his own. The boastful style of his inscriptions contrasts sharply with the plain simplicity of his father's, and makes it needful to examine carefully the accuracy of their contents.

Merodach-baladan had escaped from captivity, and the death of Sargon was the signal for a fresh attempt on his part to establish himself at Babylon. But a battle at Kis again drove him from the country, and Sennacherib found himself free to devastate Ellip (in the neighbourhood of the modern Elwend). Then he fell upon Phœnicia (B.C. 701). Zidon and other cities were captured, and the Phœnician king, Lulia or Elulæus, forced to take refuge in Kypros. The turn of Judah came next. Hezekiah's allies in Askalon and Ekron were severely punished; the Jewish towns, with a great quantity of spoil and captives, were taken; and the Jewish king himself sought forgiveness by the gift of 30 talents of gold, 300 talents of silver, precious stones, couches of ivory, tusks of wild bulls, dancing girls and eunuchs, and male and female musicians. But Sennacherib refused to be appeased, and the siege of Jerusalem was determined upon. Then came the disaster to the Assyrian arms, which Egyptian legend ascribed to the piety of their own priest-king Sethos. As a matter of fact, Sennacherib claims to have defeated Tirhakah of Egypt at Eltekeh, when the latter came to the help of Hezekiah; but as he did not pursue his success, it is probable that he lost as much as he gained. Like Xerxes in Greece, Sennacherib never recovered from the shock of the disaster in Judah. He made no more expeditions against either Southern Palestine or Egypt.

One cause of this was the unquiet state of Babylonia, which could not forget that the power that claimed supremacy over her was a mere *parvenu*. The year after the campaign in Palestine (700 B.C.), a Chaldean named Suzub stirred up revolt, which Sennacherib had some difficulty in suppressing. Merodach-baladan and his followers had settled at the mouth of the Eulæus, and in 697 Sennacherib found it necessary to have a fleet built and manned by Ionians and Phœnicians in the Persian Gulf, by means of which he destroyed the Chaldean settlement. But Suzub, with the help of the Elamites, had excited an insurrection in his rear, which was, however, put down by the Assyrian generals, who captured Suzub and sacked the ancient city of Erech. Meanwhile Sennacherib made an unsuccessful attempt to invade Elam, and Suzub, having escaped from Assyria and been admitted into Babylon, in 692 added his forces to those of Elam, Media, and other eastern allies. But the decisive battle of Khalule shattered the hopes of the confederate princes; Babylon was besieged and captured the following year, and then given to the flames. Its inhabitants were sold into slavery, and the river Arakhtu or Araxes was choked with its ruins. If, however, we may judge from the interregnum which marks the last eight years of Sennacherib's reign in Ptolemy's Canon, Chaldea refused to acknowledge the Assyrian domination up to the day of his death. The barbarous destruction of the venerable city of Babylon must have aroused against him the horror of every inhabitant of the southern kingdom.

It was the last political achievement of Sennacherib of which we know. The latter years of his life seem to have been spent in inactivity, or else in constructing canals and aqueducts in Assyria, in embanking the Tigris, and in building himself a palace at Nineveh on a grander scale than had ever been attempted before. His partiality for his younger son Esar-haddon excited the jealousy of the two elder ones, Adrammelech and Nergal-sharezer, who murdered their father in the month Tebet (December), B.C. 681, while Esar-haddon was conducting a campaign against the Armenians. The forces of Esar-haddon's brothers, however, proved no match for the veterans he commanded, and a battle fought near Malatiyeh in December, B.C. 681, established him on the throne and compelled his brothers to take refuge in Armenia. Esar-haddon entered Nineveh the following month, and immediately afterwards started for Babylonia, where Ur was soon taken, and the surviving son of Merodach-baladan compelled to sue for his life. The conqueror pre-

sented him with the government of his ancestral kingdom, and then turned to the restoration of Babylon, rebuilding its walls and temples, and bringing back its captured deities, its plunder, and its people. Henceforward Babylon became the second capital of the empire, the Assyrian court residing alternately there and at Nineveh. The event quickly showed the wise policy of this measure of conciliation.

Esar-haddon's reign, in fact, is characterised throughout by keen political tact. His political sagacity was equal to the high military talents which enabled him to complete the fabric of the Second Empire by the conquest of Egypt. His disposition, too, was unusually mild and humane for an Assyrian prince, and his powers of conciliation enabled him to consolidate what his military genius had won. One of his most remarkable achievements was his expedition into the heart of Arabia, where he penetrated to the kingdoms of Huz and Buz, 980 miles distant from Nineveh, 280 miles of the march being through arid desert. The feat has never since been excelled, and the terror inspired by it among the desert tribes was such that the country adjoining them was for the first time rendered safe. In the north, too, the Assyrian army penetrated almost equally far. Here Teispes the Kimmerian was defeated between the Zagros and Niphates, and thrown with his hordes westward into Asia Minor, while the copper mines in the eastern frontiers of Media—the very name of which had hitherto been barely known—were occupied and worked. This part of the country was already inhabited by Aryan Medes, and the great Semitic empire accordingly found itself in contact on both east and west with an Aryan population, and with those small independent states which seemed the natural political organisation of the Aryan race. Among the twenty-two kings who sent materials for the palace of Esar-haddon at Nineveh were some Kyprian ones with Greek names. Greeks and Medes were thus divided only by a single empire. The day was preparing when the barrier should be removed, and the great struggle of Asiatic and European Aryan was to commence.

Early in his reign Esar-haddon had taken good care to pick a quarrel with Sidon. The city was destroyed, and its inhabitants settled elsewhere, Tyre taking the place of Sidon as the chief city of Phœnicia. But the trade of the Phœnicians was half ruined, and Carchemish and Nineveh were enriched at their expense. The conquest of Egypt was alone left to be achieved.

The revolt of Baal of Tyre furnished the opportunity. The Arabian king provided water for the Assyrian army in its march

across the desert; Tirhakah was defeated, Memphis entered in triumph, and Thebes compelled to open its gates. Egypt was divided into twenty satrapies, governed partly by Assyrians, partly by native vassal princes, who were, however, watched by a number of Assyrian garrisons. Necho of Sais and Memphis headed the list of governors. On his return from the campaign, Esar-haddon associated Assur-bani-pal, the eldest of his four sons, with himself on the throne (on the 12th of Iyyar or April, B.C. 669), and died two years afterwards. Assur-bani-pal's first act was to appoint his brother, Saul-sum-yukin or Sammughes, viceroy of Babylon.

Assur-bani-pal, the Sardanapalus of the Greeks, to whom he became known through the medium of Lydia, was the "grand monarque" of Assyria. Ambitious and luxurious, he was a munificent patron of literature and art, and while recognising his own military incapacity, selected able generals, who extended and maintained his empire. After the conquest of Elam, which took place during his reign, the Assyrian empire reached its final limits; but it had within it the elements of decay, and the pride and ambition of the monarch brought about the coalition which robbed him of Egypt, and well-nigh shattered the whole empire. The court set an example of costly magnificence, of cultivated luxury, and of learned antiquarianism, and Assyrian literature entered upon its Alexandrine stage.

Assur-bani-pal found Egypt in a state of revolt. Two campaigns were requisite to quell it, to drive Tirhakah back to the domains of his ancestors, and to destroy Thebes. Meanwhile, the siege of Tyre, begun before Esar-haddon's death, was closely pressed. The Tyrians at last submitted; their king and his brothers had to send their daughters to the harem of the Assyrian monarch, while Tubal and Kilikia also owned the supremacy of Nineveh. The name of the great king spread to the extreme west of Asia Minor, and Gugu or Gyges of Lydia voluntarily sent him tribute, including two Kimmerian chiefs whom the Lydian prince had captured with his own hand. The submission of Gyges was ascribed to a dream; more probably Gyges trusted to Assyria for defence against the adherents of the dynasty he had displaced, and the Kimmerian hordes that menaced him from without.

But Gyges soon discovered that the friendship of Nineveh was a burden rather than a gain. The Assyrian empire was threatening to swallow up all the East. Elam, the last civilised kingdom of the old world which had held out, had finally fallen after a long struggle

before the arms of the Assyrian generals, who had been aided by internal dissensions; and Umman-igas, its titular sovereign, was really little else than an Assyrian viceroy. But in B.C. 652 the blow was struck which eventually led to the overthrow of the whole empire. A general insurrection broke out, headed by Assur-bani-pal's brother, the viceroy of Babylon, in the east, and by Psammetikhos of Sais, the son of Necho, in the west. Elam, Babylonia, Arabia, Palestine, Egypt, and Lydia, made common cause against the oppressor. Aided by the Ionian and Karian mercenaries sent by Gyges, Psammetikhos succeeded in shaking off the Assyrian yoke; Assur-bani-pal, in fact, was too much occupied nearer home to think any longer of so distant a province. His agents in Babylonia had forewarned him of the threatened insurrection there, but his natural indolence inclined him to disregard them till the event actually took place. With great difficulty the revolt was crushed; Babylon and Cuthah were reduced by famine in 649, and Sammughes burnt himself to death in his palace. The wandering tribes of Northern Arabia, Kedar, Zobah, Nabathæa, etc., were chastised, and fire and sword were carried through Elam. Umman-aldas, the last king of Elam, fled to the mountains, the ancient capital of Shushan was plundered and razed, and the whole of Susiania was reduced to a wilderness. Babylonia was thus avenged for its many invasions upon the country whence its civilisation had originally come.

Its union with Assyria now became closer than before. Assur-bani-pal would trust no more viceroys. Kandalanu, who appears as king of Babylon in Ptolemy's list, was a mere subordinate officer, and a prefect of Babylon is one of the Assyrian eponyms in the later years of Assur-bani-pal's reign. The date of the Assyrian king's death is uncertain, as well as the number of kings who intervened between him and the last, Esar-haddon II., the Sarakos of Bêrôsos. After his death, however, the viceroys of Babylonia again began to extend their power; and one of them, Nabopolassar, made himself independent in B.C. 625. Shorn of its empire, Assyria lasted for a few years longer, but its end was near. The storm at last fell upon it from the north. Kaztarit, king of Media and Caru-cassi; Mamit-arsu, "lord of the city of the Medes;" the Kimmerians, the Minni, and the people of Saparda,[1] united their forces against it; the frontier cities fell first; and though Esar-haddon proclaimed public fasts and prayers to the gods, Nineveh

[1] Or Sepharad (Obadiah 20).

itself was besieged, captured, and utterly destroyed. The Assyrian empire was now shared between Media and Babylon.

Nabu-cudur-utsur or Nebuchadrezzar, Nabopolassar's eldest son, was the real founder of the Babylonian empire. The attempt of Pharaoh Necho to win for Egypt the inheritance of Assyria was overthrown at the battle of Carchemish, and when Nebuchadrezzar succeeded his father in B.C. 604, he found himself the undisputed lord of Western Asia. Palestine was coerced in 602, and the destruction of Jerusalem in 587 laid a way open for the invasion of Egypt, which took place twenty years later. Tyre also underwent a long siege of thirteen years, but it is doubtful whether it was taken after all.

Babylon was now enriched with the spoils of foreign conquest. It owed as much to Nebuchadrezzar as Rome owed to Augustus. The buildings and walls with which it was adorned were worthy of the metropolis of the world. The palace, now represented by the Kasr mound, was built in fifteen days, and the outermost of its three walls was seven miles in circuit. Hanging gardens were constructed for Queen Amytis, the daughter of the Median prince, and the great temple of Bel was roofed with cedar and overlaid with gold. The temple of the Seven Lights, dedicated to Nebo at Borsippa by an early king, who had raised it to a height of forty-two cubits, was completed, and various other temples were erected on a sumptuous scale both in Babylon and in the neighbouring cities, while new libraries were established there. After a reign of forty-two years six months and twenty-one days, Nebuchadrezzar died (B.C. 562), and left the crown to his son Evil-Merodach, who had a short and inactive reign of three years and thirty-four days, when he was murdered by his brother-in-law Nergal-sharezer, the Neriglissar of the Greeks. Nergal-sharezer calls himself the son of Bel-suma-iskun, "king of Babylon;" he seems to have been Rab-mag at the time of the destruction of Jerusalem (Jer. xxxix. 3). The chief event of his reigu of four years and four months was the construction of a new palace. His son, who succeeded him, was a mere boy, and was murdered after a brief reign of four months. The power now passed from the house of Nabopolassar,—Nabu-nahid or Nabonidos, who was raised to the throne, being of another family. His reign lasted seventeen years and five months, and witnessed the end of the Babylonian empire.

Recent discoveries have made us acquainted with the history of this event. Nabonidos found a new power rising among the mountains of Elam. Aryan settlers had made their way across the deserts

of Sagartia, and penetrated as far as the rear of the Turanian population in Media and Susiana. Before the death of Nebuchadrezzar half Media was Aryanised, and an Aryan tribe had established itself almost within sight of the Persian Gulf. This tribe subsequently became known under the name of Persian. After the overthrow of Elam by Assyria, and then of Assyria itself, there was nothing to bar its way to the occupation of the waste lands of the old empire of Anzan, and a portion of it accordingly occupied Susa. Early in the reign of Nabonidos the recognised chief of the Susians was Kyros, who claimed descent from the Aryan clan of the Akhæmenids, but whose non-Aryan name may indicate that he was really of Elamite origin.

Kyros had the abilities and the will to found an empire. Media was the first point of attack, then Babylonia. The newly-built city of Ekbatana, constructed in imitation of Nebuchadrezzar's buildings at Babylon, was the centre of a loosely-organised empire. Here a prince of the old race ruled over Protomedes and Aryan Medes alike, though it is probable that the allegiance of the latter was doubtful and scant.

But the elements of weakness in Babylonia were almost as great as those in Media. Nabonidos was regarded as an usurper by a considerable party, which included the priests and aristocracy. A hostile people, the Jews, were planted in the very heart of the country, where, contrary to the experience and expectation of their conquerors, they had refused to amalgamate with the native population. That native population itself consisted of ill-assorted elements—Semites, Chaldeans, and nomade tribes. The distant provinces of the empire could not be depended on; that they were quiet was due rather to exhaustion than to fear or loyalty. In fact, before the first year of Nabu-nahid's reign was over, he had to face two campaigns, the second against an insurgent named Khume. Hamath rose in rebellion the very next year, and the whole of B.C. 552 was spent by the Babylonian king in putting it down. In the sixth year of Nabonidos, B.C. 549, the Median monarchy fell. The army of Istuvegu or Astyages revolted against him while on the march against Kyros, and gave him into the hands of his enemy. Perhaps it was a revolt of the Aryan against the Protomede. Ekbatana was captured and plundered by Kyros, who spent the next few years in subduing the remains of the Median empire. After the capture of Arbela in B.C. 546, he overran what had once been the kingdom of Assyria, taking among other places Mespila (Muspilu) and Larissa or Resen (Xenophon, *Anab.* iii.

4, 7-12), and then marched into Mesopotamia. Meanwhile Nabonidos had been taking measures to avert the coming attack. Babylon was made impregnable; the river was paved with brick, and lined with huge walls; and those wonderful works of defence were constructed which Herodotos ascribes to Queen Nitôkris. This queen may have been the mother of Nabonidos, who died on the 5th of Nisan or March, B.C. 546, in the camp near Sippara, where the king had stationed an army under the command of his eldest son, Belshazzar, to prevent the attack of Kyros from the north.

The army successfully fulfilled its purpose. Foiled of his intention to force an entrance from the north, Kyros began to tamper with the disaffected elements in the Babylonian population; and in B.C. 539, when all was ready, he marched against Nabonidos from the south-east. The Chaldeans on the coast revolted, and in the month Tammuz, or June, Kyros defeated the army of Nabonidos at Rutum. Immediately afterwards the people of Accad, or possibly the Jews settled there, revolted; the Persians entered Sippara on the 14th of the month without fighting, and Nabonidos fled. Babylon opened its gates to the Persian general Gobryas, and Nabonidos was captured and put in chains. The only resistance made was by the Kurdish body-guard, who barricaded themselves in the temple of Saggil at the end of the month, but they had no weapons. On the 3d of Marchesvan (October) Kyros entered Babylon in triumph, and the Babylonian empire was at an end. Eight days later Nabonidos died, and Kyros, whose political wisdom was equal to his military abilities, allowed him to be buried sumptuously. The Persian prince, however, adopted other means also for winning the favour of his new subjects. The temples were restored, the gods and their priests received large offerings, and Kyros and his son Kambyses took part in the religious processions, and styled themselves the servants of the gods Merodach and Nebo.

The death of Kambyses inspired the Babylonians with the hope of recovering their independence. In B.C. 521 they revolted under Nadintu-Bel, the son of Aniru, who called himself Nebuchadrezzar, the son of Nabonidos. A portrait of him, in the Greek style, and with a Greek helmet, is carved on a cameo in the Berlin Museum. But Darius overthrew the pretender in two battles at Zazan, and pursued him into Babylon, which he closely besieged (November, B.C. 521). The siege lasted nearly two years, but the Persians finally captured the city by diverting the Euphrates from its

channel, and, after passing by night along the river-bed, entering it through an unguarded gate. It is this siege and capture which Herodotos transfers to the age of Kyros. Once more, in B.C. 515, a new impostor arose, Arakhu, the son of the Armenian Khaldita. He too claimed to be Nebuchadrezzar II., and he too was taken and executed in Babylon after a short siege.

Religion and Mythology. — The religion of Accad was originally Shamanistic, like the religion of the Siberians or Samoyeds at the present day. Every object and force of Nature was supposed to have its *zi* or spirit, who could be controlled by the magical exorcisms of the Shaman or sorcerer-priest. These spirits were good or bad, like the objects and forces they represented, and like the latter, too, they were innumerable. Naturally the demons were supposed to outnumber the powers of good, and there was scarcely an action which did not risk demoniac possession. Diseases were all produced by their malevolence, and it was necessary to guard the house from them by placing at its entrance the figure of a cherub or some similar composite creature, which was regarded as a good genius. Even the dead were believed sometimes to revisit the earth and devour the living under the form of vampires. Gradually, certain of these spirits, or rather deified forces of nature, were elevated above the rest into the position of gods, more especially Anu "the sky," Mul-ge or Enum "the earth" and "under world," and Hea "the deep." But old habits of thought were too strong to be resisted, and even these deities had each their *zi* attached to them.

Before the arrival of the Semites a liturgy was already in the hands of the Accadians. This old prayer-book consisted of exorcisms and magical formulæ, interspersed with occasional hymns about the spirits or legends of their achievements, and ending with the words, "Take oath, O spirit of heaven; take oath, O spirit of earth." With the rise of a united monarchy, however, the gods began to assume importance and form themselves into a hierarchy. The worship of special deities had become associated with special cities; Ur was the city of the Moon-god, Lar'sa of the Sun-god, Babylon of Merodach; and the supremacy of a city implied the supremacy of the deity it worshipped. The kings vied with each other in erecting temples to these great divinities, whose vicegerents on earth they were, and those who were engaged in organising men below at the same time organised the gods above. The first monarch of all Chaldea of whom we know is also the first great temple-builder.

It was when Accadian religion had reached this stage that the Semite entered the land. Shamanism had developed into polytheism; the sorcerer had become the priest. Along with the change had gone an ever-increasing tendency to solar worship. The sun and the daylight were the most potent powers of good that affected the early Chaldean, and when the spirits that were in Nature became the gods of Nature, the sun and the daylight were accordingly marked out for special adoration. The supreme deity of several of the great cities was the Sun-god under varying forms; Merodach of Babylon, for instance, was but "the solar brilliance," who, with the rise of Babylon, was elevated to a chief place in the Accadian pantheon. But there was another cause which aided the growth of sun-worship. The age of political unification was also the age of the great outburst of Accadian literature. Poets started up on all sides, and hymns innumerable were composed in honour of the new gods. In course of time these hymns were invested with a sacred character, and, like the Rig-Veda in India, were arranged in a collection which superseded the old collection of magical exorcisms as the inspired liturgy of Chaldea. It was to the Sun, the great benefactor of mankind, that the majority of the hymns were addressed, and the attributes ascribed to the Sun-god, and the manifold names whereby he was invoked, became so many new solar divinities. These in turn passed into solar heroes, as the names given to them and the human actions recounted of them gave rise to legends and myths.

As long, however, as the Accadian domination lasted, the Sun-god had a formidable rival in the Moon-god. The Chaldeans were emphatically a people of astronomers and astrologers, the result of their early pastoral life on the mountains of Susiana, and the moon accordingly played the same part in their religion and mythology that the sun has done elsewhere. It was from the Moon-god that the monarchs traced their descent; it was to him that the imperial city of Ur was dedicated; and in the hierarchical system of the priesthood the Moon-god was the father of the Sun-god. But the Semitic occupation of Babylonia turned the scale in favour of the latter. The Semites, the children of the desert, made the sun the centre of their faith and worship; as Baal he was the Supreme Being, now giving life and light to his adorers, now scorching them with his fiery rays and demanding the sacrifice of their nearest and dearest. As soon as the Semitic element in the population of Chaldea became strong, sun-worship began to absorb everything else. At the same time

a new conception was introduced into the religion of the country. The Semites brought with them the idea of gender; each one of their male deities consequently had a female consort and reflection at his side. Baal or Bel presupposed Baaltis or Bilat, Anu presupposed Anat. Hitherto Accadian belief knew only of one female divinity, Istar, the goddess of war and love, the patroness of the moon and the planet Venus, and there were as many Istars as there were centres of worship in the land. But Istar now became the feminine Astoreth; her attributes were divided among the goddesses of Sippara, of Agadé, of Arbela, and other places; and though she continued to the last to retain an independent place by the side of the great male divinities, there was a growing tendency to dissolve her into Beltis, the shadowy female double of Baal.

Long before the second millennium B.C. the work of fusing the religious ideas of the Accadian and the Semite together was completed. The Semite borrowed the old Accadian pantheon *en bloc*, classing the inferior gods among the 300 spirits of heaven and the 600 spirits of earth, and superadding his own religious conceptions and his own divinities. These were identified with the leading deities of the Chaldean creed; Mul-ge, for example, becoming Bel, Tin-sar Nebo, and Utuki Samas. But the great majority of deities were adopted without change of either name or attributes, though the names were in some cases slightly Semitised.

This process of syncretism went along with a curious development of astro-theology. The heavenly bodies, like all other objects in Nature, had once had their special spirits; when this old phase of religion passed away, the spirits were replaced by the gods of the new pantheon. The chief divinities were identified with the planets and other leading stars; the sun and moon were already provided for. The state religion of Babylonia thus became a strange mixture of worn-out Accadian spirit-worship, of the Semitised later Accadian hierarchy of gods, of Semitic religious conceptions, and of astro-theology.

To this mixture must be added the early ancestor-worship, which still survived under various forms, and the cult paid to certain kings. This, however, was but a form of ancestor-worship, and may have been due to Egyptian influence.

In the higher and more gifted minds the mixture led to monotheism. From resolving the gods of the Semitic nomad into the gods of civilised Chaldea it needed but a step to resolve the gods of

Chaldea themselves into varying aspects of one supreme deity. Sir H. Rawlinson believes that Eridu, the Paradisiacal city, was the chief seat of the monotheistic "sect;" however that may be, we find hymns in the sacred collection addressed to "the one god," and other tablets in which the manifold deities of the popular faith are made but the different names and titles of Anu. This monotheism must be carefully distinguished from the henotheism of some of the hymns, in which the author seems to ascribe to the deity he is addressing attributes which, according to our ideas, would exclude the existence of any other god, but which he ascribes the next moment, in the same uncompromising way, to a wholly different divinity. The monotheistic school appears to have died out during the epoch of the Cassite dynasty.

The state religion, once elaborated, underwent no material change. The places of the gods, indeed, were moved from time to time, as one city or another rose to pre-eminence; Assur, the local deity of the old capital Assur, being set at the head of the divine hierarchy in Assyria, and Merodach usurping the place of the older Bel or Mul-ge in the Babylon of Nebuchadrezzar. But the main outlines of the system remained unaltered. While the Accadian substructure, with its spirits and its exorcisms, faded more and more out of view, especially in Assyria,—while the religion of the Assyrian monarchs can be with difficulty distinguished from that of their Phœnician kindred,—the creed that was based upon it lasted to the end.

A time came, however, when the popular theology entered into the schools of philosophy. The gods were resolved into elements and abstractions, and it was taught that they and the universe alike had originated out of a chaos of waters. This system of cosmogony has been embodied in the poem of the Creation in seven days, which bears such a remarkable likeness to the first chapter of Genesis, but does not seem to be older than the age of Assur-bani-pal. The system of the poem agrees with the statements of Damascius (*De Prim. Princip.* 125, p. 384, ed. Kopp), who tells us that Apasôn or Ap'su, "the deep," and Mummu Tiamtu (Moymis[1] Tavthê), "the chaos of the sea," were the original principles out of which all things have been begotten. Of them were born Lakhvu and Lakhva (Dakhos and Dakhê); of them again Kisar and Sar (Kissarê and Assôros), the lower and upper firmaments, who originated the three supreme gods, Anu, Elum or Bel,

[1] Moymis is made the "only-begotten" son of Apason and Tavthê by Damascius, contrary to the evidence of the cuneiform text.

and Hea, the latter being the father of Bel-Merodach, the Demiurge. This theory of emanations was the source of later Gnostic speculation, while the philosophic explanation of the universe it embodied made its way into Ionia, and there started Greek speculative philosophy. Thales and his doctrines drew their ultimate inspiration from Babylonia.

An earlier cosmogonic system is found in an Accadian legend of the Creation preserved in the library of Cuthah. According to this the present κόσμος or regulated universe was preceded by an anarchical chaos, in which Nature had made its first essays in creating. Composite creatures had been formed out of the earth and the deep, like those engraved on the gems and cylinders, or painted, according to Bêrôsos, on the walls of the temple of Bel. There were men with the bodies of birds or the tails of fish, and human beings with birds' faces. The philosophy of Anaximander, which has been termed an anticipation of Darwinism, may be traced to this cosmological theory.

The after-life expected by the Babylonian was as dreary as that expected by the Greek. Hades was beneath the earth, a place of darkness and gloom, from which none might return, where the spirits of the dead flitted like bats, with dust alone for their food. Here the shadowy phantoms of the heroes of old time sate crowned, each on his throne (comp. Is. xiv. 9), and in the midst rose the fortress-palace of Nin-'sur or Allat, the goddess of death. Hades was guarded by seven gates and seven warders, who stripped the spirit that entered of all he possessed; and in early days, when the geographical knowledge of the Accadians was limited, its entrance was believed to be in the marshes beyond the mouth of the Euphrates. But even within the abode of Nin-'sur the waters of life bubbled up at the foot of the golden throne of the spirits of earth, and whosoever could drink of them might return to the upper world. A happier lot was reserved for a few. Xisuthros and his wife were translated for their piety to the blissful fields beyond Datilla, the river of death; the spirit of Hea-bani, the friend of Gisdhubar, summoned by the prayers of his friends, rose like a cloud of dust out of the ground and ascended to heaven, where gods and heroes lie on couches feasting and drinking limpid water; while an Assyrian court-poet prays that his lord may hereafter have "everlasting" life in the land of the silver sky, where the gods revel and know no ill.

But the fear of the evils that the demons were perpetually devising against him while alive must have made the life of the Babylonian

almost intolerable. Every day and almost every hour had its religious ceremony, the neglect or malperformance of which brought down upon him some misfortune. Banished from the state religion, magic became a science. An elaborate system of augury was gradually formed, and omens were drawn from every event that could possibly happen. The power once exercised by the sorçerer-priest was now transferred to the necromancer and witch,—who, by the way, was supposed to fly through the air on a wooden stick,—with the difference that the power of the latter was believed to be exercised only for evil. The exorcisms which had in early days formed a prayer-book now formed a distinct branch of literature, and survived long after the fall of the Babylonian monarchy. The bronze bowls found by Sir A. H. Layard, as well as the part played by charms and demons in the Talmud, show how strongly the belief in magic had seized not only upon the native mind, but on that of the Jews also who had settled in the country. Through the Jews and various Gnostic systems of early Christianity, aided in part by the superstitions of imperial Rome, the belief found its way into the mediæval Church, and the features of the mediæval devil may be traced in an Assyrian bas-relief, which represents the dragon of Chaos, with claws, tail, horns, and wings, pursued by the Sun-god Merodach. Even the phylacteries of the Jews go back to the same origin. Accadian magic ordered the sorcerer to bind the charm, twice knotted with seven knots, round the limbs of the sick man; and this, with the further application of holy water, or the binding of a sentence from "a good book" about the sufferer's head, would infallibly produce a cure.

Babylonian mythology is a more pleasing subject than the magic which made the "Chaldeans" famous in later days. The myths of Accad were rich and manifold, and necessarily gained much by the Semitic conquest. Reference has already been made to some of them, and there are many that reappear under more or less changed forms in Jewish and Greek literature. We have learned at last how great was the debt owed by Greek mythology to the poets of ancient Babylonia, whose legends found their way to the west through the mouths of Phœnicians and Hittites. Adônis and Aphroditê are the Tammuz and Istar of Accadian story; and the death of Adônis, and the descent of the goddess into Hades to search for him, formed the subject of Accadian poems before the Greek perhaps had yet reached his future home. The theft of Promêtheus has its analogue in the story of the god Zu, "the divine storm-bird," who stole the lightning

of Bel, the tablet wherein destiny is written, and was punished for his crime by the father of the gods. Gisdhubar, originally the old Accadian Fire-god, and then a solar hero, is the prototype of Hêraklês. Hea-bani, the confidant and adviser of Gisdhubar, is the Kentaur Kheiron, for Kheiron was the son of Kronos, and Kronos is identified by Bêrôsos with Hea, the "creator" of Hea-bani. The lion slain by the Chaldean hero is the lion of Nemea; the winged bull made by Anu to revenge the slight suffered by Istar is the bull of Krete; the tyrant Khumbaba, slain by Gisdhubar in "the land of the pine-trees, the seat of the gods, the sanctuary of the spirits," is the tyrant Geryon;[1] the gems borne by the trees of the forest beyond "the gateway of the sun" are the apples of the Hesperides; and the deadly sickness of Gisdhubar himself is but the fever caused by the poisoned tunic of Nessos. Even the encircling ocean, with its gates, where the women Sabitu and Siduri keep eternal watch, is the Okeanos of Homeric legend. Naturally the impress made by Babylonian mythology upon the western Semites was deeper than that which it made upon the Greeks. An echo of the war waged between Merodach and the powers of chaos and darkness, headed by the dragon of the sea, the seven-headed "serpent of night," still survives in the Apocalypse. The sacred tree, with its guardian cherubs, as well as the flaming sword of the lightning, with its fifty points and seven heads, recall biblical analogies; and the legend of the plague-demon Lubara brings to our remembrance the vision of David when the angel of pestilence hovered over Jerusalem.

Art, Literature, and Science.—The art of Assyria was the copy and offspring of that of Babylonia. At the same time the copy was a free one, and in many points differed very materially from its model. The difference was caused in part by the want of stone in Babylonia and its abundance in Assyria. In Babylonia brick had to take the place of stone; stone, in fact, was costly, and used only for such objects as seals and signets, for boundary-marks and royal statues. It is a curious illustration of the servile dependence of Assyria upon Babylonia in artistic matters, that up to the last brick was largely used there in the construction of the royal palaces, in spite of its rapid decay and the ease with which stone might have been procured. Slabs of alabaster were nevertheless employed to line the walls, and where, therefore, the Babylonians were forced to have

[1] Khumbaba appears as Kombabos in Lucian, *De Dea Syria*, 19-26.

recourse to painting, the Assyrians made a liberal use of sculpture in relief.

The existing remains of Babylonian and Assyrian architecture are further distinguished by the religious character of the one and the secular character of the other. The attention which was primarily devoted to the construction of temples in Babylonia was devoted to the construction of palaces in Assyria. The temple in Assyria was a mere appendage of the palace, whereas in the sister kingdom, while the only palaces of which we know are those of the dynasty of Nebuchadrezzar, the site of every great city is marked by the ruins of its temples. Hence the general style of architecture was different, the temple, with its huge masses of brickwork, rising stage upon stage, each brilliantly painted and surmounted by a chamber which was at once a shrine and an observatory, while the palace was built upon a heap of rubble, with open courts and imposing entrances, but never more than two or three stories high.

Columnar architecture had its natural home upon the banks of the Euphrates. Wood and brick had to take the place of stone, and naturally suggested the employment of the column, which soon became a mere ornament and developed into a great variety of forms. Coloured half-columns were used in the temple of Lig-Bagas at Erech for decorative purposes long ages before they were employed in the same way by Sargon at Khorsabad, and it is to Babylonia and Assyria rather than to Egypt that we must trace the Doric and Ionic pillars of Greece. But the chasteness of Greek taste preserved it from the many fantastic forms into which the column branched out in Babylonia and Assyria, where we find it resting with a circular base on the backs of lions, dogs, and winged bulls.

While the column thus became an ornament rather than a support, the buttresses against which the early Chaldean temples rested never lost their original character. Like the walls, they were covered with plaster and painted with bright colours or overlaid with plates of shining metal. Enamelled bricks, which were first painted, then glazed, and finally baked in the fire, were often used for the purpose; sometimes, as at Warka, we see cones of various colours and embedded in plaster taking their place. The rain was carried off by elaborately constructed drains, some of which afford us the earliest examples of the arch, and which occasionally consisted of leaden pipes.

In Assyria sculpture was used in the stead of painting, although the bas-reliefs were judiciously picked out with red, blue, black, and white

colours, none of which, however, were of the same brilliancy as the colours used in Babylonia. This use of colour to heighten the effect of sculpture, which we find also in Egypt, was adopted by the Greeks, who probably derived it, with so many other elements of art, from the cultured populations of the Euphrates valley. Assyrian sculpture in relief may be said to have passed through three phases of development. The first phase, best represented by the reign of Assur-natsir-pal, is characterised by a simplicity and vigour which shows itself especially in the drawing of animal forms. Nothing, for instance, can be bolder and more life-like than a scene in which the monarch is depicted hunting lions; but the freshness and freedom of the work are marred by an almost total want of perspective, an absence of delicacy in the execution, and a servile minuteness in reproducing the outlines. No attempt is made to fill in the background. The second phase lasts from the beginning of the Second Empire to the reign of Esar-haddon, and was doubtless influenced by the delicate work in bronze and ivory executed by the Phœnician settlers in Nineveh. The care formerly expended on the chief figures is now extended to the background, which is finished with a pre-Raffaelite minuteness that reminds us of elaborate embroidery. What has been lost in vigour is gained in richness, though the realism of the work is too obtrusive to allow it to be examined with microscopic eyes. The reign of Assur-bani-pal marks the third and best phase of Assyrian art in relief. Drawing has much improved, and the sculptures furnish several instances of successful foreshortening. The exactitude with which animal and vegetable forms are represented is relieved by a general softness of tone, while the overcrowding of the previous period is avoided by a recurrence to the earlier mode of leaving the background bare, or else by introducing merely the outlines of a landscape. Nevertheless, the art shows symptoms of the same effeminacy and decay that strike us also in the choice of subjects. Scenes are taken for the first time from the harem; and in contrast with the lion-hunts of a former age in the open field, Assur-bani-pal is made to enjoy the pleasures of a royal *battue*, where tame lions are let out of their cages and whipped into activity.

Admirable as the Assyrian artists were when they sculptured in relief, they failed altogether as soon as they came to the round. Here the artists of Babylonia much surpassed them. In Babylonia stone was too precious to be used for other than decorative or legal purposes, and the largest stones procurable were blocks of black basalt or diorite,

which could be carved into statues but not cut up into slabs. Statuary of a certain kind, therefore, flourished there from the earliest epoch. But it was always heavy, the figures being represented in a sitting posture, though much skill was shown in the delineation of the face. On the other hand, the carved gems are often very good, a spirit of humour and light-heartedness appearing in them which we look for in vain in Assyria. Gem-cutting, in fact, originated in Babylonia, and thence spread through the western world. Though frequently rude, the very earliest intaglios are invariably clear and vigorous. Emery must have been used in their manufacture, and the work is sometimes extremely fine.

The Accadians were also skilled in terra-cotta and bronze work. The terra-cotta and bronze images of King Gudea are quite astonishing when we consider their antiquity. Spirited bas-reliefs in terra-cotta have been found at Senkereh, and many of the vases made by the Accadian potters display great beauty of form, and must plainly have been modelled on the wheel, though the majority are handmade and rude. Assyrian pottery is also very good, but the native work in bronze is poor. The bronze gates of Balawât, for example, where the bas-reliefs have all been hammered out from behind and then chiselled, belong to the infancy of art, though the forms are bold and vigorous. The engraved bronze bowls and similar objects found at Nineveh were the work of Phœnicians.

Babylonia was celebrated from the first for the manufacture of textile fabrics, and the oldest gems furnish us with specimens of richly embroidered dresses. Goldsmiths' work, too, had already attained a high perfection in the Accadian period. At a later epoch the Assyrians equally excelled in metallurgy, and their bronze casts, as distinguished from hammer-work in relief, are of a high order of merit. Their gold earrings and bracelets are admirable both in design and in workmanship, and so well were they acquainted with the art of inlaying one metal with another that our modern artists have been content to learn from them the method of covering iron with bronze. Their chairs and other articles of household furniture are equally worthy of imitation. Besides porcelain, they were acquainted with glass, though transparent glass does not seem to have come into use before the age of Sargon. Coloured glass was known at a much earlier date.

But the Assyrians had none of that love of brilliant colours which characterised their neighbours in the south. Though the introduction of vegetable forms into their bas-reliefs shows that their art was less

intensely human than that of the Greeks, they were never led to cultivate the gardens for which Babylon was renowned. It was Babylonia, again, and not Assyria, that was famous for the manufacture of dyed and variegated stuffs.

Iron was little used in the Accadian period, and we may infer from the ideographs which represent it that the only iron known was meteoric. On the other hand, besides stone implements, bronze and copper weapons and tools were largely in use, and bronze bowls are found in nearly all the early tombs, fashioned sometimes with considerable skill. With the Semitic period the employment of iron becomes more common.

Of Babylonian and Assyrian music little is known beyond the fact that there were different instruments for producing it.

Accad was the China of Western Asia. Almost everyone could read and write. Clay was plentiful, and the writing-paper of the Accadians was mostly of clay. The characters were impressed with a metal stylus upon clay tablets (the *laterculæ coctiles* of Pliny), which were then baked in the sun, or (in Assyria) in a kiln. Papyrus, however, was also extensively used, though it has all now perished. Indeed papyrus, or some similar vegetable substance, preceded clay as a writing-material, the primitive hieroglyphics out of which the cuneiform characters arose having been painted on it by the Accadians before they left their original home in Elam. The hieroglyphics were arranged in vertical columns like the Chinese. After their settlement in the alluvial plain of Babylonia, and their adoption of clay as a writing-material, the Accadians altered the arrangement of their characters, the vertical lines becoming horizontal ones, and running from left to right. By this process the old hieroglyphics were laid upon their sides. At the same time the forms of the hieroglyphics themselves underwent a change. It was difficult to make curved lines upon the clay, while the impress of the stylus assumed a wedge-like shape. The primitive pictures thus became cuneiform or wedge-shaped characters, which had already come to be employed phonetically as well as ideographically. When the Semites borrowed them, a great extension was given to the phonetic element, the sounds which expressed words in Accadian becoming mere phonetic values in the Semitic syllabary. Hence the same character can denote more than one syllabic sound, and at the same time can be used ideographically.

Long before the Semitic period, or even before the earliest period of which we have contemporaneous record, the Accadian characters

had all been classified and arranged. Compound characters were naturally called by the names of those out of which they were composed, though the proof of this has sometimes been obliterated even in the archaic forms of the characters found on the bricks of Lig-Bagas.

After the Semitic conquest no pains were spared to facilitate a knowledge of the Accadian literature and the characters in which it was written. Like the syllabary, the literature of the Semitic Babylonians and Assyrians was mostly of Accadian origin, and it was consequently necessary for them to be acquainted with the language in which it was embodied. Syllabaries, grammars, vocabularies, and reading-books were accordingly drawn up in Accadian and Semitic, and the old Accadian texts were accompanied by interlinear translations, sometimes arranged in a parallel column. When Accadian became extinct, about the seventeenth century B.C., the translations alone of many of the old texts were preserved; it was only where the original text was important, as in legal documents or in the sacred hymns—the very language of which was held to be inspired—that it continued to be copied. In the time of Assur-banipal an attempt was made by the *litterati* to revive the old language, and it became fashionable to write compositions in Accadian, many of which, however, resembled the "dog-Latin" of our own day. A knowledge of the old mode of writing continued down to the Christian era, the latest document so written being, as has been already mentioned, a contract-tablet, dated in the reign of the Parthian king Pakoros, the contemporary of Domitian.

From the earliest period the literature of Chaldea was stored in public libraries. According to Bêrôsos, Pantibibla, or "book-town," was one of the antediluvian cities of Babylonia, and Xisuthros had buried his books at Sippara—perhaps in reference to the Semitic *sepher*, "book"—before the Flood. Every great city had at least one library, and the office of librarian was considered honourable enough to be held by the brother of the king. The most famous of the Babylonian libraries were those of Erech, Lar'sa, and Ur, and (after the Semitic conquest) of Agadé. The older library of Babylon perished for the most part when the town was destroyed by Sennacherib. Scribes were kept busily employed in copying and re-editing old texts, and more rarely in preparing new ones. The copies were made with scrupulous care, and an illegible character or word was denoted by the statement that there was a "lacuna," or a

"recent lacuna," while attention was drawn to the breakage of a tablet. When an Assyrian scribe was in doubt as to the meaning of a character in his Babylonian copy, he either reproduced it or gave it two or more possible equivalents in the Assyrian syllabary.

The libraries established by the Assyrian kings at Assur, Calah, and Nineveh, were formed in imitation of those of Babylonia. Like the Babylonian libraries, also, they were thrown open to the public, though it is extremely doubtful whether the reading public was so large in Assyria as in the sister kingdom. At any rate, their contents were derived almost entirely from Babylonia. The tablets or books were all numbered and arranged in order, and the table of the chapters in the great astronomical work compiled for Sargon's library at Agadé (B.C. 2000) enjoins the student to hand to the librarian in writing the number of the book or chapter he wishes to procure.

The literature contained in these libraries comprised every branch of learning known at the time. Historical and mythological documents; religious compositions; legal, geographical, astronomical, and astrological treatises; magical formulæ and omen tablets; poems, fables, and proverbs; grammatical and lexical disquisitions; lists of stones and trees, of birds and beasts, of tribute and eponyms; copies of treaties, of commercial transactions, of correspondence, of petitions to the king, of royal proclamations, and of despatches from generals in the field,—all were represented. The mythological and religious literature was particularly extensive and interesting. Along with the latter must be classed certain penitential hymns, which may favourably compare with the Hebrew psalms. Thus in one of them we read: "O my God, my transgression is great, my sins are many . . . I lay on the ground, and none seized me by the hand; I wept, and my palms none took. I cried aloud; there was none that would hear me. I am in darkness and trouble; I lifted not myself up. To my God my distress I referred, my prayer I addressed." The omen-tablets chiefly belong to a work in 137 books, compiled for Sargon of Agadé. Among the fables may be mentioned a dialogue between the ox and the horse, and another between the eagle and the sun; while we may reckon with the proverbs not only the riddle which the wise man propounded to the gods, and to which the answer is plainly the air, but also the songs with which the Accadian ox-drivers beguiled their labours in the field. Two of these are worth quoting: "An heifer am I; to the cow thou art yoked; the plough's handle is strong; lift it up, lift

it up!" "The knees are marching, the feet are not resting; with no wealth of thine own, grain thou begettest for me." Folklore was more poorly represented than mythology, though some specimens of it have been preserved. It was the great epics and mythological poems, however, which naturally occupied the chief place in each library. A fragmentary catalogue of them has come down to us along with the reputed authors of these standard works. Thus the Epic of Gisdhubar was ascribed to a certain Sin-liki-unnini; the legend of Etana to Nis-Sin; the story of the fox to Kak-Merodach, the son of Eri-Turnunna. Some of their titles are quoted in Accadian, and their composition referred to Accadian poets; others belong to the Semitic period. Among the latter is the Epic of Gisdhubar in its present form, which is based upon an astronomical principle, the subject-matter of each of its twelve books corresponding with the name of a Zodiacal sign. The lion is slain, for instance, under the Zodiacal Leo, the sign of Virgo answers to the wooing of the hero by Istar, and the sign of Aquarius to the episode of the Deluge. This is rather violently introduced into the eleventh book, and, like the rest of the epic, is pieced together out of older poems, fragments of some of which we possess in the original Accadian text. Perhaps the most beautiful of these early legends is that which describes the descent of Istar into Hades in search of her husband, the Sun-god Tammuz, slain by the boar's tusk of winter. The legend curiously survives in a moral form in the Talmud, where Istar has been changed into the demon of lust.

Science was chiefly represented by astronomy, which had its first home among the Accadians. But it soon connected itself with the pseudo-science of astrology, the false assumption having been made that whatever event had been observed to follow a particular celestial phenomenon would recur if the phenomenon happened again. Observatories were established in all the chief towns, and astronomers-royal were appointed, who had to send fortnightly reports to the king. At an early date the stars were numbered and named; the Zodiacal signs had been mapped out while the vernal equinox still fell in Taurus; and eclipses of the sun and moon had been found to recur after a certain fixed time, and were consequently calculated and looked for. The equator was divided into degrees, sixty being the unit, as in other departments of mathematics. A table of lunar longitudes belongs to the Accadian period, and fragments of a planisphere, which marks the appearance of the sky at the vernal equinox, are now in the British Museum. The year was reckoned to consist of twelve lunar months

of thirty days each, intercalary months being counted in by the priests when necessary. In Accadian times the commencement of the year was determined by the position of the star Capella (α Aurigæ), called Dilgan, "the messenger of light," in relation to the new moon at the vernal equinox. The night was originally divided into three watches, but this was afterwards superseded by the more accurate division of the day into twelve *casbu*, or "double hours," corresponding to the divisions of the equator, each *casbu* of two hours being further subdivided into sixty minutes, and these again into sixty seconds. Time was measured, at all events at a later epoch, by means of the clepsydra, and the gnomon or dial was a Babylonian invention. So also was the week of seven days, which was closely connected with the early astronomical studies of the Accadians, the days of the week being dedicated to the moon, sun, and five planets. The 7th, 14th, 19th, 21st, and 28th days of the lunar month were kept like the Jewish Sabbath, and were actually so named in Assyrian. They were termed *dies nefasti* in Accadian, rendered "days of completion (of labour)" in Assyrian; the Assyrian *Sabattu* or "Sabbath" itself being further defined as meaning "completion of work" and "a day of rest for the soul." On these days it was forbidden, at all events in the Accadian period, to cook food, to change one's dress or wear white robes, to offer sacrifice, to ride in a chariot, to legislate, to perform military service, or even to use medicine. The month was further divided into two halves of fifteen days each, these being again subdivided into three periods of five days.

The standard work on astronomy and astrology was that in seventy-two books, compiled for the library of Sargon at Agadé, and entitled the Observations of Bel. It was subsequently translated into Greek by Bêrôsos. The table of contents shows that it treated of various matters,—eclipses, comets, the pole-star, the phases of Venus and Mars, the conjunction of the sun and moon, the changes of the weather, and the like. After each observation comes the event which was believed to have happened in connection with it, and the number of observations shows for how long a period they must have been accumulating before the second millennium B.C. We can in fact trace the beginnings of Babylonian astronomy back to an age when the Accadians were still shepherds and herdsmen among the mountains of Elam; it was above Elam that the zenith was fixed, and the heaven was regarded as a great pasture land, the ecliptic being "the bull of light" or "the furrow of the sky," and the stars "the heavenly flock,"

whose shepherd was Arcturus (α Bootis). It may be added that Tammuz represented Orion.

The attention given to astronomy presupposes a considerable advance in mathematics. This in fact was the case. The system of cyphers was a comparatively easy one to handle, and was simplified by the habit of understanding the multiple 60 in expressing high numbers,—IV., for instance, denoting $4 \times 60 = 240$. Sixty was also the unexpressed denominator of a fraction, $1\frac{2}{3}$ being represented by I.XL., *i.e.* $1\frac{40}{60}$. A tablet from the library of Lar'sa gives a table of squares and cubes correctly calculated from 1 to 60, and a series of geometrical figures used for augural purposes implies the existence of a Babylonian Euclid. Even the plan of an estate outside the gate of Zamama at Babylon, in the time of Nebuchadrezzar, has been discovered which shows no mean knowledge of surveying. Some acquaintance with mechanics is evidenced by the use of the lever and pulley; and the discovery of a crystal lens on the site of Nineveh suggests that some of the microscopic characters on the tablets were inscribed with artificial aid, as well as the possibility of a rude kind of telescope having been employed for astronomical observations. At all events, one astronomical record states that "Venus rises, and in its orbit duly grows in size." Mr. Rassam has discovered on the site of Babylon remains of the hydraulic machinery used for watering the Hanging Gardens of Nebuchadrezzar.

The ideas of that primitive epoch, when as yet astronomy in its simplest form was unknown, survived in the popular mythology. The "mountain of the world," or Rowandiz, the Accadian Olympos, was believed to be the pivot on which the heaven rested, covering the earth like a huge extinguisher. The world was bound to it by a rope, like that with which the sea was churned in Hindu legend, or the golden cord of Homer, wherewith Zeus proposed to suspend the nether earth after binding the cord about Olympos (*Il.* viii. 19-26) Eclipses were caused by the war of the seven evil spirits or storm-demons against the moon, and a long poem tells how Samas and Istar fled to the upper heaven of Anu when the war began, and how Merodach had finally to come to the rescue of the troubled moon.

Language, Law, Trade, and Agriculture.—As already stated, the original languages of Accad and Sumer were agglutinative, the cases of the noun being indicated by postpositions, and were related to the dialects spoken in Elam (Susian, Cassite, and Amardian). The Semitic language known as Assyrian consisted of the two dialects,

Babylonian and Assyrian, the first being distinguished by a preference for softer sounds and a longer retention of the mimmation. It was closely allied to Hebrew and Phœnician, more distantly to Arabic, and more distantly still to Aramaic, while it had many points of resemblance to Ethiopic. The archaic and finished character of its grammar, and the fulness of its vocabulary, make it the Sanskrit of the Semitic tongues. The literary dialect underwent little change during the 1500 years that we can trace its career, the result being that it came to differ very considerably from the language of everyday life spoken at Nineveh or Babylon in later times. Aramaic became the *lingua franca* of trade and diplomacy after the overthrow of Tyre and Sidon under the Second Assyrian Empire, and in course of time gradually superseded the older language of the country. In Babylonia, however, this did not happen until after the Persian conquest.

Law was highly developed in Chaldea from an early period, and a large number of the precedents of an Assyrian judge, like the titles on which he had to decide, went back to the Accadian epoch. An Accadian code of laws shows us that the mother occupied the same prominent place in the community as among other "Turanian" peoples. A married woman was permitted to hold property; at the same time the husband might repudiate his wife after paying a fine, but the wife who repudiated her husband was punished by drowning. The master who ill-treated or killed his slave was fined, and the slave was allowed to purchase his freedom. Property was carefully protected; the maximum rate of interest was fixed; and houses, land, or slaves could be taken as security for debt. Judges were appointed throughout the kingdom, and forbidden to accept bribes, while prisons were established in every town. The most ancient written code was ascribed to the god Hea or Oannes. As in Attika, the boundaries of property were marked by *stelæ*, one of which informs us that the ground mentioned on it was bestowed by the king on a poet-laureate in return for some complimentary verses; and deeds were drawn up on tablets, often enclosed in an outer coating of clay, and connected by a string with a papyrus docket. These deeds were duly witnessed and sealed. Sennacherib has left behind a sort of will, in which he leaves certain property to his favourite son, Esar-haddon. The taxpayers were divided into burghers and aliens, some of the taxes being paid for the use of the public brickyards and roads. In the time of the Second Assyrian Empire municipal taxes and the tribute of subject states formed an important part of the imperial revenue. Nineveh,

for instance, paid every year 30 talents, 20 of which went to the maintenance of the fleet, Assyria as a whole being assessed at 274 talents; Carchemish paid 100 talents, Arpad 30, and Megiddo 15.

Trade and commerce were the creation of the Semites, and were particularly active in the later days of the Assyrian monarchy. The trade of Assyria was mainly overland—that of Babylonia maritime. The teak found at Mugheir proves that it extended as far as India; on the other side wares came from the coasts and islands of Asia Minor, from Egypt, and from Southern Arabia. Coined money, however, was as yet unknown, and the maneh of Carchemish, after the capture of that city, was made the standard of weight. Interest was usually at four per cent; but sometimes, more especially when objects like iron were borrowed, at three per cent. Houses were let on lease, and the deeds which conveyed them gave a careful inventory of their contents. A house sold at Nineveh on the 16th of Sivan, or May, B.C. 692, fetched one maneh of silver, or £9, the average price of a slave. The records of the Egibi banking firm recently discovered in Babylonia extend from the reign of Nebuchadrezzar to that of Darius Hystaspis; the deeds were kept in large jars, and like the Rothschilds of modern days, the firm increased its wealth by lending money to kings. The father generally took his sons into partnership during his lifetime.

While the Semite devoted himself to trade, the Accadian was an agriculturist, and up to the last agriculture occupied a more prominent place in Babylonia than it ever did in Assyria. The canals were a matter of special importance, and their management was superintended by the state. Market-gardeners might lease the ground of richer proprietors, and the tenant had to give one-third of the produce to the owner. The country was covered with gardens; Merodach-baladan has left us a list of no less than seventy-three belonging to himself. At an earlier date, Tiglath-Pileser I., in imitation of the Babylonian princes, tried to acclimatise in royal botanical gardens some of the trees he had met with in his campaigns; but his example does not seem to have been followed, and agriculture of all kinds was never popular in Assyria, where it was relegated to the slaves.

Our knowledge of Assyro-Babylonian administration is too slight to allow us to say more of it than that the government was an absolute monarchy, the court consisting of a large number of officials who owed their rank to the king. After the time of Tiglath-Pileser I., the subject provinces were placed under satraps, the cities of the empire

being governed by prefects. Besides the *turtannu* (*tartan*), or commander-in-chief, who stood on the king's right, there were other military officers, such as the "sultan," the colonel ("man of three troops"), "the captain of fifty," and "the captain of ten," who might assume the command in his absence. Among the chief officials of state may be mentioned the *Rab-saki* (Rab-shakeh), or Vizier, the Rab-saris or Chamberlain, the Music-director, and the Astronomer-Royal.

III.

THE PHŒNICIANS.

WHILE the struggle for supremacy between Accadian and Semite was going on in the east, another branch of the Semitic race was establishing itself on the western coast of Asia. A narrow but fertile strip of land, from 10 to 15 miles in breadth and 150 in length, shut in between the snow-clad peaks of Lebanon and the sea, and stretching from the Bay of Antioch to the promontory of Carmel, was the home of the Phœnicians. They called it Canaan, "the lowlands," a name which was afterwards extended to denote the whole district of Palestine inhabited by kindred tribes. The Egyptians named it the land of Keft, or the "palm," of which the Greek Phœnikê is but a translation. The early date at which it was occupied is shown by the emigrations from it to the Delta in the time of the Middle Egyptian Empire; by the time the Hyksos were ruling at Memphis the mouths of the Nile had become so thickly populated by Phœnicians as to cause the whole coastland to be termed Keft-ur (Caphtor), or "Greater Phœnicia."

According to Genesis, Sidon, "the fishing city," was the firstborn of Canaan. Native legends, however, claimed an older foundation for the sacred city of Gebal or Byblos, northward of Beyrût. Beyrût itself, the Bêrytos of classical writers, was dependent on Gebal, and along with it formed a distinct territory in the midst of the Phœnician states. These consisted of nine chief cities, Akko (now Acre), Achzib or Ekdippa (now Zib), Tyre (now Sûr), Sidon (now Saida), Botrys (now Batrun), Tripolis (now Tarâbolus), Marathus (now Amrit), Arvad or Aradus and Antaradus (now Ruâd and Tartûs), and Ramantha or Laodikeia (now Ladakiyeh). With these may be counted Zemar or Simyra (now Sumra), to the north of Tripolis, inhabited by an

independent tribe, like Arka (now Tel 'Arka). The country was watered by rivers, six of which were invested with divine attributes like the mountains from which they flowed. The Eleutheros (Nahr el-Kebîr) in the north is followed by the Adônis (Nahr el-Ibrahim), by whose banks the women of Byblos lamented the dead Sun-god Tammuz; the Lykos (Nahr el-Kelb), where Egyptian, Assyrian, and Babylonian conquerors have erected their memorials; the Tamyras (Nahr Damûr); the Bostrenos (Nahr el-'Awâly); and the Belos (Nahr Na'mân).

With the mountains in their rear the inhabitants of the Phœnician cities were driven to the sea. They became fishermen, traders, and colonists. First Kypros, called Kittim from the town of Kition, was colonised; then Rhodes, Thêra, Mêlos, and other islands of the Ægean; then came the settlements on the coasts of Greece itself, in Sicily and Sardinia, and on the northern shores of Africa; and finally the colonies of Karteia, near Gibraltar, and Gades or Cadiz, which led the adventurous emigrants into the waters of the unknown Atlantic. Karteia lay in the district of Tarshish or Tartessos, long the extreme western boundary both of Phœnician voyages and of the known world. But before the sixth century B.C., the Phœnicians had not only penetrated to the north-western coast of India, but probably to the island of Britain as well.

Tradition brought them originally from the Persian Gulf, and the similarity of name caused the island of Tylos or Tyros, now Bahrein, to be named as the country from which the forefathers of the Tyrians had come. The tradition pointed to a fact. The close resemblance between the Phœniko-Hebrew and Assyro-Babylonian languages proves that the speakers of them must have lived together for some time after their separation from the rest of their Semitic kindred, as does also the common possession of such deities as Malik or Moloch, Baal or Bel, perhaps also Dakan and Dagon, which were not of Accadian origin. Most of the tribes comprehended under the title of Canaanites in the Old Testament were really Phœnician, though the Egyptian monuments show that the Amorites were of Arab descent, while the Hittites belonged to a different stock from the Semites. The Hebrews themselves, if we may trust the evidence of language, physiognomy, and character, had the same ancestors as the Phœnicians, and at the time of the conquest of Canaan only differed from the people they expelled in being rude nomads instead of cultivated citizens. It is nevertheless possible that intermarriage with the aborigines of the country—a race

of whom we know but little—had produced a modification of type and character among the natives of Phœnicia; but if so, the modification was not great. Towards the north the Phœnicians were affected by contact with their cousins, the Arameans or Syrians, who occupied Damascus and the southern coast of the Orontes, and under the name of the Rutennu appear in the Egyptian inscriptions as extending southward of the Hittites as far as the banks of the Euphrates.

Sidon and Tyre alike consisted of two towns. Those of Sidon were both on the mainland, and were known as the Less and the Greater; those of Tyre were distinguished as insular Tyre and Palætyros. Palætyros stood on the coast, and, if we may trust its name, was older than the city which occupied a double island at a little distance from the shore, and eventually claimed supremacy over it. But insular Tyre was of itself of early foundation, since the great temple of Baal Melkarth, the Phœnician Hêraklês, which rose on the eastern side of the smaller island, was built, as the priests told Herodotos, 2300 years before his time, or about 2750 B.C.; and the name Tyre itself—Tsor in Phœnician—denoted the "rock" on which the insular city stood. When it was visited by the Egyptian Mohar in the time of Ramses II., the water drunk by its inhabitants had all to be conveyed from the mainland in boats. Tsarau or Palætyros, we learn, had been recently burnt. Arvad or Arados was similarly on an island, and held rule over the two cities of the neighbouring coast, Marathos and Karnê. Gebal had originally been built inland, on the northern bank of the Nahr el-Kelb, before its inhabitants migrated to the shore.

Phœnicia was known to the Accadians under the names of Titnum and Martu, the latter of which signified "the path of the setting sun," and was rendered into Semitic by Akharru, "the back" or "western" land. An old geographical tablet makes Khikhi and Lakhi the two divisions of Phœnicia, a word which has been compared with the Fenekh of the Egyptian inscriptions. Cudur-Malug, the Elamite, had sprung from the cities of Martu, though this may mean the West generally and not Phœnicia in particular; and Chedor-laomer had held Palestine under his sway for thirteen years in the age of Abraham. Sargon of Agadé not only set up his image on the shores of the Mediterranean, but even penetrated as far as Kypros, bringing with him the elements of that Babylonian civilisation which spread from Kypros into Asia Minor. Phœnicia itself was equally affected by Chaldean culture, which long dominated over the art of the eastern basin of the Mediterranean.

The Phœnicians, indeed, were an eminently receptive people. Like the rest of their Semitic brethren, they lacked originality, but they were gifted beyond most other races with the power of assimilating and combining, of adapting and improving on their models. Phœnician art derives its origin from Babylonia, from Egypt, and in later times from Assyria; but it knew how to combine together the elements it had received, and to return them, modified and improved, to the countries from which they had been borrowed. The Phœnicians were the most skilful workmen of the ancient world, and the empire of the Euphrates, which had first taught them the art of gem-cutting, of pottery-making, and of dyeing embroidery, was glad to learn in turn from its pupils. Already, in the age of Thothmes III., we see the Phœnicians on the walls of Rekhmara's tomb at Thebes bringing as tribute vases with animals' heads, similar to those found at Rhodes and Hissarlik, and clad in richly-embroidered kilts. But the most precious acquisition of the Phœnicians was the alphabet. This was borrowed by the settlers in Caphtor or the Delta from their Egyptian neighbours in the time of the Middle Empire or the early days of Hyksos dominion,—all the other incumbrances of the Egyptian system of writing being discarded by a people who possessed the practical habits of traders and merchants. It soon found its way to the mother-country, where the Egyptian names of the letters were replaced by native ones, drawn possibly from an older script now termed Hittite, and from the mother-country it was disseminated through the western world.

The Phœnicians were the intermediaries of ancient civilisation. It was they who inaugurated the trade of the West, and their trading voyages carried the art, the culture, and the knowledge they themselves possessed to the other nations of the Mediterranean. Modern research has abundantly confirmed the tradition embodied in the opening page of the history of Herodotos, that the chief elements of early Greek art and civilisation came from Assyria through the hands of the Phœnicians.

But the influence of Phœnicia was exercised differently at different periods in its history. In the early period the influence was indirect. It was brought by solitary traders, who trafficked in slaves, and above all in that purple-fish which formed the staple of Phœnician wealth, and whose voyages were intermittent and private. This was the period of what we may call Babylonian culture. The conquests of the Egyptian monarchs of the eighteenth dynasty forced the trading communities of Phœnicia to pay tribute to the empire of the Nile, or at

times to join in the efforts made to resist its further progress in Palestine; and the result was that Egyptian fashions found their way among them, the sphinx became domesticated on the coast of Keft, and Phœnician art passed into its Egyptianising phase. Meanwhile the population had been increasing along with wealth and prosperity, new regions had been discovered by adventurous voyagers, and experiments in colonisation had been made on the coasts of Kypros and the Delta. The same mountain-chain which had originally forced the inhabitants of Phœnicia to the sea now induced them to relieve the pressure of population by sending out organised colonies to the recently-discovered lands of the west. Commercial marts were accordingly established in favourable positions; Thêra and Mêlos, with their volcanic clay, became centres of Phœnician trade in pottery; the gold mines of Thasos were worked for Phœnician masters by Greek slaves; the temple of Astartê rose on the southern headland of Kythêra; Lesbos was ruled by Makar or Melkarth, the Tyrian god (*Il.* xxiv. 544), and Krêtê by Minos; the three cities of Rhodes were planned by Phœnician architects; Attika received a Phœnician colony; while the Minyans of Orkhomenos found themselves confronted by the Kadmeians or "Easterns" of Thebes; and the isthmus of Korinth itself, the key to the western sea, was held by Phœnician lords. But Greece was not to be the furthest bound of Phœnician colonisation. Settlements were established on the coast of Africa, in Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica, and finally the columns of the Phœnician Hêraklês themselves were cleared, and the son of Phœnix led a colony to Gadeira, "the walled town," at the very limit of the setting sun.

The influence exercised by these colonies upon the still barbarous nations of the west was necessarily profound. The Assyrian character of early Greek art is due to its Phœnician inspiration. The pottery with which the sites of ancient cities like Mykênæ and Orkhomenos, or Kameiros in Rhodes, are strewn, was made by the Phœnician potters of Thêra and Mêlos. Megara, Minoa, Cothôn, the "little" island by the side of Kythêra, are all Phœnician words. The Greek alphabet, as the forms and names of its letters declare, was a Phœnician gift. Tradition ascribes it to Kadmos, "the ancient" or "eastern" of Thebes, the son of Khna or Canaan, or, as other legends affirmed, of Agênor, perhaps a form of Kinyras. His wife, Harmonia, is the Semitic Kharmôn, the "holy" mistress of the *harem;* and the serpent into which he was changed is the γέρων ὄφιων, the Serpent-god of Tyre, whose image is carved on one of the rocks of Thêra. Kad-

mos himself was worshipped not at Thebes only, but at Sparta as well, just as Melikertês or Melkarth remained the deity of the Korinthian isthmus into the historical age. The sacred emblems of the Greek divinities—the myrtle, the pomegranate, and the olive—are plants that the Phœnicians must have brought with them; the rites with which Dêmêtêr Akhæa was worshipped bear a Semitic stamp; and the attributes of the Hellenic Aphroditê are really those of the Assyrian Istar, the Phœnician Astartê. Astartê, too, is Eurôpa, the daughter of Phœnix, brought to the continent to which she was to give a name by the bull-formed Phœnician Baal. The Babylonian prototype of the myth of Aphroditê and Adônis, the Phœnician Adonai, or "lord," has been discovered; so also have the Babylonian Hêraklês and his twelve labours, as recounted in the great Epic of early Chaldea.

Sidon seems to have taken the initiative in sending out the colonists. But it was quickly supplanted by Tyre, which claimed supremacy over the cities of Kypros. Arvad and Zemar, however, seem to be the first Phœnician states mentioned on the Egyptian monuments, if they can be identified with the Arathutu and Zemar, whose territories were ravaged by Thothmes III. in his sixth campaign. Perhaps the land of Son-Tsar, or "the other Tyre," mentioned in an inscription of the reign of Amenophis II., refers to the double city of Tyre; at any rate, insular Tyre was conquered by Seti I. shortly before his death. His son, Ramses II., at the beginning of his reign, carved his likeness, in imitation of Sargon of Agadé, on the rocks at the mouth of the Nahr el-Kelb, and three years later defeated the king of Arvad, with the other allies of the Hittites, in the battle of Kadesh. In the age of David Tyre had become the leading city of Phœnicia. Hiram, the son of Abibaal, was the friend of both David and Solomon, who found an alliance with the wealthy trading community of Tyre at once profitable and honourable. Phœnician culture was introduced among the rude tribes of Israel, and the temple of Jerusalem was built by Phœnician artists, after the model of a Phœnician one. Even the two columns or cones at the entrance, the symbols of the Sun-god, as well as the brazen sea or reservoir, with the twelve solar bulls on which it rested, were reproduced in the Jewish sanctuary. The conquest of Edom had given David the possession of the Gulf of Akaba, and Tyrian commerce was accordingly able to sail down the Red Sea, hitherto the monopoly of the Egyptians, and find its way to Ophir or Abhîra, at the mouths of the Indus. The name given to the peacocks brought from thence shows that the Dravidian race then

extended thus far north. Insular Tyre was enlarged and strongly fortified, and the temples of Melkarth and Astartê beautified and restored. After a reign of thirty-four years, Hiram died at the age of fifty-three. His grandson, Abd-Astoreth, was murdered by the sons of his nurse, the eldest of whom usurped the throne for twelve years. For a while the legitimate dynasty returned to power, but Phelês, a brother of Abd-Astoreth, was put to death by Ethbaal, the priest of Astartê, and with him the line of Hiram came to an end. Ethbaal had a long and prosperous reign of thirty two years. His daughter Jezebel married the king of Israel, and attempted to break down the barrier of religion which separated that country from Phœnicia. Sidon was made subject to the Tyrian sway, and Auza was founded in the interior of Africa, south of the ancient colony of Itykê. But the first cloud of danger had already appeared on the horizon. Since the time of Assur-bil-kala, the son of Tiglath-Pileser I., the name of Assyria had not been heard in the west; now, however, Assur-natsir-pal marched into the fastnesses of Lebanon, and in B.C. 870, the kings of Tyre, Sidon, Gebal, and Arvad offered tribute. Arvad, indeed, almost more intimately connected with Syria than the other states further south, took part in the battle of Aroer against Shalmaneser in B.C. 854. The great-grandson of Ethbaal was Pygmalion, whose sovereignty in Kypros caused his name to become familiar in Greek story. Seven years after his accession, at the age of sixteen, he murdered the regent, his uncle, Sichar-baal, a name corrupted into Akerbas and Sichæus by classical writers. His sister Elissa, the wife of Sichar-baal, fled with other opponents of the new king, and found a home on the coast of Africa, not far from the old Phœnician settlement of Itykê or Utica. The site they chose was named *Kartha khadasha*, "the new city," a name which has become famous under the form of Carthage. Legends soon gathered round the foundress of the city. She was identified with Dido, the title under which Astartê was worshipped as the consort of the fierce and cruel Moloch; while Anna, "the gracious," the name of Astartê as the giver of life and blessing, was made into her sister. Even the Bosrâh or "citadel" of the new state, where a temple rose to Eshmun, was identified with the Greek *βύρσα*, a "hide," and gave birth to the myth which told how Iarbas, the Lybian prince, had been cheated of his land by the ox-hide for which he sold it being cut into strips. Carthage was destined to take the place of Tyre as the mistress of the commerce of the western seas, when the mother city had been ruined by Assyria. Pygmalion's reign lasted for forty-seven

years, almost down to the period when Tyre and Sidon paid tribute to Rimmon-nirari III. When next we hear of Tyre it is under Hiram II., who sent tribute to Tiglath-Pileser II. at Arpad in B.C. 743, and is possibly the King Hiram mentioned on an ancient broken bronze vase found in Cyprus, and deciphered by M. Clermont-Ganneau. His successor, Matgenos II. (Metenna), revolted against Assyria, and was punished by a fine of 150 talents in B.C. 731. On his death, the Zidonian prince, Elulæus or Luli, was raised to the Tyrian throne. Hardly was he seated on it when the Assyrian monarch Shalmaneser invaded Phœnicia, and closely besieged Tyre. Sidon, Acre, and Palætyros submitted to the invader, but the Assyrian fleet of sixty vessels was utterly destroyed by the besieged. Tyre did not capitulate till after the accession of Sargon, who was obliged to grant it easy terms. Sidon was soon afterwards compelled to return to its former allegiance. In 701 B.C., however, Sennacherib captured both the Greater and Lesser Sidon, as well as Sarepta, Achzib, and Acre; and though he was unable to take Tyre, Elulæus fled to Kypros, possibly to obtain help. Tubaal or Ethbaal was made king of Sidon, and for a while Sidon became the leading state in Phœnicia. It is to this period of Sidonian supremacy that the early traditions of historical Greece looked back, and in the Homeric poems the Sidonians, and not the Tyrians, are the representatives of Phœnicia. The Greeks of Kypros from this time forward know only of Sidon, not of Tyre. But the supremacy of Sidon was short-lived. Abd-Melkarth, its king, was misguided enough to ally himself with Sandon-arri of Kilikia, and refuse the homage due to Esar-haddon. Sidon was captured and razed, its prince beheaded, and a new Zidon built, and stocked with the inhabitants of the old one. The tide of commerce now flowed again into Tyre, and though under Baal I. it joined the Egyptian revolt against Assyria towards the close of Esar-haddon's reign, it was strong enough to defy all attempts to take it, and Assur-bani-pal was glad to receive its submission on the easy condition of adding the daughters and nieces of its monarch to the harem at Nineveh. When Tyre again saw an enemy before its walls, it was the Chaldean army under Nebuchadrezzar. But the founder of the Babylonian empire was no more successful than Assur-bani-pal had been, though he joined the island to the mainland by a mole. After a siege of thirteen years, he consented to treat with the Tyrian king, Ethbaal (B.C. 674), and was thus left free to turn his arms against Egypt. On the death of Ethbaal's successor royalty was abolished for a time, and

the Tyrians elected Sufetes or Judges; but in 557 B.C. the old line of kings was again established in the person of Baletor. The conquest of Kypros by Amasis seems to have induced the Phœnicians to recognise the hegemony of Egypt, but with the rise of the Persian empire they passed over to the new power. The Persians, however, who depended on Phœnicia for a fleet, allowed the Phœnician states to be still governed by their own kings, one of whom, Eshmunezer II., the son of Tabnith or Tennês, tells us on his sarcophagus that he ruled for fourteen years as "king of the Sidonians," and had built temples to Baal, Astoreth, and Eshmun, and been lord of the rich cornfields of Dor and Jaffa. The maritime experience of the Phœnicians made them indispensable to their Persian masters, and when they refused to attack Carthage, Kambyses was able neither to accomplish his expedition against that city, nor to punish his refractory subjects. Their commercial empire, however, had long since departed. The Dorians had driven them from their possessions in the Greek waters, Ionic sailors and colonists had followed them to the Pillars of Hêraklês, the Etruscans had occupied their ports in the Tyrrhene Sea, and Assyria had ruined them at home. Their power passed to Carthage, which in time avenged them upon the Greeks. Sicily and Sardinia once more became Semitic, the Hellenic states in the former island with difficulty maintaining their ground against the admirals of Carthage; while the northern coast of Africa was rendered tributary, and a Carthaginian empire erected in Spain. But while the old strength and spirit of Phœnicia thus revived in its African colony, the last stronghold of native independence fell before the Greek conqueror Alexander. Tyre was besieged by the army that had just overthrown the Persians at Issos; the mole made by Nebuchadrezzar—and still to be seen on the sandy flat which marks the ancient sea-bed between Palætyros and insular Tyre—was reconstructed, and in July B.C. 332 the city, which had defied Assyrian, Babylonian, and Persian, at last fell. Thirty thousand of its citizens were sold into slavery, thousands of others were massacred or crucified, and the wealth of the richest and most luxurious city of the world became the prey of an exasperated army. Its trade was inherited by its neighbour Sidon.

Religion and Mythology.—Phœnician religion was typically Semitic. It centred in the worship of the Sun-god, adored now as the beneficent giver of light and life, now as the stern god of fire and summer heat, who must be appeased by human sacrifice. Each aspect of the Sun-god had its own name, and became a separate divinity. By the side

of each stood its reflection and double, that female power presupposed by all the operations of nature, as well as by the Semitic languages themselves, with their distinction between masculine and feminine. Baal, "the lord," therefore, must have his consort Baalath, "lady." But just as Baal was the common title given to the masculine deity in all his forms, so it was rather Ashtoreth than Baalath which was the common title given to the female deity—a title originally derived from an Accadian source. Ashtoreth was also identified with the moon, the pale consort of the diurnal sun, and, under the name of Astartê, was known to the Greeks as the goddess "with the crescent horns, to whose bright image nightly by the moon Sidonian maidens paid their vows and songs." Greek mythology, too, knew her as Iô and Eurôpa, and she was fitly symbolised by the cow whose horns resemble the supine lunar crescent as seen in the south. But it was as the female power of generation—as pale reflections of the Sun-god—that the manifold goddesses of the popular cult were included among the Ashtaroth or "Ashtoreths" by the side of the Baalim or "Baals." Ashtoreth must be carefully distinguished from Ashêrah, the goddess of fertility, symbolised by the *ashêrim*, "upright" cones of stone, or bare tree-stems, which stood at the entrance of a Phœnician temple. Ashêrah was more particularly adored among the Canaanites of the south.

Baal Samêm, "the lord of heaven," called Agênor by the Greeks, was the supreme Baal of Phœnicia. But it was rather to Baal as the fierce and cruel Moloch or Milcom, "the king," that worship was specially paid. Moloch demanded the best and dearest that the worshipper could grant him, and the parent was required to offer his eldest or only son as a sacrifice, while the victim's cries were drowned by the noise of drums and flutes. When Agathoklês defeated the Carthaginians, the noblest of the citizens offered in expiation 300 of their children to Baal-Moloch. In later times a ram (or hart) was substituted for the human offering, as we learn from the Phœnician tariffs of sacrifices found at Marseilles and Carthage. The priests scourged themselves or gashed their arms and breasts to win the favour of the god, and similar horrors were perpetrated in the name of Ashtoreth. To her, too, boys and maidens were burned, and young men made themselves eunuchs in her honour.

The two aspects of the Sun-god, the baneful and the beneficent, were united in Baal-Melkarth, "the king of the city," the patron god of Tyre. Melkarth, Græcised into Melikertês and Makar, is a sure sign of Tyrian presence, and his temple at Tyre, where he was invoked as Baal

Tsur, was the oldest building of the city. In his passage through the year Melkarth endured all those trials and adventures which Chaldean poets had told of their great solar hero, and which, under Phœnician tuition, the Greeks subsequently ascribed to their own Hêraklês. Hêraklês, in fact, is but the Tyrian Melkarth in a Greek dress, and the two pillars of rocks which guarded the approach to the ocean the Phœnicians had discovered in the west were rightly termed the columns of Hêraklês. The temples of Melkarth were said to have been without images, and no women, dogs, or swine were allowed within them. The fire that symbolised him burnt perpetually on his altar, and, under the form of Baal-Khammam, the Ammon of the African Oasis, whom the Greeks confounded with the Egyptian Amun, he was worshipped as the great deity of solar heat which at once creates and destroys. At Carthagè the goddess Tanith was his "face" or female reflection.

In early times the Sun-god was invoked as El, "god," or "exalted one,"[1] and El accordingly became a separate divinity. As El Shaddai he was the thunderer, as El Elyon "the most high god," of whom Melchizedek was priest. The rationalising mythology of a later day told how El, the Kronos of Greece, was the founder of Gebal, the first of Phœnician cities; how, armed with iron sickle and lance, he had driven his father Uranos (Baal-samêm) from the throne; how, in the thirty-second year of his reign, he had fertilised the streams by mutilating his sire; how he had thrown his brother Atlas (Atel, "the darkness") into the nether abyss; and how in the time of plague he had burnt his "only" son, Yeud, on the altar of Uranos, and circumcised himself and his companions. Yeud (or 'Ekhad) means "the only one," like the Accadian Dumuzi or Tammuz, whose name and worship had been carried to Gebal by the first Phœnician settlers. Under the title of Adônis (Adonai), "master," he was lamented by the women of Byblos in the month of July, when the Nâhr Ibrahim runs red with the earth washed down from the mountains.

The rivers themselves were worshipped, and, addressed as Baal, were merged into the Sun-god. Thus the Tamyras was adored as Baal-Tamar, called by Philo Zeus Dêmarûs, the son of Uranos, who ruled over Phœnicia in the days of El along with Astartê and Adôdos or Hadad, "the king of the gods." The mountains, too, were Baalim, the worship of the Sun-god on a mountain-peak being transferred to the

[1] As Delitzsch has pointed out, *el* is of Accadian origin, and is not connected with the Semitic root meaning "to be strong."

peak itself. On the two mounts Kasios, southward of Antioch, and again to the north of the Sirbonian lake on the African coast, rose the temples of Baal-Zephon, "Baal of the north;" elsewhere we find Baal-Gad, "Baal of good luck," Baal Meon, Baal Hazor, Baal Perazim, Baal-Peor. Peniel, "the face of El," was a mountain deity, and according to Philo, the fourth divine generation consisted of the giants Kasios, Lebanon, and Hermon, after whom the mountains were named. But the titles and forms under which Baal was adored were not yet exhausted. Sometimes he was known as Baal-Shemesh, "the sun," sometimes as Baal-Zebub, the oracle god of "flies," the sun being imaged as a huge fly; at other times he was invoked by names as manifold as the local cults and individual caprices of the Canaanitish race. But the fact that it was everywhere the same deity, the same force of Nature, that was worshipped, caused the popular polytheism to tend towards monotheism; the Baalim tended to become Baal, symbolised by a gilded bull.

There were, indeed, other dignities recognised by the Phœnicians besides the Baalim and Ashtaroth, of whom, however, we know but little. Among these may be mentioned the Kabeiri, the makers of the world, the founders of civilisation, and the inventors of ships and medicine. They were represented as dwarfs, the Greek word for which, πυγμαῖοι, was confounded with the name of the Phœnician god Pugm. The most famous of the Kabeiri was Eshmun, "the eighth," identified by the Greeks with their Asklêpios, who carried snakes in his hands, and was restored to life by Astronoê or Astoreth Na'amah, after he had mutilated himself to escape her love. The Kabeiri were originally the seven planets, and M. J. Darmesteter has tried to show[1] that they are on the one side the "sons of God" of Genesis, and on the other the husbands of the Lemnian women, slain, according to the Greek story, by their wives. It is needless to mention other Phœnician deities, such as Sikkun and Mut, "death," of whom we know hardly more than the names.

The character of Phœnician religion and of the people who held it was at once impure and cruel. It reflected the sensualism of nature. Intoxicated with the frenzy of nature-worship under the burning sky of the east, the Canaanite destroyed his children, maimed himself, or became the victim of consecrated lust. Men and women sought to win the favour of heaven by sodomy and prostitution, and every

[1] *Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique de Paris*, IV. 2 (1880).

woman had to begin life by public prostitution in the temple of Astartê. This practice, indeed, was brought from Babylonia, along with the sacrifice of the first-born by fire; but though we may ascribe the origin of the latter to the Accadians,—an Accadian text stating expressly that sin may be expiated by the vicarious sacrifice of the eldest son,—the immorality performed in the name of religion was the invention of the Semitic race itself.

Up to the last, customs that had originated in a primitive period of Semitic belief survived in Phœnician religion. Stones, more especially aerolites, as well as trees, were accounted sacred. The stones, after being consecrated by a libation of oil, were called Βαίτυλοι, or Beth-els, "habitations of God," and regarded as filled with the indwelling presence of the Deity. The Caaba at Mecca is a curious relic of this old Semitic superstition, which is alluded to in the Gisdhubar Epic of Chaldea, and may have suggested the metaphor of a rock applied to the Deity in Hebrew poetry. Prof. Robertson Smith, again, has pointed out that numerous traces of an early totemism lasted down into the historical period of the Semitic race, more especially among the ruder nomad tribes of Arabia. Tribes were named each after its peculiar totem,—an animal, plant, or heavenly body,—which was worshipped by it and regarded as its protecting divinity. The division between clean and unclean animals arose out of this ancient totemism, the totem of a tribe being forbidden to it as food, or eaten only sacramentally. Exogamy and polyandry almost invariably accompany totemism, and it is not surprising, therefore, to find clear traces of both among the Semites. The member of one tribe was required to marry into another. Hence the same family with the same totem might exist in different tribes, and the ties of the totem-relation were stronger than those of blood. David, for instance, belonged to the serpent-family, as is shown by the name of his ancestor Nahshon, and Prof. Smith suggests that the brazen serpent found by Hezekiah in the Solomonic temple was the symbol of it. We find David and the family of Nahash, or "the serpent," the king of Ammon, on friendly terms even after the deadly war between Israel and Ammon that had resulted in the conquest and decimation of the latter.

One result of the absorbing Baal-worship of Phœnicia, and the tendency to monotheism it produced, was the rationalising of the old myths which took place in the Greek period. Euhêmeros had his predecessors in Phœnicia; in fact, it was from Phœnicia that he

probably derived the principles of his system. In the pages of Philo Byblios the gods became men, and the symbolic legends told of them are changed into human actions. At the same time, with the syncretic spirit of Phœnician art, the gods and myths of Syria, of Egypt, and of Greece, are all fused together along with those of Phœnicia itself. Two systems of cosmogony are quoted from him, one of which probably belongs to the school of Byblos, the other to that of Tyre. According to one of these, the wind or breath (Kolpia) brooded over the original chaos (Baau, *bohu;* Assyrian, Bahu), and produced first Desire and then Môt, the watery element which underlies all things. Môt, in the form of an egg, generated the universe. Then came the first men, Æôn and Protogenos. Their offspring were Genos (Cain) and Genea, who dwelt in Phœnicia and worshipped Baal-Samêm. Next followed Phôs, Pyr, and Phlox, the discoverers of fire; the giants Kasios, Libanos, Anti-libanos, and Hermon; and finally Samim-rum, "the most high," and Usôos (Esau). Samim-rum lived in Tyre, where he built huts and fought with Usôos, the inventor of ships and clothing made of the skins of wild beasts, who gave his name to the city Hosah. Among their descendants were Khusôr, the first worker in iron, and his brother Meilikhios, the discoverer of fish-hooks, who together invented the art of brickmaking. Afterwards came the husbandman Agrotês, Sydyk "the righteous," the father of the Kabeiri, and Uranos and Gê, the children of Elyon and Bêrytos. One of the sons of the latter was Dagon, the corn-god, and Astartê was his sister. El, the son of Uranos, gave Byblos to Beltis, Bêrytos to the sea-god, the Kabeiri, and the descendants of Agrotês and Halieus; while Egypt fell to Taautos, the Egyptian Thoth.

Art, Science, and Literature.—Phœnician art, as has been stated, was essentially catholic. It assimilated and combined the art of Babylonia, of Egypt, and of Assyria, superadding, perhaps, something of its own, and improving at the same time upon its models. It borrowed the rosette and palm-leaf from Babylonia, the sphinx from Egypt, the cherub from Assyria, but gave to each a form and spirit of its own. Its gem-cutters came to excel those of Chaldea, its artists in bronze and stone those of Assyria, while the sarcophagus of Eshmunezer aims at rivalling the massive coffins of Egypt. Its decorative art as well as the plan of its temples can best be learned from the construction and ornamentation of Solomon's temple at Jerusalem. The carved gems and ivories and bronze bowls found at Nineveh, or the treasure discovered at Palestrina, the ancient Præneste, are examples of

Phœnician workmanship. Everywhere we have the same combination of Assyrian and Egyptian elements, of scenes copied now from Egyptian paintings, now from Assyrian bas-reliefs, sometimes mingled together, sometimes divided into separate zones. If we may listen to M. Clermont-Ganneau, the central medallion of the sculptured bowls gave the first idea of money; at any rate, we know that the bronze vessels of Phœnicia were frequently broken up for the purposes of exchange.

In the early art of Greece, and above all in the art of Kypros, we may trace the outlines and spirit of the art of Phœnicia. We shall see hereafter, however, that Phœnician art was but one element in the art of primitive Greece, though it was the most important one; the other element being the art long supposed to be peculiar to Asia Minor, but now traceable to the Hittites. But this element was naturally weaker on the Grecian mainland, which owed even its alphabet to the Phœnicians, than in the islands. A bronze plate like that recently found at Olympia, the lowest compartment of which is occupied by a figure of the winged Astartê, or the pottery of Mykenæ and other prehistoric sites, are the products of Phœnician rather than of Hellenic skill. The so-called Korinthian or Phœniko-Greek vases, with their quaint animal forms and Babylonian rosettes, belong to that transition period when Phœnician art was passing into Greek. The patterns upon them owe their inspiration to the embroidered dresses for which Thêra was long famous. The earliest attempts at statuary in Greece are Assyro-Phœnician, as may be seen from the statues discovered by General di Cesnola at Golgoi in Kypros, or the sitting figures disentombed by Mr. Newton at Brankhidæ; and it seems difficult to believe that the genius of Athens so soon transformed these stiff models of the Orient into the marvellous creations of a Pheidias or a Praxitelês. But the art of Homer is still Phœnician in character; the shield of Akhillês might have been wrought by one of the artists who have left us the bronze bowls of Nineveh.

In science Phœnicia inherited the discoveries and inventions of its neighbours. Glass, according to Pliny, had been an invention of the Phœnicians, but it was known to the Egyptians long before the Phœnicians had emerged from their primitive barbarism.[1] In the art of navigation, however, the Phœnicians no doubt made an independent advance. The *gaulos*, with its high rounded prow and stern, the fifty-oar galley, and "the ship of Tarshish," or merchantman, were the

[1] The earliest dated specimen of Egyptian glass bears the name of Antef III., of the eleventh dynasty.

oldest of their vessels, and the Byblians were held to be the best ship-builders, the men of Sidon and Arvad being the best rowers. It was at Carthage that a ship with more than three banks of oars was first built, and its pilots steered by the pole-star, not like the Greeks by the Great Bear. The Phœnician galley seems to have been the model of the Greek one. As for medicine, a Phœnician of Gebal was one of the most famous of oculists in the time of the eighteenth dynasty, and even the Egyptian doctors did not disdain to make use of his receipts. The renown of the Phœnicians as builders and carpenters implies their knowledge of mechanics and the use of the lever and pulley.

But their buildings have mostly perished, and so, too, has their literature. All that we possess are the scanty quotations, chiefly by Josephos, from the history of Tyre by Dios and Mênander of Ephesos, who seem to have derived it from the native annals; references to Mokhos, Moskhos, or Okhos, who wrote on Phœnician history, and is made by Strabo, on the authority of Poseidonios, to have lived before the Trojan War, and started the atomic theory; and, above all, the fragments of Philo Byblius, who flourished in the second century B.C. and professed to have translated into Greek older works by Sanchuniathon and others on Phœnician history and religion. Sanchuniathon (Sikkun-yitten) is said to have been one of a series of hierophants, among whom Thabion and Isiris may be named, and to have lived, like Mokhos, before the war of Troy. His works were based on the archives preserved in the temples, a book composed by Hierombaal or Jerubbaal in the days of Abelbaal, king of Berytos, and the sacred scriptures of Taautos and Eshmun. If, however, Sanchuniathon had any real existence, he must have written but shortly before the time of Philo himself, since the cosmogony and theology of the latter is wholly the product of a syncretic and rationalising age. The works of Mokhos, as well as two other Phœnician writers, Hyksikratês and Theodotos (? Sanchuniathon), are said to have been translated into Greek by a certain Khaitos. It may be added that the Carthaginian general Mago was the author of twenty-eight books on agriculture, turned into Greek by Dionysios of Utica, and into Latin by Silanus; and Hanno of an account of his voyage along the west coast of Africa, in the course of which he fell in with a "savage people" called gorillas.

Government and Trade.—The government of the several states was a monarchy tempered by an oligarchy of wealth. The king seems to have been but the first among a body of ruling merchant princes and still more powerful and wealthy chiefs. In time the monarchy disap-

peared altogether, its place being supplied by suffetes or "judges," whose term of office lasted sometimes for a year, sometimes for more, sometimes even for life. At Carthage the suffetes were two in number, who were merely presidents of the senate of thirty. The power of the senate was subsequently checked by the creation of a board of one hundred and four chosen by self-electing committees of five, to whom the judges, senate, and generals were alike accountable. By providing that no member of the board should hold office for two years running, Hannibal changed the government into a democracy. The colonies of Phœnicia were permitted to manage their own affairs so long as they paid tribute and supplied ships and soldiers to the mother city, though their inhabitants were allowed no rights or privileges in Phœnicia itself. Many of them, however, were wholly independent, governed by their own kings, and benefiting Phœnicia only in the way of trade.

The cities of Phœnicia were, in fact, the first trading communities the world had seen. Their power and wealth, and even their existence, depended on commerce. Their colonies were originally mere marts, and their voyages of discovery were undertaken in the interests of trade. The tin of Britain, the silver of Spain, the birds of the Canaries, the frankincense of Arabia, the pearls and ivories of India, all flowed into their harbours. But the purple trade was the staple of their industry. It was by the help of the murex or purple-fish that they had first become prosperous, and when the coasts of Palestine could no longer supply sufficient purple for the demands of the world, they made their way in search of it to the coasts of Greece, of Sicily, and of Africa. The purple manufactories of Tyre must always have spoilt a traveller's enjoyment of the place. Slaves, too, formed part of Phœnician traffic from the earliest times, as also did pottery. The copper of Kypros was no doubt their attraction to that island, and, mixed with the tin of Britain and the Caucasus, it became the bronze for which they were famous. In mining they excelled, and the gold mines of Thasos, where, according to Herodotos, they had "overturned a whole mountain," were worked before the thirteenth century B.C. Their woven and embroidered garments, dyed crimson and violet, were sent all over the civilised world. The weights and measures they used were borrowed from Babylonia, and passed over to Greece along with the ancient Accadian name of the *mina* or maund.[1] At Carthage we

[1] Accadian *mana*.

hear of loans made from foreign states, and, along with bars of gold and silver, even of a token-money, like our bank-notes, which had no intrinsic value of its own. The revenues were derived chiefly from the customs, and were largely expended upon the mercenaries, who formed the bulk of the army. The citizens themselves preferred to serve on ship-board.

IV.

LYDIA.

LYDIA is the link that binds together the geography and history of Asia and Europe. It occupied the western extremity of that great peninsula of Asia Minor, 750 miles in length and 400 in breadth, which runs out from the mountains of Armenia and divides the nations of the north from the happier inhabitants of a southern clime. The broad plains of the Hermos and Kayster, in which the Lydian monarchy grew up, are the richest in Asia Minor, and the mountain chains by which they are girdled, while sufficiently high to protect them, form cool and bracing sites for cities, and are rich in minerals of various kinds. The bays of Smyrna and Ephesos formed incomparable harbours; here the products of the inland could be safely shipped and carried past the bridge of islands which spans the Ægean to the nations of the West. Asia Minor, naturally the richest of countries and blessed with an almost infinite diversity of climates, finds, as it were, in the ancient territory of Lydia the summing-up of its manifold perfections and characteristics. Rightly, therefore, did the loamy plain of the Kayster give its name of Asian [1] to the rest of the peninsula of which it formed the apex. This peninsula is cut in two by the Halys, which flows from that part of the Taurus range—the western spur of the Armenian mountains—which overlooks the eastern basin of the Mediterranean and forms the background of Kilikia. This geographical division had an influence on the ethnology of the country. As Asia Minor was but a prolongation of Armenia, so too, originally, its population was the same as that which in prehistoric days inhabited the Armenian plateau. From hence it spread westward and southward, down the slopes of the mountains, under the various names of Hittites, Moschi and Tibareni, Komagenians, Kappadokians, and the

[1] *Il.* ii. 461.

like. We may term it Proto-Armenian, and see in the Georgians its modern representatives, though doubtless the Circassians and other half-extinct races, which, before the Russian conquest, found a refuge in the fastnesses of the Caucasus, once had their share in populating the neighbouring regions. But a time came when Aryan tribes forced their way along the northern shore of the Caspian, across the Ural mountains, and into the plains of Southern Russia and Central Germany, and when some of them penetrated yet further into the lands afterwards known as Thrakê and Greece. From Thrakê they sailed across the Hellespont, and one tribe at least, the Briges or "Free-men," occupied so large a tract of country as to give their name to Phrygia. Other tribes found their way across the Ægean from Greece itself, and under the general title of Ionians or "emigrants" established themselves on the more accessible parts of the western coast of Asia Minor, where they were joined in the later days of the Dorian conquest by other emigrants from their old home. The older settlers intermarried with the native population and formed in many districts a mixed race. If we might argue from language alone, we should infer that the Phrygians, Mysians, and Lydians were not only Aryans, but more closely allied to the Hellenic stock than any other members of the Aryan family, the Lykians and possibly the Karians alone belonging to the old population. But language can prove no more than social contact; it can give us but little clue to the race of the speakers; and other facts go to show that the Phrygians alone could claim a fairly pure Aryan ancestry, the Mysians and Lydians being essentially mixed. But the Aryans never passed eastward of the Halys; the Assyrian inscriptions make it clear that as late as the seventh century B.C. a non-Aryan population still held the country between that river and Media. It was only when the stream of emigration had brought the Aryan Medes into Media, and the Aryan Persians into Elam, that Aryans also forced their way into Armenia, changed the Zimri of the Assyrian inscriptions into Aryan Kurds, and planted the colony of the Iron or Ossetes in the Caucasus itself.

The Proto-Armenian race has left memorials of itself in the monuments and inscriptions of Lake Van and its neighbourhood. In the ninth century B.C. it borrowed the characters of the Assyrian syllabary, selecting those only which were needed to express the sounds of its language; and the line of monarchs that then ruled at Dhuspas, the modern Van, showed themselves to be able administrators and good generals. Menuas, Argistis, and Sar-duris II., all added to the king-

dom, and brought the barbarous tribes of the north and east under their more civilised domination. The gods they worshipped were numerous: Khaldis the supreme god, Teisbas the air-god, Ardinis the sun-god, and Selardis the moon-god, standing at the head. There were, in fact, as many Khaldises as there were local cults; and an inscription of Isbuinis, the father of Menuas, distinguishes four of them by name. The dress of the people consisted of a long fringed robe which reached to the ankles, or of a short tunic resembling that worn by the Greeks, over which an embroidered cloak was sometimes thrown. The short tunic was worn by the soldiers, whose helmets so closely resemble those of the Greeks as to confirm the statement of Herodotos (i. 171) that the Greeks derived the crests that adorned them from the Karians. A short dirk was slung in the belt, and the hands were armed with a small round shield and a long spear. The most peculiar part of the dress, however, were the boots with the ends turned up, such as are still worn by the mountaineers of Asia Minor and Greece. They indicate the cold and hilly region in which their inventors lived. The head was covered sometimes by a close-fitting cap, sometimes by a lofty tiara, sometimes by the Phrygian cap; and the double-headed axe which characterised the aboriginal populations of Asia Minor, and gave a name to Zeus Labrandeus, "Zeus with the double-headed axe," worshipped in Karia, was also used by them. The language of the Vannic inscriptions, as they are termed, may, like Georgian, be called inflectional, though it is neither Aryan nor Semitic. The language revealed by the bilingual inscriptions of Lykia is of the same character.

The most important branch of the Proto-Armenian race were the Hittites, who established themselves in the heart of the Semitic territory, and founded an empire which contended on equal terms with Egypt, and once extended its sway as far as the Ægean. Its two capitals were Kadesh, on an island in the Orontes, and Carchemish, now Jerablûs, the classical Hierapolis, on the Euphrates, about sixteen miles south of Birejik. A Hittite tribe even succeeded in settling in the south of Palestine, in the neighbourhood of Hebron, which, like Jerusalem, would have been a Hittite foundation if Mariette is right in making the leaders of the Hyksos dynasties Hittites. But the Semites gradually managed to push the Hittites to the north, whence they had come. Kadesh, the southern capital, fell into Syrian hands, and before the reign of Solomon Hamath also had ceased to belong to them. As late, however, as the eighth century B.C. the allied tribe of Patinians extended from the gulf of Antioch to Aleppo, where the territory of the

Hittite princes of Carchemish and Pethor (at the junction of the Sajur and Euphrates) commenced.[1] But the Patinians were conquered by Tiglath-Pileser II., and the fall of Carchemish in B.C. 717, when Sargon put its last king, Pisiris, to death and made it the seat of an Assyrian satrap, marked the final victory of the Semitic race. The Hittite empire, while it lasted, had done much for civilisation. The Hittites invented a system of hieroglyphic writing, suggested doubtless by that of Egypt, and the art developed at Carchemish was a peculiar combination and modification of early Babylonian and Egyptian, in which, however, the Babylonian elements much preponderated. This art, along with the accompanying culture and writing, was carried by them into Asia Minor, which they overran and subdued. They have left memorials of their empire there in the sculptures of Boghaz Keui and Eyuk in Kappadokia, of Ivrîs in Lykaonia, of Ghiaur Kalessi in Phrygia, and of Karabel and "the Niobê" of Sipylos in Lydia. The two figures at Karabel which Herodotos, after his visit to Egypt, imagined to be those of Sesostris, were really those of the bitterest enemies of Egypt, and the hieroglyphics which accompanied them were the hieroglyphics, not of Thebes, but of Carchemish. The monuments were erected as sign-posts to the travellers through the pass, and as witnesses that the power which carved them was mistress of Ephesos, of Smyrna, and of Sardes.

The date of this westward extension of the Hittite empire may be fixed from the fifteenth to the thirteenth centuries B.C. Though the Hittites are mentioned in the work on Babylonian astronomy compiled for Sargon of Agadé, they are unknown to the Egyptian monuments till the reign of Thothmes III. In the time of Ramses II. they are able to summon to their aid not only the Kolkhians, but also the Masu or Mysians and the Dardani of the Troad, with their towns, Iluna or Ilion and Pidasa or Pedasus, showing that at that period their power in the extreme west was unimpaired. But it seems to have decayed soon afterwards, though, according to Tiglath-Pileser I. (B.C. 1130), the Hittites in his time still held possession of Semitic Syria, garrisoning it with Kolkhian soldiers. The legend reported by Herodotos which makes the founder of the Herakleid dynasty of Lydia the son of Ninos, and grandson of Belos, may possibly be an echo of the fact that Carchemish was called *Ninus Vetus*, "the old Nineveh"

[1] The district occupied by the Patinians is called in the Egyptian Inscriptions the land of Nahraina or "the two rivers," from which Kirgipa, the daughter of King Satarona, was brought as a gift to Thi, the wife of Amenophis III.

(Amm. Marcell. xiv. 8; Diod. ii. 3, 7), and that its culture had come from the land of Bel. At all events, the Hêraklês or Sandon who wedded Omphalê, the daughter of Iardanos, and from whom the dynasty derived its name, is the Babylonian sun-god, as modified by Hittite belief, Omphalê being perhaps the Hittite name of the Asiatic goddess.[1]

There were other legends which connected Lydia with the Euphrates; and these were supposed to point to an Assyrian conquest of the country before the Assyrian inscriptions themselves had told us that the Assyrians never passed westward of the Halys, much less knew the name of Lydia, until the age of Assur-bani-pal. The art and culture, the deities and rites, which Lydia owed to Babylonia were brought by the hands of the Hittites, and bore upon them a Hittite stamp. It is with the Hittite period, so strangely recovered but the other day, that Lydian history begins. The legends of an earlier epoch given by the native historian Xanthos, according to the fragments of Nikolas of Damascus, are mere myths and fables. The first Lydian dynasty of Atyads was headed by Attys and the moon-god Manes or Mên, and included geographical personages like Lydos, Asios, and Mêlês, or such heroes of folklore as Kamblêtês, who devoured his wife, and Tylôn, the son of Omphalê, who was bitten by a snake, but restored to life by a marvellous herb. Here and there we come across faint reminiscences of the Hittite supremacy and the struggle which ended in its overthrow; Akiamos, the successor of the good king Alkimos, sent Askalos or Kayster, the brother of Tantalos, to conquer Syria; and Moxos (or Mopsos) marched into the same region, where he took Atargatis, the goddess of Carchemish, captive, and threw her into the sacred lake. It is probable that the Herakleidæ were at the outset the Hittite satraps of Sardes, whose power increased as that of the distant empire declined, and who finally made themselves independent rulers of the Lydian plain. According to Herodotos, Agrôn, called Agelaos by Apollodorus, Kleodaios or Lamos by Diodôros, was the first of the Herakleids, whose rule lasted for 505 years. Xanthos, however, was doubtless more correct in making Sadyattês and Lixos the successors of

[1] According to Eusebios, Sardes was first captured by Kimmerian invaders three centuries before the first Olympiad (B.C. 1078). This seems to embody a tradition of the invasion of the Hittites, who came from the same locality as did the Kimmerians in later days. When Strabo says that Lygdamis with a horde of Kimmerians made his way to Lydia and conquered Sardes, though he himself remained in Kilikia, it is possible that the Hittite conquest is also referred to.

Tylôn, the son of Omphalê. The dynasty ended with Kandaulês, the twenty-second prince. Gygês, called Gugu in the Assyrian inscriptions, Gog in the Old Testament, who seems to have been of Karian descent, put him to death, and established the dynasty of the Mermnadæ about B.C. 690.[1] Gygês extended the Lydian dominion as far as the Hellespont, though he was unsuccessful in his attempt to capture the Ionic port of Old Smyrna. Towards the middle of his reign, however, Lydia was overrun by the Kimmerians, the Gimirrai of the Assyrian texts, the Gomer of the Old Testament, who had been driven from their ancient seats on the sea of Azof by an invasion of Skythians, and thrown upon Asia Minor by the defeat they suffered at the hands of Esar-haddon on the northern frontier of the Assyrian empire. The Greek colony of Sinôpê was sacked, and the fame of the barbarian hordes penetrated to Hellenic lands, where the redactor of the Odyssey, the Homer whom Theopompos and Euphoriôn make a contemporary of Gygês, spoke of them[2] as still in the misty region of the eastern Euxine. The lower town of Sardes itself was taken by the Kimmerians, who were mentioned by Kallinos, the Greek poet of Ephesos; and Gygês in his extremity turned to the power which alone had been able to inflict defeat on the barbarian hordes. Accordingly an embassy was sent to Assur-bani-pal; Lydia consented to become the tributary of Assyria, and presents were made to the great king, including two Kimmerian chieftains whom Gygês had captured with his own hand. It was some time before an interpreter could be found for the ambassadors. The danger passed, and the Lydian king shook off his allegiance, aiding Egypt to do the same. But Assyria was soon avenged. Once more the Kimmerians appeared before Sardes, Gygês was slain and beheaded in battle after a reign of thirty-eight years, and his son Ardys II. again submitted to be the vassal of Sardanapallos. Upon this occasion Sardes seems to have fallen a second time into the hands of its enemies, an event alluded to by Kallisthenês. Alyattês III., the grandson of Ardys, finally succeeded in extirpating the Kimmerian scourge, as well as in taking Smyrna, and thus providing his kingdom with a port. Lydia rapidly progressed in power and prosperity; its ships trafficked in all parts of the Ægean, and its kings sent offerings to Delphi and affected to be Greek. It remained for Krœsos, however, the son of Alyattês, to carry out the policy first planned by Gygês, and make himself suzerain of the wealthy trading

[1] According to Eusebios, B.C. 698.

[2] *Od.* xi. 12-19.

cities of Ionia. They were allowed to retain their own institutions and government on condition of recognising the authority of the Lydian monarch, and paying customs and dues to the imperial exchequer. With the commerce of Ionia and the native treasures of Lydia alike at his command, Krœsos became the richest monarch of his age. He reigned alone only fifteen years, but he seems to have shared the royal power for several years previously with his father. All the nations of Asia Minor as far as the Halys owned his sway. He was on friendly terms with the states of Greece, with Babylonia, and with Media. In fact, Astyagês of Media was his brother-in-law, his sister Aryênis having been married to Astyagês in order to cement the treaty between Alyattês and Kyaxarês, brought about (in B.C. 585), after six years of fighting, by the kindly offices of the Babylonian king, and the intervention of the eclipse foretold by Thalês. The Lydian empire, however, did not long survive the fall of the Median empire. Kyros and Krœsos met in battle on the banks of the Halys about B.C. 545,[1] and though the engagement was indecisive it was followed by a winter campaign of the Persians, which resulted in the defeat of the Lydians before they could summon their allies to their aid, and the capture of Sardes and its citadel. The vulnerable spot was believed to be where the legendary monarch Mêlês had failed to carry the lion, which was a symbol alike of Hittite and of Lydian power; but it was really the path made by one of those ever-recurring landslips which have reduced the crumbling sandstone cliff of the Acropolis to a mere shell, and threaten in a few years to obliterate all traces of the ancient citadel of the Lydian kings.

Religion and Mythology.—The religion of Lydia, as of the rest of Asia Minor, was profoundly influenced by that of Babylonia after the modification it had undergone at Carchemish. The Hittites had received the religious conceptions of Chaldea, along with the germs of art and culture, before the rise of Assyria; it is Babylonia, therefore, and not Assyria, that explains them. The Babylonian Nana became the goddess of Carchemish, where in the days of Semitic ascendency she was known as Atargatis and Derketo. The Babylonian sun-god passed into Sandôn of Kilikia and Lydia, the Baal-Tars or Baal of Tarsos of the Aramaic coins. Even the Chaldean story of the Deluge was transplanted to "the sacred city" of Carchemish, the ship becoming an ark, Xisuthros Sisythês, and the mountain of Nizir a pool

[1] Eusebios makes it B.C. 546, but this is probably a year or two too soon.

in the neighbourhood of the Euphrates. From hence the legend was passed on to Apamea, and possibly other towns of Asia Minor as well.

The form and worship of Atargatis were similarly carried westward. The terra-cotta images of Nana, which represent the goddess as nude, with the hands upon the breast, may be traced through Asia Minor into the islands of the Ægean, and even into Greece itself. Dr. Schliemann has found them at Hissarlik, where the "owl-headed" vases are adorned with representations of the same goddess, and they occur plentifully in Kypros. At Carchemish they underwent two different modifications. Sometimes the goddess was provided with a conical cap and four wings, which branched out behind the back; sometimes she was robed in a long garment, with the *modius* or mural crown upon the head. Terra-cotta statues of her, discovered by Major di Cesnola in Cyprus, set under the mural crown a row of eagles, like the double-headed eagle which appears in the Hittite sculptures at Boghaz Keui and Eyuk. At times the mural crown becomes the *polos*, as in the images disinterred at Mykenæ and Tanagra; at other times the body of the deity takes the shape of a cone, or rather of the aerolite which symbolised her at Troy, at Ephesos, and elsewhere, while the surface is thickly covered with breasts. It was under this latter form, and with the mural crown upon the head, that the Hittite settlers in Ephesos represented the divinity they had brought with them. Here the bee was sacred to her, and her priestesses were called "bees," while the chief priest was ἐσσήν, "the king bee." The bee is similarly employed on Hittite gems, and a gem found near Aleppo represents Atargatis standing on the insect.

The Hittite priestesses who accompanied the worship of the goddess as it spread through Asia Minor were known to Greek legend as Amazons. The cities founded by Amazons—Ephesos, Smyrna, Kymê, Myrina, Priênê, Pitanê—were all of Hittite origin. In early art the Amazons are robed in Hittite costume and armed with the double-headed axe, and the dances they performed with shield and bow in honour of the goddess of war and love gave rise to the myths which saw in them a nation of woman-warriors. The Thermôdôn, on whose banks the poets placed them, was in the neighbourhood of the Hittite monuments of Boghaz Keui and Eyuk, and at Komana in Kappadokia the goddess Ma was served by 6000 ministers.

By the side of Atargatis or Ma, the Ephesian Artemis, called also Kybelê, Kybêbê, and Amma, stood the sun-god Attys or Agdistis, at once the son and bridegroom of the "great goddess" of Asia. Among

the Phrygians he was named Papas or "father," and invoked as "the shepherd of the bright stars," a title which reminds us of the Accadian name of the star Arcturus. Attys was symbolised by the fir-tree into which he had been changed after mutilating himself to avoid the love of Kybelê. He is, in fact, the Semitic Adônis; or rather, just as the old Hittite goddess assumed the attributes and functions of the Babylonian Nana, so, too, Attys took upon him the character of Tammuz or Adônis. The rites with which Istar and Tammuz had been worshipped at Babylon were transferred first to Carchemish and then to Asia Minor. The prostitution by which Atargatis was honoured was paralleled by the mutilation and self-torture practised in the name of Attys. His untimely death was mourned by women like the death of Tammuz, and his *galli* or priests were all eunuchs. At Pessinus, where each was termed an Attys, the chief priest had the title of *archigallos*.

But underneath these imported religious conceptions and rites lay the old nature-worship of the natives of Armenia and Asia Minor. The frenzy that marked the cult of Attys or of Zeus Sabazios in Phrygia, the wild dances, the wanderings in the pine-woods, the use of cymbals and tambourines, the invention of which was ascribed to Asia Minor, were all of older date than the period of Babylonian and Semitic influence. The story of Apollo and the Phrygian flute-player Marsyas, the follower of Kybelê, may imply that the Aryan occupation of Phrygia exorcised the wild and exciting spirit of the native music and of the worship to which it was consecrated. At any rate, as the language of the Phrygian inscriptions proves, the non-Aryan element in the population of that part of Asia Minor was reduced to insignificance, and the supreme god of the country became the Aryan Bagaios.

The close connection between Phrygia and Hellas is shown by the early mythology of Greece. Phrygian heroes like Gordios and Midas form as integral a part of Greek story as do the heroes and poets of Thrakê. It is different with those other lands of Asia Minor which enter into Greek legend. The plain of Troy was rendered famous by the struggles made by the Akhæan fugitives from the Dorian invasion of the Peloponnesos to gain a foothold in Æolis; the immemorial story of the storming of the sky by the bright powers of day, which had been localised in Thebes, where Greeks and Phœnicians had contended for possession, being again localised by Akhæan poets in the land of their adoption. Sarpêdôn, the Lykian hero, was celebrated

in Ionic song, because Apollo Lykios, "the god of light," had been associated with the eastern hills behind which the light-bringing sun-god rose each morning for the Hellenic settlers on the coast; and the tales that grew around the names of Tantalos and Pelops enshrined a real tradition of the day when Hittite culture and Lydian wealth came to the feudal lords of Mykênæ from the golden sands of the Paktôlos.

Art and Literature.—Hittite art was a modification of the art of early Babylonia, though the sphinxes at Eyuk, the Hittite form of the feroher or winged solar disk, and the scarabs found in the neighbourhood of Aleppo, show that Egypt had also exercised an influence upon it. It was characterised by solidity, roundness, and work in relief. The mural crown was a Hittite invention, and the animal forms, in which the Hittite artists specially excelled, were frequently combined to form composite creatures, among which may be mentioned the double-headed eagle, afterwards adopted by the Seljukian sultans, and carried by the crusaders to the German states. This Hittite art is the source of the peculiar art of Asia Minor, which forms a well-marked element in that of primitive Greece. The famous sculpture at Mykênæ, over the gate to which it has given its name, finds its analogue in a similar heraldic sculpture above a rock-tomb at Kumbet, in the valley of the Sangarios; and the tombs of Midas and other Phrygian kings in the same spot exhibit the architectural devices, the key pattern, and other kinds of ornamentation which we meet with in the early art of Greece. An archaic lion's head from Sardes, built into a wall at Akhmetlü, forms a link between the lions of Hittite sculpture on the one side, and the lions found among the ruins of Mykênæ on the other. The lentoid gems, again, discovered in the islands of the Archipelago, in Krete, at the Heræon of Argos, and on other prehistoric sites, are all closely allied in artistic style to the Hittite carved stones which owe their inspiration to the archaic gems of Babylonia. Still more nearly Hittite in character are the engraved cylinders and seals of chalcedony, and similar stones, brought from Kypros and from Lydia itself. Long supposed to be rude imitations of Phœnician workmanship, they now turn out to be engraved after Hittite models. They were, indeed, ultimately derived from the art of Babylonia, but through the northern, and not through the southern, channel. It is possible that the gold chatons of rings engraved in imitation of archaic Babylonian patterns, and found by Dr. Schliemann at Mykênæ, may have made their way into Argolis, not directly from

the Babylonians at the time when Sargon of Agadê carried his arms as far as Kypros, but through the intervention of the Hittites, since the double-headed battle-axe of Asia Minor is introduced upon one of them, and a row of animals' heads in true Hittite style appears upon the other.

Greek tradition remembered that Karians as well as Phœnicians had brought the West the culture of the East. Karian tombs were discovered in Delos when the island was purified by the Athenians during the Peloponnesian War.[1] The Greek helmet, a Karian gift, may be ultimately traced back to the warriors of Armenia, and the emblems of the shield to which Herodotos ascribes a Karian origin were possibly at the outset the hieroglyphics of Hittite writing. Dr. Köhler once wished to see in the rock-tombs of Spata (perhaps the Attic deme of Sphêttos), the resting-places of Karian dead; and though the discovery of similar remains in Rhodes, in the tomb of Menidi in Attica, at Mykênæ, and elsewhere, shows that the sepulchres themselves belonged to Greek natives, and that their contents mostly exhibit Phœnician influence and trade, yet there are certain objects like an ivory human head crowned with the Hittite tiara which refer us unmistakably to Asia Minor. The butterfly which occurs so plentifully at Mykênæ, and of which specimens, conventionally treated, may be seen on the glass ornaments of Menidi,[2] came more probably from Asia Minor than from Phœnicia. On the other hand, the gold masks with which the faces of the dead were covered seem to be of Phœnician derivation, since they were suggested by the gilded mummy faces of the Egyptians, who sometimes used gold masks besides, as is evidenced by the golden mask of Prince Kha-em-Uas of the eighteenth dynasty, now in the Louvre, while the corpse of a child covered with a mask of gold has been disinterred at Arvad.

Silver was the metal which more especially attracted the Hittites. Their monuments in Asia Minor are chiefly in the neighbourhood of silver mines, which they were the first to work. The Hittite copy of the treaty with Ramses II. was accompanied by a plate of silver, with a likeness of the god Sutekh in the middle, and an inscription running round it. A similar circular plate has been found, which apparently covered the handle of a dirk, with a figure of a king in the centre, a Hittite inscription twice repeated on either side, and a cuneiform legend running round the rim. These circular silver disks, with an

[1] In the winter of B.C. 426. Thuk. i. 8, iii. 104.

[2] See "Das Kuppelgrab bei Menidi" (1880), pl. iv. 12.

image in the middle, and an inscription surrounding it, very probably suggested the idea of coined money, which was primarily of silver, and the invention of which was ascribed to the Lydians. The practice of using silver as a writing material seems to have been general among the Hittite tribes. M. Renan has found niches cut in the rocks of Syria which would fit the written silver-plates of the Hittites as depicted on the monuments of Egypt, and the Hittite hieroglyphics are always carved in relief, even when the material is hard stone.

These hieroglyphics were of native invention, though probably suggested by the sight of Egyptian writing. The Egyptian monuments speak of Khilip-sira, "the writer of books of the vile Kheta," and Kirjath-sepher, or "book town," was one of their settlements in Southern Palestine. They carried their writing with them into the furthest extremity of Asia Minor—one of the pseudo-Sesostres in the pass of Karabel having a Hittite inscription still legible upon it, and out of it, apparently, was formed a syllabary, which we may term Asianic. This syllabary was in use throughout Asia Minor before the introduction of the simpler Phœnician alphabet, and a local branch of it was employed in conservative Kypros as late as the fourth or third century B.C. Elsewhere we find it only on objects discovered by Dr. Schliemann in the lower strata of Hissarlik, though certain characters belonging to it were retained in historical times in the various Asianic alphabets—Kappadokian, Mysian, Lydian, Lykian, Karian, Pamphylian, and Kilikian—to express sounds not represented by the letters of the Ionic alphabet. As the latter alphabet still contained the digamma when it superseded the older syllabary, its adoption could not have been later than the middle of the seventh century B.C.

Lydian literature has wholly perished, though the fragments of the native historian, Xanthos, prove that annals had been kept for some generations at least previous to the accession of the Mermnadæ; and we may infer from the Babylonian character and colouring of the earliest Ionic philosophies that Lydian writers had already made the philosophic ideas of the far East familiar to their countrymen.

Trade.—Lydia was essentially a trading community. But just as the complexion of the Babylonian culture brought by the Hittites to the West differed from that brought by the Phœnicians in being carried overland by conquerors, and in therefore being more penetrating and permanent, so too the industrial character of the Lydians differed from that of the Phœnicians. Their trade was an inland, not a maritime one. Sardes was the meeting-place of the caravans that journeyed from the

interior along the two high-roads constructed by the Hittites,—the one traversed by Krœsos when he marched against Kyros, and leading by Ghiaur-Kalessi and Ancyra to Boghaz Keui; the other, afterwards used by Xenophon and the Ten Thousand, which ran southwards through Lykaonia and Ikonion, and after passing through the Kilikian Gates, joined the thoroughfare from Carchemish to Antioch and the bay of Scanderûn. Unlike Phœnicia, moreover, Lydia was rich in its own resources. Gold, emery, and other minerals were dug out of its mountains; its plains were luxuriant beyond description; its hill-sides clothed with thick forests. The policy of the Mermnadæ was to make their state the industrial centre of East and West. The conquest of the Ionian cities which had succeeded to the commercial empire of the Phœnicians threw into their hands the trade of the Mediterranean, and Abydos was occupied by Gygês in order to command the entrance to the cornlands of the Euxine. Pamphaês of Ephesos was the banker of Krœsos, and money was coined for the first time by the Lydian kings. The standard, as Mr. Barclay Head has shown, was the silver "mina of Carchemish," as the Assyrians called it, the Babylonian, as it was termed by the Greeks, which contained 8656 grains. This standard, originally derived by the Hittites from Babylonia, but modified by themselves, was passed on to the nations of Asia Minor during the epoch of Hittite conquest, and from them was received by Pheidon of Argos and the Greeks. The standard, it will be observed, was a silver, and not a gold one, silver being the favourite Hittite metal. Six small silver bars, each originally weighing the third part of the "Babylonian" mina, were discovered by Dr. Schliemann at Hissarlik, and the standard was that according to which the electron coins of Gygês were struck. Little by little, however, it was superseded by the heavier Phœnician mina of 11,225 grains, also, no doubt, primitively of Babylonian origin. Thrakê, Lydia, and the western and southern coasts of Asia Minor, all adopted the new standard, and it was only in conservative Kypros and on the neighbouring shores of Kilikia that the old mina remained in use down to the age of Alexander the Great.

V.

THE PERSIAN EMPIRE.

PERSIA proper, roughly corresponding to the modern province of Farsistan, was comparatively a small district, about 450 miles in length by 250 in breadth. Eastward it touched on Kermân or Karamania, westward it was bounded by Susiana, southward by the Persian Gulf. Its inhabitants were Aryans, whose immigration into the country called after their name was hardly earlier than the period of the fall of the Assyrian empire. The Assyrian inscriptions know nothing of them. Under leaders termed Akhæmenians (from *Hakhâmanish*, "the friendly") the tribe of the Persians pushed its way into the old kingdom of Anzan, or Southern Elam, which had been destroyed and desolated by the armies of Assur-bani-pal, and subsequently left a prey to the first invader by the decay of the Assyrian power. The tribe was but one out of many which had long been steadily advancing westward from the regions of the Hindu Kush. The first great wave of Aryan emigration, which had resulted in the establishment of the European nations, had been followed by another wave which first carried the Hindus into the Punjab, and then the Iranian populations into the vast districts of Baktria and Ariana. Mountains and deserts checked for a time their further progress, but at length a number of tribes, each under its own chiefs, crept along the southern shores of the Caspian or the northern coast of the Persian Gulf. These tribes were known in later history as the Aryan Medes and Persians.

The Medes are first mentioned on the Assyrian monuments by Shalmaneser II. (B.C. 840) under the double name of Amadai and Matai, and placed in Matiênê. Between them and the Zimri of Kurdistan intervened the people of Par'suas, with their twenty-seven kings, who occupied the south-western shore of Lake Urumiyeh. But it is doubtful whether these Matai were really the Aryan Medes and not rather "Protomedes," allied in race and language to the Kossæans and Elamites, and more distantly to the Accadians of primæval Babylonia. At any rate the name seems derived from the Accadian *mada*, "country," a title appropriately given to the country where the "mountain of the world" was situated, and which was held to be the cradle of the Accadian race; while the name of Khanatsiruka, who ruled over the Matai in B.C. 820, certainly has not an Aryan sound.

Most of the Median districts on the southern and south-western shores of the Caspian enumerated by Tiglath-Pileser II. have non-Aryan names, and the Median chieftains with such Aryan names as Pharnes, Ariya, and Vastakku, who are mentioned by Sargon (in B.C. 713), belonged to the extreme east. In fact the district of Partakanu, which represents the Median Parêtakêni of Herodotos, is recorded last in Sargon's list; and Esar-haddon, who divides it into the two provinces of Partakka and Partukka, describes it as the furthest place east in the known world. The other Median tribes of Herodotos were still unknown to the Assyrian kings.

With the fall of the Assyrian empire, however, came a change. The scattered tribes of præ-Aryan Media were united under a single monarchy by Kastarit or Kyaxarês. Hitherto they had been divided into a multitude of small states, each governed independently by its own chief, or "city lord," as he is termed by Esar-haddon. Kyaxarês, according to Herodotos, was the descendant of Dêiokês, the builder of Ekbatana, a name which appears as Daiukku in the Assyrian records. One Daiukku, a chief of the Minni (on the western shore of Lake Urumiyeh) under their king Ullusun, was transported to Hamath by Sargon in 715 B.C., and two or three years later the Assyrian monarch made an expedition to the three adjoining districts of Ellibi, Karalla, and Bit-Daiukku, "the house of Deiokês." Ellibi lay on the eastern frontier of Kurdistan, and included the land of Aranzi—a name preserved in the Orontes mountains of classical geography, the Urvanda of the old Persians — where Ekbatana was afterwards founded. Karalla intervened between the northern boundary of Ellibi and the south-eastern shores of Lake Urumiyeh. It is just possible that the Median kings of Ktêsias, Astibaras, and Artaios, may represent (Rita or) Dalta, who was placed on the throne of Ellibi by Sargon in B.C. 709, and his son, Ispabara, who came into conflict with Sennacherib. However this may be, Kastarit was king of that part only of Media in which the city of Caru-kassi was situated, his ally Mamiti-arsu having the general title "city lord of the Medes." Along with the Minni, the people of 'Saparda or Sepharad—a small district on the east of Ellibi—and the Kimmerians, the two allies attacked and overthrew the Assyrian power. Kastarit now seems to have turned against his friends, and to have gradually extended his sway over the whole region vaguely known as Armenia and Western Media. Peace was established between him and Alyattês of Lydia in B.C. 585 through the kindly offices of his ally Nebuchadrezzar, and the Halys made

the boundary of the Median and Lydian empires. Under the shadow of Mount Urvanda or Elwend, Agamtanu or Ekbatana (now Hamadan) was founded in imitation of the new Babylon Nebuchadrezzar had built.

Kyaxarês was succeeded by his son Istuvegu, the Astyagês of the Greek writers, whom later Persian legend confounded with the tyrant Zohak or Azhi-dahâka, "the biting snake" of night and darkness, celebrated in ancient Aryan mythology. The classical historians connected him by marriage with his conqueror Kyros, but the recent discovery of contemporaneous records has proved their accounts to be so largely mixed with fable that it becomes unsafe to accept any statement not supported by monumental authority. Kyros was the son of Kambysês, the son of Kyros, the son of Teispês, who had been the first to establish the Persian rule in Anzan or Western Elam, which extended from the district of Susa in the north to the Persian Gulf in the south.[1] Dareios, the son of Hystaspês, who traces his descent through Arsamês and Ariaramnês to Teispês, the son of Akhæmenês, probably refers to the same Teispês, and would therefore be justified in his claim to be of the royal race. It is even possible that while Kyros I. and Kambysês I. were ruling in Anzan, Ariaramnês and Arsamês governed the more unmixed Aryan part of the population in Persis. At any rate Dareios declares that eight of his race had been kings before him; and while his own ancestors all bear thoroughly Aryan names, the names Kyros and Kambysês seem to be of Elamite derivation. Strabo,[2] indeed, says that Kyros was originally called Agradates, and took the name of Kurus or Kuras from the river that flows past Pasargadæ; while Nikolaus Damascenus, doubtless quoting Ktêsias, made him the son of the peasant Atradates, the Mitradates of Herodotos, whom he calls an Amardian. The Amardians, it must be remembered, were an Elamite tribe bordering upon the Persians and intervening between them and the Susians, whose dialects closely resembled their own. They seem to be the Khapirti or Apirti of the inscriptions, who inhabited the plain of Mal-Amir.

It was in B.C. 549 that Astyagês was overthrown. On his march against Kyros his own soldiers, drawn probably from his Aryan

[1] Sir H. Rawlinson has pointed out that the learned Arabic writer, Ibn en-Nadim, "who had unusually good means of information as to genuine Persian traditions," ascribes the invention of Persian writing to Jemshid, the son of Vivenghan, who dwelt at Assan, one of the districts of Shushan (*Jrl. R. A. S.* xii. 1, Jan. 1880).

[2] xv. 3.

subjects, revolted against him and gave him into the hands of his enemy. "The land of Ekbatana and the royal city" were ravaged and plundered by the conqueror; the Aryan Medes at once acknowledged the supremacy of Kyros, and the empire of Kyaxarês was destroyed. Some time, however, was still needed to complete the conquest; the older Medic population still held out in the more distant regions of the empire, and probably received encouragement and promises of help from Babylonia. In B.C. 546, however, Kyros marched from Arbêla, crossed the Tigris, and destroyed the last relics of Median independence. It was on this occasion that he must have captured Larissa or Resen and Mespila or Muspilu, near the site of Nineveh, whose ruins were seen by Xenophon (*Anab.* iii. 4). The daughter of Astyagês had taken refuge in Mespila, which was strongly fortified. The following year saw the opening of the campaign against Babylonia. But the Babylonian army, encamped near Sippara, formed a barrier which the Persians were unable to overcome; and trusting, therefore, to undermine the power of Nabonidos by secret intrigues with his subjects, Kyros proceeded against Krœsos. A single campaign sufficed to capture Sardes and its monarch, and to add Asia Minor to the Persian dominions. The Persian conqueror was now free to attack Babylonia.

Here his intrigues were already bearing fruit. The Jewish exiles were anxiously expecting him to redeem them from captivity, and the tribes on the sea coast were ready to welcome a new master. In B.C. 538 the blow was struck. The Persian army entered Babylonia from the south. The army of Nabonidos was defeated at Rata in June; on the 14th of that month Sippara opened its gates, and two days later Gobryas, the Persian general, marched into Babylon itself "without battle and fighting." The elaborate fortifications of the queen-mother had been in vain; traitors had worked on the side of the invader. In October Kyros himself entered his new capital in triumph; priests and scribes alike strove to do him honour, and to account him as one of their native kings. The fall of Nabonidos was attributed to his neglect of the gods, and the politic Kyros did his best to encourage the illusion by professing, along with his son Kambysês, to be a zealous worshipper of the Babylonian deities. Their images were restored to their shrines with great state, the Persian monarch and his heir-apparent taking part in the solemn processions, and the new sovereign styled himself, like his predecessors, "the worshipper" and "servant" of Bel-Merodach and Nebo. It is probable that the ruler of Western Elam had always been a polytheist.

Zoroastrian monotheism was first made the state-religion by Darius Hystaspis, who represented a more genuinely Aryan stock than the collateral family of Kyros. The excesses of Kambysês in Egypt were dictated not by religious fanaticism, but by political suspicion, as is proved by the inscriptions in which he avows his adherence to the old Egyptian creed. The stelê which commemorates the death of the Apis bull, said by Herodotos to have been slain by Kambysês, shows that, on the contrary, it had died a natural death, had been buried under his auspices, and had monumental authority for accounting him one of its worshippers.

The fall of Babylon brought with it the submission of the tributary kings, including those of Phœnicia. If we may listen to Greek legend, Kyros fell in battle with the wild Skythian tribes of the north-east. But the same myths that grew up around his birth and early history seem also to have gathered round his death. Just as Persian ballads fastened upon him the old story of the solar hero who is exposed to death in infancy, and after being saved by miracle, and brought up in obscurity, is finally discovered and restored to his high estate, so too the old lesson of the punishment of human pride and greatness was taught by the legend of his death. The woman-warrior Tomyris was made to quell the great conqueror, and to throw his head into the bowl of human blood where he might drink his fill.

Before his death Kyros had made his son Kambysês king of Babylon, reserving for himself the supreme title, "king of the world." His death occurred in B.C. 529, at least two years afterwards. The first act of Kambysês, as sole ruler, was to murder his brother Bardes, the Smerdis of Herodotos, to whom his father had bequeathed a portion of the empire. Then followed the invasion and conquest of Egypt, and the distant expeditions against Ethiopia and the Oasis of Ammon. The long absence of the monarch and the army soon produced its inevitable consequences. The loosely-cemented empire began to fall to pieces. The revolt was headed by the Medic tribe of Magians. The Magian Gomates personated the murdered Bardes, and seized the throne. He represented the non-Aryan portion of the population, which viewed with jealousy the increasing influence of the Aryan element. Kambysês, like Kyros, it is true, had not been a Zoroastrian, and the personator of his brother could thus overthrow the altars and temples of Zoroastrianism without imperilling his imposture; but he had countenanced and probably favoured it. During his absence the government had been in the hands of the great Aryan

families, who traced their descent from the royal clan of Akhæmenês, and these families were all Zoroastrian. Hence in the Magian usurpation we see at once a political and a religious revolt. It was directed against Aryan supremacy and the worship of Ormazd, the supreme deity of the Zoroastrian creed, and it was at the same time a signal for the different nationalities which composed the empire of Kyros to recover their independence. Before it could be crushed Kambysês committed suicide, after reigning eleven years as king of Babylon, and about eight years as sole monarch.

The reign of Gomates did not last a year. Dareios the son of Hystaspês, with six other Persian nobles, overthrew the usurper and slew him in Nissæa in Media, where he had taken refuge among his clansmen (B.C. 521). Zoroastrianism was made the religion of the empire; the temples of Ormazd, which Gomates had destroyed, were restored; and the Aryan families of Persia and Media were brought back from exile. If we may trust Dr. Oppert's rendering of a passage in the "Protomedic" transcript of the great Behistun Inscription, where Dareios records the deeds and successes of his life, the Avesta or sacred book of Zoroastrianism, along with its commentary, was republished and promulgated throughout the empire.

The flight of Gomates was the signal for the massacre of all his followers and tribesmen who were left in Persia. The Magophonia long continued to be a popular festival in Persia, when it was unsafe for a Magian to venture out of doors. But the spirit of revolt was by no means extinguished. Immediately after the death of the pseudo-Bardes, Susiana and Babylonia alike shook off the Persian yoke. Under the leadership of Assina the Susians claimed again the freedom which Teispês had taken from them, and the extinction of the family of Kyros seemed a favourable opportunity for recovering it. Babylon revolted under Nidintabel, who called himself "Nebuchadrezzar the son of Nabonidos," the last Babylonian king. But the Susian rebellion was soon put down. Babylon took longer to reduce. After defeating Nidintabel at Zazana, Dareios laid siege to the city. It was taken June B.C. 519 after a blockade of nearly two years, the Persians penetrating into the city during a festival by marching along the dry channel of the Euphrates. By this time, however, the non-Aryan population of Media was in revolt under Phraortês, who called himself Sattarritta or Kyaxarês, the descendant of Vakistarra. Battle after battle was fought in Armenia by the Persian generals; until at last Phraortês was captured in Rhagæ and impaled. It was the last

struggle for independence; from this time forward the older population acknowledged the supremacy of the Aryan intruders, and became merged in the latter. Henceforth by Medians are meant the Aryan kindred of the Persians themselves.

It cost Dareios some trouble yet to reconquer the empire of Kyros. A second revolt, promptly suppressed, took place among the Susians, and a second one also among the Babylonians. This time it was an Armenian who professed to be Nebuchadrezzar the son of Nabonidos, but his career was soon closed by the capture of Babylon in B.C. 513. The Sagartians arose in unsuccessful insurrection under a leader who claimed to be a descendant of the Median Vakistarra, a proof that the Median empire had once included Sagartia. As the Parthians and Hyrkanians had followed Phraortês, we may perhaps infer that Parthia and Hyrkania also had formed part of the old Median monarchy. A second pseudo-Bardes also had to be crushed; he was a native of Tarava, the modern Tarun in Luristan, but, though born in Aryan territory, was followed not by Persians, but by Susianians. He, too, was defeated and slain in Arachosia. Margiana, moreover, had risen in revolt; but as unsuccessfully as the other provinces of the empire. Dareios was at last free to organise and settle what he had won back with so much difficulty and labour.

In the work of organisation Dareios proved himself a master. The empire was made a homogeneous whole, with its centre at Susa or Shushan. For the first time in history centralisation becomes a political fact. The king was the source of all authority and all dignities; every subject was equal before the throne, which was the fountain of law. It is true that a council, consisting of the seven leading families and a hereditary sub-nobility, sat without the will of the king; but this relic of a period when Persia had not yet become an empire had neither power nor influence against the bureaucracy which managed the government, and even the great king himself. The government of Persia became what the government of Turkey has been of late years—a highly centralised bureaucracy, the members of which owed their offices to an irresponsible despot. The centralisation of Persia stands in marked contrast to the decentralisation of Greece, as well as of the Aryan Medes themselves before the rise of the Median monarchy. The empire was divided into at least twenty satrapies,[1] communication being kept up between them by roads and posts which

[1] Dareios mentions twenty-three at Behistun, twenty-nine on his tomb at Naksh-i-Rustám.

all met in Susa. Each satrap was responsible for a fixed tribute of from 170 to 1000 Euboic silver talents (£42,000 to £250,000), out of which the civil and military officers, the army, and the satrap himself, were paid. It was of course the interest of the crown to prevent the provinces from being exhausted by additional taxation, but the satrap generally managed to squeeze a good deal more than the fixed tribute out of his subjects. The satraps were like small kings; indeed their official residences were called palaces, and in some cases, as for example in Kilikia, the native princes were allowed to hold rule. The danger to the Government caused by the power of the satrap and his distance from the central authority was diminished in several ways. Royal scribes or secretaries were employed to send up reports of the satraps and their actions to the king, and from time to time an officer came down from the court with an armed force to inspect a province. The satraps themselves were generally connected with the king by birth or marriage, and in Persia proper royal judges went on circuit at least once a year. According to Xenophon the control of the troops was further handed over to a separate commander, and it would seem that important fortresses like Sardes were also entrusted to an independent officer. Owing, however, to the weakness occasioned by this division of authority, the civil and military powers were united in the satrapies which bordered on dangerous enemies, such as the Greeks, and it was accordingly in these frontier satrapies that revolts like that of the younger Kyros broke out. The districts of which a satrapy was composed were not always contiguous. The imperial exchequer received no less than 7740 talents or £2,964,000 a year from nineteen of the provinces, which paid in silver, and of which Babylonia contributed the most, and 4680 Euboic talents or £1,290,000 from the twentieth or Indian province, which paid in gold. The provinces had further to furnish tribute in kind, grain, sheep, and the like, and rates were levied in many places for the use of water and of the royal demesnes, while the taxes derived from such things as fisheries were farmed by the State. The gold and silver darics coined from the specie collected at Susa, and impressed with a rude representation of an archer, were remarkably pure, containing respectively 124 and 224 to 230 grains of pure metal.

While this work of organisation was being completed the empire was at peace. Then came a war against Iskunka the Sakian chief, succeeded by a campaign in the East. The Indus was first explored by a naval expedition under Skylax, a Karian Greek; this was followed

by the conquest of the Punjab. Dareios was now free to secure his north-western frontier. The Skythian coast on the Black Sea was explored as the Indus had been, the Bosporus was bridged by Mandroklês the Samian, and the steppes of Southern Russia were swept by the Persian army. The impression left on the Skythian mind was never wiped out; the empire was henceforward safe on that side. Meanwhile Megabazos with another army had reduced Thrakê, and made Makedonia a tributary kingdom.

Shortly afterwards, in B.C. 501, came the Ionic revolt. Sardes was burnt by the Athenians, and Dareios, bent on vengeance, no longer delayed to listen to the exile Hippias, and to demand the submission of Athens and the restoration of its tyrant. Mardonios was sent against the offending city with a large army. But his fleet was wrecked off Mount Athos, and the land-force surprised by the wild Thrakian tribe of Briges. Two years later (B.C. 490) the Persian army under Datis was again hurled against Attika; but Athenian valour at Marathon drove back a power hitherto held invincible, and saved Greece. For three years Asia was now astir with preparations for crushing the handful of citizens that had dared to resist the mighty Persian empire. Fortunately for Athens, Egypt revolted at the moment when the preparations were completed (B.C. 487), and diverted the blow which would have fallen upon her. Before the revolt could be suppressed Dareios died in the sixty-third year of his age and the thirty-sixth of his reign (B.C. 486).

His son and successor Xerxês, born in the purple, was a different man from his father. Weak, vain, and luxurious, it need not surprise us that the huge and unwieldy host he led against Hellas returned shattered and discomfited, and that after the defeat of Mardonios with his picked Persian and Median troops at Platæa, the war that Persia carried into Europe should have recoiled back into Asia. The islands of the Ægean, the Greek colonies of Asia Minor, the wild coasts of Thrakê, the command of the Hellespont, were one by one wrested from the great king by Athenian skill and enterprise. The sole result of the attempt to enslave Greece was to found the Athenian empire, and to make Athens the intellectual and artistic leader of the world then and thereafter. Before the campaign against Greece had been entered upon, Xerxês had punished the Babylonians for their murder of the satrap Zopyros by destroying the temple of Bel and the other shrines of the ancient gods.

Xerxês was murdered by two of his courtiers in B.C. 466, at the

instigation, it was believed, of Amestris, the only wife he had ever married. His third son, Artaxerxês I. Longimanus, had to win his way to the throne by crushing the Baktrians under his brother Hystaspês, and murdering another brother. In B.C. 455 an Egyptian revolt was put down after lasting for five years, and in B.C. 449 a treaty of peace, known as that of Kallias, was made between Persia and Athens,—Athens agreeing to relinquish Kypros, and Persia renouncing her claims to supremacy over the Greek cities of Asia Minor. Not long afterwards Megabyzos, the satrap of Syria, revolted, and extorted terms of peace from his suzerain, the first open sign of the inner decay of the empire.

Artaxerxês, who, like his father, had but one legitimate wife, Damaspia, was succeeded by his son Xerxês II. (B.C. 425), who was assassinated at a banquet forty-five days after by his illegitimate brother, Sekydianos or Sogdianos. Sogdianos was murdered in turn by Okhos, another bastard son of Artaxerxês, about six months later. Okhos took the name of Dareios, and is known to history as Dareios II. Nothos.

He had married his aunt Parysatis, daughter of Xerxês, and his reign of nineteen years was one long series of revolts, most of which were crushed mercilessly. The first was headed by his brother Arsitês; then came those of Pissuthnês, the Lydian satrap, of Media, and of Egypt. The loss of Egypt, however, was compensated by the restoration of Persian authority over the Greeks of Asia Minor in consequence of the destruction of the Athenian power at Syrakuse.

Dareios II. was followed by his son, Artaxerxês II. Mnêmon (B.C. 405), in spite of the efforts of his wife Parysatis to substitute for the latter her younger and abler son, Kyros. Four years later Kyros left his satrapy in Asia Minor, and marched against his brother with about 13,000 Greek mercenaries and 100,000 native troops. The battle of Cunaxa ended his life and his claim to the throne, and the retreat of the Greeks under Xenophôn became one of the great feats of history. But the authority of the Persian king was gone in the West. Mysia, Pisidia, and Paphlagonia were all practically independent; Sparta protected the Greek colonies, and her forces under Derkyllidas and Agesilaos made themselves masters of Western Asia (B.C. 399-395), and might have anticipated Alexander had not Persian gold sowed dissension at home. A league was formed between Persia, Athens, and other Greek states; the Long Walls were rebuilt at Athens with Persian money, and Sparta was forced to sign the disgraceful peace of

Antalkidas (B.C. 387), by which all Asia was restored to the great king. In B.C. 379 Evagoras of Salamis, who, with Egyptian and Athenian help, had made Kypros and Kilikia independent and conquered Tyre, was finally crushed. But the decay of the empire could not be checked. The satraps of Phrygia and Kappadokia shook off their allegiance, and in B.C. 362 a general but unsuccessful revolt took place in Asia Minor and Syria. Three years later Artaxerxês died at the age of ninety-four, according to the doubtful statement of Plutarch. His son and successor, Okhos, had already caused the deaths of three of his brothers, and his first act on mounting the throne was to destroy, as far as he could, the other princes of the royal family. His attempt to recover Egypt failed, and Phœnicia and Kypros declared themselves free. Idrieus, vassal king of Karia, however, reduced Kypros. Sidon, the head of the Phœnician revolt, was destroyed, and Egypt reconquered by the Persian general, the eunuch Bagôas, and the able Greek admiral Mentôr, the Rhodian. For six years there was peace, thanks to Bagôas, who had become Vizier, and Mentôr, who was entrusted with the protection of the sea-board. But in B.C. 338 Okhos was poisoned by his Vizier, who raised his son Arsês to the throne after murdering all his brothers. Two years afterwards Arsês also and his children were assassinated, and Bagôas now placed the crown on the head of a personal friend, Kodomannos, the son of Arsanês. Kodomannos, who took the name of Dareios III., was not of the royal family, according to Strabo (xv. 3, 24), though this is contradicted by Diodôros (xvii. 5, 5). It was not long before he was called upon to contest his empire with Alexander of Makedon. In the spring of B.C. 334 Alexander crossed the Hellespont with a force of over 30,000 foot, and between four and five thousand horse. In May the battle of the Graneikos placed Asia Minor at his feet. Memnon, the brother of the Rhodian Mentôr, the only Persian general equal to the task of checking the Makedonian conqueror, died early in the following year, and Alexander was now free to advance into the heart of Persia. Dareios and his army were well nigh annihilated in the Pass of Issos on the Bay of Antioch (in November); his wife, mother, and baggage fell into the hands of the enemy; Tyre and Gaza were besieged and captured; Egypt was occupied by the Greeks; and at the Oasis of Ammon Alexander was hailed as the son of Zeus. At length, in B.C. 331, the decisive moment came. A new army had been collected by the Persian king from his eastern dominions, and was strongly posted about thirty miles from the site of Nineveh

awaiting the attack of the Makedonians. The battle was fought in October at Gaugamela, twenty miles distant from Arbêla, and ended with the total rout of the Persian host, the flight of Dareios, and the fall of his empire. Alexander entered Babylon in triumph, assumed imperial pomp at Susa, where the spoils carried from Greece by Xerxês were discovered and sent back, and, if we may believe the current story, fired the royal palace of Persepolis in a fit of drunken insanity. Dareios was then pursued, first to Ekbatana, next to Rhagæ and Baktria, where the hapless monarch was seized and finally murdered by the satrap Bessos. The reduction of the rest of the Persian empire by Alexander quickly followed.

Religion and Mythology.—The religion of Persia was Zoroastrianism. But the nature and teaching of Zoroastrianism varied at different times and in different localities. The inscriptions make it plain that the Zoroastrianism of Dareios and his successors was widely different from that of later times. The early populations of Media and Elam, dispossessed or overlaid by the Aryan invaders, had the same shamanistic form of religion as the Accadians of primitive Chaldea. They were grossly polytheistic, and the polytheism of Elam had in later days been largely affected by the religious beliefs and practices of Semitic Babylonia, more especially by the worship of Nana or Istar. On the other hand, the Iranian emigrants had monotheistic tendencies. The supreme god Ahura-mazda, "the lord who gives knowledge," tended to absorb all the other deities of the original Aryan creed. The gods of Vedic nature-worship became his attributes and creatures. But this nature-worship had included evil powers as well as beneficent powers, night as well as darkness, pain as well as pleasure, the serpent as well as the sun-god who slays him. Gradually the conflict between these opposites assumed a moral form in the minds of the Iranian wanderers; the struggle between night and day, between the storm and the blue sky, of which the Vedic poets sang, was transformed into a struggle between good and evil. In place of the careless nature-worshipper of the Panjâb, a race of stern and earnest Puritans grew up among the deserts and rugged mountains of Ariana.

M. Darmesteter has tried to show that the transformation and development were natural. But the attempt is unsuccessful. Though there is much in Zoroastrianism (or Mazdeism) that is clearly a natural development out of the elements we find in Vedic religion,—though the fundamental ideas upon which Mazdeism rests have grown out of the conceptions common to all the primitive Aryans alike,—it is neverthe-

less impossible to explain the individual character that has been stamped upon it without assuming the existence of an individual founder. We must accept the historical reality of Zoroaster or Spitama Zarathustra. Zoroastrianism implies a prophet as much as Mohammedanism.

According to the usual opinion, this prophet lived and taught in Baktriana. Zend, the language of the Avesta, the sacred book of Mazdeism, differs dialectically from the Old Persian spoken in Persia Proper by Dareios and his subjects, and is ordinarily believed to have been the language of Baktriana. M. Darmesteter, however, supposes the original home of Mazdeism to have been Atropatênê; but as he further supposes that Mazdeism did not take its start here till the sixth century B.C., his views do not clash with the received theory which makes Baktriana the first seat of Zoroastrianism and of the language of its sacred books. Another theory has been started by M. de Harlez.[1] He makes Rhagæ (now Kaleh Erij) and Mouru or Meru the birthplace of the new creed in the seventh century B.C. But Rhagæ, again, under the shadow of Mount Demavend, only marks a stage in the western progress of the Iranian tribes; and the same Parsi legend which relates that the prophet was born in Rai or Rhagæ makes him teach his religion in Baktria at the court of King Vistâsp.

A more important question, however, remains behind. The two scholars just mentioned not only think that Zend was the language of Aryan Media rather than of Baktria, but they also hold that Mazdeism itself, as embodied in the Avesta, was taught and promulgated by the Magi. In the revolt of the pseudo-Bardes M. Darmesteter sees not an uprising of the old non-Aryan faith, but an attempt to impose the peculiar tenets of the priestly tribe of Magians upon the rest of the people. The chief arguments in favour of this hypothesis are sought in the classical writers. Strabo (xv. 14) describes the Magi as a sacerdotal caste spread over the land, and Herodotos (i. 140) states that it was the Magi who practised the peculiarly Mazdean duty of killing noxious animals, and required the corpse to be devoured by birds, not buried in the ground. But in Strabo's time the old distinctions between the Aryan and the non-Aryan portions of the population had been obliterated, and the Greeks had come to apply the term Magian indiscriminately to the various priests and sorcerers of the East; while, as is shown in the note upon the passage, the statement of

[1] See his exhaustive review of the subject in his *Introduction à l'Étude de l'Avesta*, 1882.

Herodotos admits of another interpretation, and is corrected by his own descriptions of the Magi elsewhere as a Median tribe, neither more nor less sacerdotal than the other five tribes mentioned along with them. Against these doubtful quotations we have the express testimony of Dareios himself, engraved on the rock of Behistun, where he tells us that the Magian usurpation had destroyed the temples of his gods and the sacred hymns of the Zoroastrian faith.[1]

According to Dr. Oppert the Behistun Inscription further informs us that the Avesta had existed before the days of the Magian revolt, and was restored by Dareios after the revolt was suppressed. He would thus render a clause at the end of the inscription found only in the "Protomedic" transcript: "By the favour of Ormazd I have made elsewhere a collection of texts in the Aryan language, which formerly did not exist. And I have made a text of the law and a commentary on the law, and the prayer and the translations. And this was written, and I promulgated it; then I restored the ancient book in all countries, and the people followed it."[2] The Persian equivalents of "the law" and "the prayer" are *âbastâ* and *zandi*, "Avesta" and "Zend." Whatever doubt may hang over the renderings of particular words, the general sense of this translation may be accepted; Dareios claims to have restored the ancient writings that had been destroyed or injured by the Magian revolt. It is highly probable that both Kyros and his son, as well as their predecessors, the kings of Anzan, had been almost equally responsible for the loss or neglect of the

[1] Col. i. Par. 14. Persian text: *Ayadaná tyá Gaumáta hya Magush viyaka, adam niyatrárayam kárakyá abácharish gaithámchá maniyamchá*, "The temples which Gomates the Magian had destroyed, I rebuilt. I reinstituted for the state both the religious chants and the worship." Babylonian text: *Biti sa ilani sa Gumatu haga-su Magusu ibbulu anaku* (*ultakan*)... "The temples of the gods which Gomates the Magian had thrown down I (restored) . . ." Elamite ("Protomedic") text: *Hu sityan annappanna khudda appa Gaumadda akka Makuis 'sarisda, a'ak hu tassutum-na gatas, a'ak AS, a'ak kurtas*, "I the temples of the gods restored which Gomates the Magian destroyed, and I (re-established) for the people the hymns and the sacred invocation and the worship." AS is an ideograph which properly means "sacred hymn." *Gaitham*, borrowed by the Elamites under the form of *gatas*, must be connected with the *gâthas* of the Avesta.

[2] The following is the literal rendering of the passage, the meaning of all the words of which is certain except the three written in italics: "By the grace of Ormazd, I have made the writings for others in the Aryan language, which was not done before; and the *text* (?) of the law and the knowledge of the law and the *collection* (?) and the . . . I made and wrote, and I sent abroad; then the old writings among all countries I restored *for the sake* (?) of the people."

sacred books, and the fact that the people needed to be "taught" the law implies that among the Persians themselves a knowledge of the sacred texts of Zoroastrianism had been half forgotten. But the Avesta had not yet become a technical term. *Âbastâ* is rendered simply "law" and "laws" in the Elamite and Babylonian versions; it was the pious care of Dareios which first gave it its fixed and restricted sense. His words seem to show that the Zend text was translated into the Old Persian of his western provinces.

We must not suppose, however, that the Avesta was completed at once, or that the beliefs and customs of the Sassanian age were familiar to the Persians in the age of the Akhæmenians. Dareios speaks of other gods by the side of Ormazd; Ormazd is supreme among them; he has created them, like all things else; but nevertheless other gods also exist. Temples, too, are erected to him and them, contrary to the later teaching of Mazdeism. The dead were buried, sometimes alive, and there is no trace of those elaborate regulations in regard to purity which occupy so large a part of the Avesta, and must have been devised, as M. Bréal has shown, at a time when Mazdeism had ceased to be the religion of the state. In fact, the sacred literature of Zoroastrianism was a slow and gradual growth, like the sacred literatures of most other religions.

The five Gâthas or "hymns," written in an older dialect than the rest of the Avesta, form the earliest portion of this literature. They are embodied in the Yasna, which, like the Vispêrad, is a collection of litanies for the sacrifice. Together with the Vendîdad, a compilation of religious laws and mythical tales, the Yasna and Vispêrad make up the Avesta properly so called. By the side of this stands the Khorda Avesta or "Small Avesta," consisting of short prayers, and divided into the five Gâh, the thirty formulæ of the Sirôzah, the three Afrîgân, and the six Nyâyish. To these are generally added the Yashts or hymns of praise, and a number of fragments, of which the most important is the Hadhokht Nosk. The sacredness of the Avesta is to some extent reflected on certain literature written in Pahlavi or mediæval Persian towards the end of the Sassanian period, among which may be named the Bundehesh, an exposition of Mazdean cosmogony and mythology. This sacred literature, however, is but a fragment of what once existed; according to Parsi tradition, the Vendîdad is the only survivor of the twenty-one Nosks or books which formed the primitive Avesta revealed by Ormazd to Zoroaster, the eighteen Yashts were originally thirty in number, and the

Bundehesh has many references which are not found in existing Zend texts. Hermippos[1] analysed 2,000,000 lines in the books of Zoroaster, and Pausanias heard Magian priests singing hymns from a book.[2] A tradition which may be traced back to the Sassanian age asserts that the present Avesta consists of the fragments put together by the priests, partly from memory, after the destruction of the sacred books by Alexander the Great, and the Mohammedan conquest brought with it further injury and loss.

Dr. Oppert thinks that a reference to Angro-Mainyus, the evil spirit, is found in an inscription of Dareios. However this may be, it is pretty clear that the distinctive dualism of Zoroastrian doctrine was already fully developed in Akhæmenian times. The world was divided into the mutually-hostile kingdoms of good and evil, though Ormazd (Ahuramazda) had originally created all things, and evil would therefore be again swallowed up in the kingdom of good. On the side of Ormazd and the faithful follower of his prophet stand the Ahuras or "living" spirits, called "gods" by Dareios, and subsequently converted into the Yazatas (Izeds) or angels, and the seven Amesha-Spentas (Amshashpands), "the undying and well-doing ones." These, originally identical with the Âdityas of Hindu mythology, became the deified abstractions, Vohu-manô ("good thought"), Asha Vahishta ("excellent holiness"), Khshathra vaviya ("perfect sovereignty"), Spenta Armaiti ("divine piety"), Haurvatât ("health"), and Ameretât ("immortality"). But Armaiti had once been the goddess of earth, like Vayu, the wind-god, who appears in the Gâthas, Varena "the sky," and Mithra "the sun." From the first Varena had been identified with Ormazd, or rather Varena was the supreme being specially invoked as Ahura-mazda, while Mithra became in time his material symbol. Under the Akhæmenian dynasty, however, the complete absorption of Mithra into Ormazd had not yet been effected; and though Dareios shows no taint of Mithra worship, his descendant Artaxerxês Mnêmôn, corrupted by Babylonian superstition, adopted the popular cult, and not only invoked the sun-god Mithra, but even set up images to Anahit or Tanata, the Babylonian Nana, at Susa, at Persepolis, at Ekbatana, at Babylon, at Damascus, at Sardes, and at Baktra. The Mithraic worship of later days, which symbolised the passage of the sun into Taurus by the figure of a bull slain by a man, was the last survival of a faith that had once penetrated deeply into the minds of the people.

[1] Pliny, *N. H.* xxx. 1, 2; Diog. Laert. *Proœm.* 8. [2] v. 27, 3. Cp. Herod. i. 132.

Angro-Mainyus (Ahriman), "the dark spirit," the opponent of Ormazd, was primitively the darkness of night and storm. The Devas, or "gods," who had assisted him in the old mythological combat between night and day, became the demons of Mazdeism, and some of the gods of light also were in time included among them. The archangels and angels of good were matched by those of evil. Ako-manô ("bad thought") opposes Vohu-manô ("good thought"), and with his companions, Sauru, the arrow of death, Indra, once the rain-god of India, Nâunhaithya (the Vedic Dioskuri), Tauru and Zairi, sickness and decay, form the council of the prince of darkness. Whatever Ormazd creates, Ahriman destroys. At the head of the army of Ormazd is the priest-god Sraosha (Serosh), who first offered sacrifice to Ahura and sang the holy hymns. Thrice each day and night he descends to smite Angro-Mainyus and his crew,—the Kahvaredhas and Kahvaredhis, the Kayadhas and Kayadhis, the Zandas and Yatûs, Aêshma ("the raving"), the leader of the Drvants, Drukhs, "destruction," Daivis, "deceit," and Drivis, "poverty." Sraosha dwelt in a palace of a thousand pillars, ornamented without by the stars, lit within by its own light, and reared on the peak of Elburz or Demavend, to which the Olympos of Accadian and Protomedic mythology had been transferred. The legend had filtered into Mazdeism through a "Protomedic" channel.

The weapons with which the worshipper of Ormazd had to fight against his spiritual foes were prayer, sacrifice, purity, the sacrament of the Haoma, and various ceremonies, among which may be particularised the use of the *khrafsthraghna* or instrument for destroying noxious animals,—the creation of Ahriman,—and the *baresma* (*barsom*) or divining rod, which had played a large part in Accadian religion, and must have been borrowed from the "Protomedic" part of the population. Sacrifice, which consisted partly of offerings, partly of prayers, aided the gods as well as men. The costliest victim was the horse, human sacrifices being ascribed to the Persians by Greek writers erroneously. The flesh of the victim was eaten by the priest and the worshippers; the "soul" of it only was enjoyed by Ormazd. The Haoma was the Soma of the Indians, an intoxicating plant which symbolised the powers of vegetable life, and the juice of which was drunk by the faithful for the benefit of themselves and the gods. Answering to the yellow haoma of earth is the white haoma of heaven, which will make men immortal on the day of resurrection. For the Zoroastrians believed in the immortality of the soul, and at least as

early as the time of Theopompos[1] in a resurrection of the body. It was from them that Mohammed borrowed the notion of the narrow bridge (*chinvat peretu*) which the soul of the good passed safely by the help of Sraosha, while the wicked fell from it into the bottomless pit of Angro-Mainyus. Fire was from the first the sacred element; it was the material manifestation of Ormazd, and nothing was allowed to pollute it. At one time, no doubt, fire itself was worshipped, like the primitive Aryan hearth on which it had originally blazed, and Âtar, the fire-god, held high rank among the Zoroastrians; but eventually it became the medium through which the worshipper approached his deity. Earth and water were also reverenced, and since a corpse would have defiled these sacred elements, it was left to be devoured by the beasts and birds. The dog was a sacred animal, perhaps because of his scavenger-like habits; but it is now difficult to explain the principles upon which certain animals were handed over to Ormazd and certain others to Ahriman.

The existence of the world was held to be limited. After 12,000 years it was to end in winter or storm, to be followed by an eternal spring, when the earth would be repeopled by the risen bodies of the righteous. It is possible that this doctrine was taught as early as the time of Dareios. But a later date must be assigned to the further conception of the final victory of good and absorption of evil into it. This conception led to the pure monotheism which believed that above and beyond both Ormazd and Ahriman there was one abiding principle, called by various sects Space or Infinite Light or Fate or Zrvan akarana, "boundless time." The early date, however, at which the belief grew up may be judged from the fact that Eudêmos, the pupil of Aristotle, already makes time and space the first principles of the Magi.[2] But it is unknown to the greater part of the Avesta, from which we may infer the age of the latter. This is not the only instance in which we can assign a relative date to different portions of the sacred book. When the tenth Fargard or chapter of the Vendîdad was written, and the nineteenth Yasht composed, the opposition between the six archangels and the six arch-fiends, mentioned in the Bundehesh and already found in Plutarch, was unknown, and, as M. Darmesteter says, "the stars were not yet members of the Ormazdean army when the bulk of the eighth Yasht was compiled." But the old opposition between the *âthrava* or Mazdean priest and the

[1] Diog. Laert. *Prœm.* 9; Æn. Gaz. *Dial. de anim. immort.* p. 77.

[2] Ap. Damascium, ed. Kopp 384.

magus or "Protomedic" sorcerer was already passing away; under the unifying influences of the Persian empire magian and priest became inextricably confounded; the magian adopted the outlines of the Zoroastrian faith, and in later days hardened them into a system of sacerdotal laws and lifeless ceremonies; while the priest took over the beliefs of the older population, modifying and altering them in the process. Thus, as M. Lenormant has shown, the spirits of the shamanistic cult of Accad and Elam were changed into the fravashis or fervers of Mazdeism, the genii which correspond with all created things, and watch over the servants of Ormazd.

A rich mythology was associated with the religion of Zoroaster. The cosmogony of his followers and the successive creations of Ormazd, the places, possibly, occupied by the Iranians in their westward migration, may be read in the Bundehesh and the first fargard of the Vendîdad. The paradise of the Aryan races was laid in Airyanem vaêjo, between the Oxus and Jaxartes, where they were ruled in the golden age by Yima, the son of Vivanghvat,—called Yama, son of Vivasvat, in the Veda,—the first man, the lord of the departed, originally the evening darkness. In the Shahnameh of Firdusi, the great Epic of mediæval Persia, Yima became Jemshid. But the sovereign light, the *hwarenô*, was carried off from Yima Khshaêta, "the shining Yima," by the three-headed serpent of night, Azhi-dahâka, the biting snake, the tyrant Zohak of Firdusi's epic. Thraêtaona, the son of Athwyô, was the chosen hero who subdued the monster, and whom the Shahnameh has changed into Feridun. Born in the "four-cornered Varena" or heaven, he is the Vedic Traitana or Trita Âptya, "the dawn, the son of the waters," whose name reappears in the Homeric epithet of Athena, τριτογένεια. The serpent was bound to the highest peak of Demâvend, not to be loosed till the end of the world, when he will be slain by Keresâspa, the Gershasp of Firdusi, the Krishâshva of Hindu legend. Keresâspa has already killed other monstrous creations of Ahriman, Shravara, the Greek Kerberos, among them, and his reign restored the glory of that of Yima. When Azhi-dahâka is finally slain, a son, Saoshyant, will be born to Zoroaster who will bring eternal life and light to glorified mankind, as his father once brought them the law and the truth.

Art and Literature.—Persian art was derived from Babylonia through that of Susiana. But it lacked the humorous freedom of Babylonian art; it was stiff, severe, and formal. The carved gems were poor imitations of those of Chaldea; even the signet of Dareios is

rudely cut, and shows little artistic skill. The palaces were raised on lofty platforms like those of Babylonia, where such a protection from the marshy ground was needful; and the platforms were adorned with broad, handsome flights of stairs which led to their top. The buildings which stood on them were comparatively small and low, but this was compensated by a profusion of light and elegant columns. The columns, again, were due to Babylonian inspiration, and their capitals, with sitting figures of animals, placed back to back and turned sideways towards the spectators, resemble those of Babylon and Nineveh. The colouring of the walls and ceilings was also borrowed from Babylonia, and the bas-reliefs with which the walls were ornamented find their counterpart in the palaces of Assyria. But the subjects were treated in Babylonian and not Assyrian style; Gizdhubar, transformed into a Persian hero, again slays the demon monster with all the thickness of limb that characterised Babylonian art, and the Babylonian rosette makes its appearance everywhere. On the other hand, the long processions of men and animals, the winged solar disk that symbolises Ormazd, and the struggle between the lion and the bull, remind us of Assyria, though the treatment is thoroughly Babylonian. We feel that the same Accadian artists who inspired the art of Babylonia must have inspired the art of Persia as well as the lost art of Elam which preceded it. As in Babylonia, the animal figures are better than the human ones. The winged bulls which guard the entrances of the palaces are Assyrian; not so, however, the fashion of ornamenting the panels of the doorways with figures in relief. On the whole, Persian work in relief is clumsy, but vigorous.

The same substantial solidity characterises the architecture, in spite of the forests of pillars by which its general effect was lightened. The platforms and staircases are alike massive, the walls are thick, the doors too narrow for their height. On the other hand, a spirit of harmony and proportion is everywhere observable. The doors exactly face each other; the columns are erected in uniform rows. Egyptian influence may perhaps be detected in the propylæa through which the royal palaces were approached, as well as in the head-dress of the man who has the attributes of the winged Asiatic goddess on one of the pillars of the tomb falsely ascribed to Kyros at Murghâb.

Persian architecture may best be studied in the remains of the palace near Persepolis, burnt by Alexander. The buildings erected on the different terraces which form the platform were not connected with one another. Of the five largest buildings, one was the palace

of Dareios, the second that of Xerxês, and the third that of Artaxerxês Okhos, while the other two are known as the Chehl Minár or hall of a hundred columns—supported as it was by a hundred columns in ten rows of ten, each thirty-five feet high and twenty feet distant from its companion—and the Eastern Palace. The latter contains four groups of pillars, the largest being a square of thirty-six pillars in six rows of six, and covering an area of over 20,000 square feet. The rooms seem to have been built round the walls of the several palaces, while a portico of columns fronted the visitor.

The tombs of the Persian monarchs consisted of chambers cut out of the rock, that at Murghâb alone excepted.

Persian literature has perished, with the exception of the older parts of the Avesta, though the references to it in Herodotos, Ktêsias, and other classical writers, show that a good deal once existed. The so-called historical literature, however, seems to have resembled Firdusi's Shahnameh, or the histories of foreign nations given by Arabic authors, and to have been mostly legendary. The cursive writing employed for this literature is unknown. The cuneiform alphabet, used for monumental purposes, was probably introduced in the reign of Dareios. The tomb at Murghâb, which bears the cuneiform legend, "I am Kyros, the king, the Akhæmenian," cannot belong to the older Kyros, since Murghâb was not Pasargadæ, where he was buried. It is possibly the sepulchre of the satrap of Egypt, the brother of Xerxês, who is called Akhæmenês by Ktêsias. This would explain the Egyptian head-dress of the sculpture which adorns it. It may, however, have been intended to commemorate a cult of Kyros; at any rate, the figure represented in the sculptures is not that of a human being, but of a god. The cuneiform alphabet was last employed by Artaxerxês Okhos.

Trade and Manners.—The Persians were not a commercial people, and the trade of the empire was therefore left in the hands of their subjects. The coinage of Dareios was, however, remarkably pure. Various devices were cut upon one side of the coin, but the only inscription known is one in Greek letters which records the name Pythagoras. Pythagoras may have been a captain of the mercenaries, since a Greek inscription on the upturned base of a column at Susa is dedicated by "Pythagoras, son of Aristarkhos, captain of the body-guard," to "his friend Arreneides, the son of Arreneides, governor of Susiana." Attic coins were allowed to pass current in Persia, after being impressed with a mark in the shape of á bar.

The Persian form of government after the reign of Dareios has already been described (p. 442). Its nearest parallel in modern times is that of the Turkish empire. But the exaggerated flattery and meanspirited subservience of the Persian towards his monarch would be hard to match. His dress implied a cold climate. Drawers and boots were worn by all classes, stockings and gloves by the rich. Horses were largely employed both in war and in peace, and the Persian bowmen were celebrated. Spiked balls were strewn over the field of battle by Dareios Kodomannos, and there were six ranks of military officers under the commander-in-chief, who was always a Persian or a Mede. Prisoners of war were treated kindly, unless they happened to be rebels. The luxury and etiquette of the court were proverbial. The harem was guarded by a dense body of eunuchs, and the king seldom emerged from the secresy of his palace. Cooks and "tasters" abounded, and the king reclined on a couch with golden feet, drinking the wine of Helbon, while an inferior beverage was served to his guests seated below. Drunkenness, it may be observed, was as much a Persian failing as truthfulness was reputed to be a Persian virtue. Hunting, more especially battue shooting in *paradeisoi* or enclosed parks, shared the monarch's time with dice-playing, at which large bets were lost and won. Criminals were put to death for slight offences and in peculiarly cruel ways, and distinctions of class were rigidly maintained. Polygamy was allowed, education neglected, and the queen-mother permitted to exercise an injurious influence over the king, the court, and the empire. In short, the empire contained within it from the first all the elements of decay, and the Persian character was one which could with difficulty be respected and never loved.

DYNASTIC TABLES.

KINGS OF EGYPT.

From the Egyptian Chronicle (Synkellos, *Chron.* 51 ; Euseb. *Chron.* 6).

Egypt was ruled by thirty dynasties for 36,525 years, the first series of princes being Auritæ, the second Mestræans, and the third Egyptians.

Hephæstos.
Helios for 30,000 years.
Kronos and the other twelve gods, 3984 years.
Eight demigods for 217 years.
Fifteen generations for 443 years.
16th dynasty, Tanites ; 8 kings for 190 years.
17th, Memphites ; 4 kings, 103 years.
18th, Memphites ; 14 kings, 348 years.
19th, Thebans ; 5 kings, 194 years.
20th, Thebans ; 8 kings, 228 years.
21st, Tanites ; 6 kings, 121 years.
22d, Tanites ; 3 kings, 48 years.
23d, Thebans ; 2 kings, 19 years.
24th, Saites ; 3 kings, 44 years.
25th, Ethiopians ; 3 kings, 44 years.
26th, Memphites ; 7 kings, 177 years.
27th, Persians ; 5 kings, 124 years.
28th, ...
29th, Tanites ; . . . kings, 39 years.
30th, Tanite ; 1 king, 18 years.

MANETHO (as quoted by Julius Africanus).

(The excerpts of Africanus are only known from Georgios Synkellos and Eusebios, *Chron.* I. 19, 20.)

Dyn. I.—Thinites ; 8 kings.	Regnal Years.
1. Mênês	62
2. Athôthis, his son . . .	57
3. Kenkenês, his son . . .	31
4. Ouenephês, his son . . .	23
5. Ousaphaidos, his son (Ousaphaês, *Eus.*)	20
6. Miebidos, his son (Niebaês, *Eus.*)	26
7. Semempsês, his son . . .	18
8. Biênakhês, his son (Oubienthês, or Vibesthês, *Eus.*) . .	26
Sum .	253
(*Eus.* .	252)
(Really .	263)

Dyn. II.—Thinites ; 9 kings.	
1. Boêthos (Bôkhos, *Eus.*) . .	38
2. Kaiekhos (Khôos, or Kekhous, (*Eus.*)	39
3. Binôthris (Biophis, *Eus.*) .	47
4. Tlas (unnamed by *Eus.*) . .	17
5. Sethenês (unnamed by *Eus.*) .	41

Dyn. II.—*Continued.*	Regnal Years.
6. Khairês (unnamed by *Eus.*) .	17
7. Nepherkherês (the 7th successor of Biophis, *Eus.*) . . .	25
8. Sesôkhris	48
9. Khenerês (unnamed by *Eus.*) .	30
Sum .	302
(*Eus.* .	297)

Dyn. III.—Memphites ; 9 kings.	
1. Nekherôphês (Nekherôkhis, *Eus.*)	28
2. Tosorthros (Sethorthos, *Eus.*) .	29
3. Tyreis (unnamed by *Eus.*) .	7
4. Mesôkhris (omitted by *Eus.*) .	17
5. Sôuphis (unnamed by *Eus.*) .	16
6. Tosertasis (unnamed by *Eus.*) .	19
7. Akhês (unnamed by *Eus.*) .	42
8. Sephouris (unnamed by *Eus.*) .	30
9. Kerpherês (unnamed by *Eus.*) .	26
Sum .	214
(*Eus.* .	197)

DYN. IV.—MEMPHITES; 8 kings (*Eus.*: 19).

	Regnal Years.
1. Sôris (unnamed by *Eus.*)	29
2. Souphis I. (3d king of dyn., *Eus.*)	63
3. Souphis II. (unnamed by *Eus.*)	66
4. Menkherês (unnamed by *Eus.*)	63
5. Ratoisês (unnamed by *Eus.*)	25
6. Bikherês (unnamed by *Eus.*)	22
7. Seberkherês (unnamed by *Eus.*)	7
8. Thamphthis (unnamed by *Eus.*)	9
Sum	277
(*Eus.*	448)
(Really	284)

DYN. V.—ELEPHANTINES; 9 kings.

(*Eus.*: 31 kings, including Othoës, the first, and Phiops; the others unnamed.)

1. Ouserkherês	28
2. Sephrês	13
3. Nepherkherês	20
4. Sisirês	7
5. Kherês	20
6. Rathourês	44
7. Menkherês	9
8. Tankherês	44
9. Ounos (Obnos)	33
Sum	248
(Really	218)

DYN. VI.—MEMPHITES; 6 kings (no number in *Eus.*)

1. Othoês	30
2. Phiops	53
3. Methou-Souphis	7
4. Phiôps (lived 100 years)	94
5. Menthe-Souphis	1
6. Nitôkris	12
Sum	203
(So *Eus.*; really	197)

DYN. VII.—70 MEMPHITES for 70 days (*Eus.*: 5 kings for 75 days, or years according to the Armenian version).

DYN. VIII.—27 MEMPHITES for 146 years (*Eus.*: 5 kings for 106 years, or 9 kings according to the Arm. version).

DYN. IX.—19 HERAKLEOPOLITES for 409 years (*Eus.*: 4 kings for 100 years).

1. Akhthôês

DYN. X.—19 HERAKLEOPOLITES for 185 years.

DYN. XI.—16 THEBANS for 43 years, of whom Ammenemês reigned 16 years (after the 16 Thebans, *Eus.*)

End of Manetho's first book, the kings of the first eleven dynasties reigning altogether 2300 years and 70 days (really 2287 years 70 days).

DYN. XII.—7 THEBANS.

	Regnal Years.
1. Sesonkhosis (Sesongosis), son of Ammenemês	46
2. Ammenemês	38
3. Sesostris	48
4. Lakharês (Lamaris or Lampares, *Eus.*), the builder of the Labyrinth	8
5. Amerês (unnamed by *Eus.*)	8
6. Amenemês (unnamed by *Eus.*)	8
7. Skemiophris, his sister (unnamed by *Eus.*)	4
(*Eus.* makes the total of the three last reigns 42 years.)	
Sum	160
(*Eus.*	245)

DYN. XIII.—THEBANS; 60 kings for 453 years.

DYN. XIV.—XOITES; 76 kings for 184 years (*Eus.*: 484 years).

DYN. XV.—SHEPHERDS; 6 Phœnician strangers at Memphis for 284 years (*Eus.*: Thebans for 250 years).

1. Saïtês	19
2. Bnôn	44
3. Staan	50
4. Arklês	49
5. Aphôbis	61
Sum	284

DYN. XVI.—HELLENIC SHEPHERDS; 32 kings for 582 years (*Eus.*: 5 Thebans for 190 years).

DYN. XVII.—SHEPHERDS; 43 kings for 151 years, and THEBANS; 43 kings for 151 years (*Eus.*: 5 Shepherds, Phœnician strangers, for 103 years.

1. Saïtês	19
2. Bnôn	40
3. Arklês (Arm. version)	30
4. Aphôphis (Arm. vers.)	14
Sum	103

DYN. XVIII.—THEBANS; 16 kings (*Eus.*: 14 kings).

	Regnal Years.
1. Amôsis	25
2. Khebrôs (*Eus.*: Khebrôn)	13
3. Amenôphthis (*Eus.*: Amenôphis, 21 years)	24
4. Amensis (omitted by *Eus.*)	22
5. Misaphris (*Eus.*: Miphris, 12 years)	13
6. Misphragmouthôsis	26
7. Touthmôsis	9
8. Amenôphis (Memnôn)	31
9. Hôros (*Eus.*: Oros)	37
10. Akherrês (*Eus.*: Akhenkhersês, 16 or 12 years)	32
11. Rathôs (omitted by *Eus.*)	6
12. Khebrês (*Eus.*: Akherrês, 8 years)	12
13. Akherrês (*Eus.*: Kherrês, 15 years)	12
14. Armessês (*Eus.*: Armais Danaos)	5
15. Ramessês (*Eus.*: 68 years)	1
16. Amenôphis (*Eus.*: 40 years)	19
Sum	263
(*Eus.*)	348)

DYN. XIX.—THEBANS; 7 kings (*Eus.*: 5 kings).

1. Sethôs (*Eus.*: 55 years)	51
2. Rapsakês (*Eus.*: Rampsês, 66 years)	61
3. Ammenephthês (*Eus.*: Amenephthis, 8 years)	20
4. Ramessês (omitted by *Eus.*)	60
5. Amenemês (*Eus.*: 26 years)	5
6. Thouôris (Polybos)	7
Sum	209
(*Eus.*)	194)

In the 2d book of Manetho are 96 kings for 2121 years.

DYN. XX.—THEBANS; 12 kings for 135 years (*Eus.*: 172 or 178 years).[1]

DYN. XXI.—TANITES; 7 kings.

1. Smendês	26
2. Psousennês (*Eus.*: 41 years)	46
3. Nephelkherês (*Eus.*: Nepherkherês)	4
4. Amenôphthis	9
5. Osokhôr	6

DYN. XXI.—*Continued.*

	Regnal Years.
6. Psinakhês	9
7. Psousennês (*Eus.*: 35 years)	14
Sum	130
(*Eus.*)	130)
(Really	114)

DYN. XXII.—BUBASTITES; 9 kings (*Eus.*: 3 kings).

1. Sesonkhis (*Eus.*: Sesonkhôsis)	21
2. Osorthôn	15
3, 4, 5. Unnamed (omitted by *Eus.*)	25
6. Takelôthis	13
7, 8, 9. Unnamed (omitted by *Eus.*)	42
Sum	120
(*Eus.*)	44)
(Really	116)

DYN. XXIII.—TANITES; 4 kings (*Eus.*: 3 kings).

1. Petoubatês (*Eus.*: Petoubastês, 25 years)	40
2. Osorkhô Hêraklês (*Eus.*: Osorthôn, 9 years)	8
3. Psammos	10
4. Zêt (omitted by *Eus.*)	31
Sum	89
(*Eus.*)	44)

DYN. XXIV.—ONE SAITE.

Bokkhoris the Wise (*Eus.*: 44 years)	6

DYN. XXV.—ETHIOPIANS; 3 kings.

1. Sabakôn (*Eus.*: 12 years)	8
2. Sebikhôs, his son (*Eus.*: 12 years)	14
3. Tearkos (*Eus.*: Tarakos, 20 years)	18
Sum	40
(*Eus.*)	44)

DYN. XXVI.—SAITES; 9 kings.

(*Eus.*: 1. Ammeris the Ethiopian, 18 or 12 years.)

1. Stephinatês (*Eus.*: 2. Stephinathis)	7
2. Nekhepsôs (*Eus.*: 3.)	6
3. Nekhaô (*Eus.*: 4. for 6 years)	8
4. Psammêtikhos (*Eus.*: 5. for 44 or 45 years)	54
5. Nekhaô (*Eus.*: 6.)	6

[1] Synkellos gives in the 20th dynasty:—

Nekhepsos	19 years.
Psammouthis	13 ,,
.....	4 ,,
Okhoras	14 years.
Kertos	16 years.
Rhampsis	45 ,,
Amensês, or Amenemês	26 ,,

Dyn. XXVI.—*Continued.*	Regnal Years.
6. Psammouthis (*Eus.*: 7. Psammouthis II., or Psammatikhos, for 17 years)	6
7. Ouaphris (*Eus.*: 8. for 25 years)	19
8. Amôsis (*Eus.*: 9. for 42 years)	44
9. Psammoukherîtês (omitted by *Eus.*)	½
Sum	150½
(*Eus.*	167)

Dyn. XXVII.—Persians; 8 kings.	
1. Kambysês, in the 5th year of his reign (*Eus.*: for 3 years)	6
2. Dareios, son of Hystaspês (*Eus.* prefixes the Magian 7 months)	36
3. Xerxês	21
4. Artabanos (omitted by *Eus.*)	7 mths.
5. Artaxerxês	41
6. Xerxês II.	2 mths.
7. Sogdianos	7 mths.
8. Dareios, son of Xerxês	19
Sum	124½
(*Eus.*	120½)

Dyn. XXVIII.—One Saite.	
Amyrtaios	6

Dyn. XXIX.—Mendesians; 4 kings.	Regnal Years.
1. Nepherîtês I. (or Nekherîtês)	6
2. Akhôris	13
3. Psammouthês [*Eus.* inserts Monthês here for 1 year.]	1
4. Nepherites II.	4 mths.
Sum	20½

Dyn. XXX.—Sebennytes; 3 kings.	
1. Nektanebês I. (*Eus.*: for 10 years)	18
2. Teôs	2
3. Nektanebês II. (*Eus.*: for 8 years)	18
Sum	38
(*Eus.*	30)

Dyn. XXXI.—Persians; 3 kings.	
1. Okhos, in his 20th year (*Eus.*: for 6 years)	2
2. Arsês (*Eus.*: for 4 years)	3
3. Dareios (*Eus.*: for 6 years)	4
Sum	9
(*Eus.*	16)

ERATOSTHENES (as quoted by Synkellos from the Excerpt of Apollodôros of Athens).

The Theban kings are:—	Years.
1. Mênês, the Thinite, whose name means "everlasting"	62
2. Athôthês, son of Mênês, whose name means "born of Hermês" (Thoth)	59
3. Athôthês II.	32
4. Diabiês, son of Athôthês, whose name means "friendly to others"	19
5. Pemphôs (? Semphôs), son of Athôthês, whose name means "son of Hêraklês"	18
6. Toigar Amakhos Momkheiri, the Memphite, *i.e.* "man-avenger, redundant in limbs"	79
7. Stoikhos, his son, *i.e.* "Arês the senseless"	6
8. Gosormiês, *i.e.* "desire of all" (?)	30
9. Marês, his son, *i.e.* "gift of the sun"	26
10. Anôyphis, *i.e.* "long-haired"	20
11. Sirios, *i.e.* "son of the pupil of the eye," or, as others, "not to be bewitched by the evil eye"	18
12. Knoubos Gneuros, *i.e.* "the golden son of the golden"	22
13. Rayôsis, *i.e.* "chief ruler"	13
14. Biyris	10
15. Saôphis, *i.e.* "the long-haired, or, as others, "the extortioner"	29
16. Saôphis II.	27
17. Moskherês, *i.e.* "gift of the sun"	31
18. Mosthês	33
19. Pammês Arkhondês	35
20. Apappos, the very great	one hour less than 100
21. Ekheskosokaras	1
22. Nitôkris, a woman, *i.e.* "Athêna the victorious"	6
23. Myrtaios Ammônodotos ("gift of Amun")	22
24. Thyosimarês, "the strong," *i.e.* "the sun"	12

		Years.
25.	Thinillos, *i.e.* "the augmenter of his father's strength"	8
26.	Semphroukratês, *i.e.* "Hêraklês Harpokratês"	18
27.	Khouthêr Tauros, a tyrant	7
28.	Meurês Philoskoros	12
29.	Khômaephtha Kosmos Philêphaistos ("world-loving Pthah," *kheper mer-en-Pthah*)	11
30.	Soikynios Okho, a tyrant	60
31.	Peteathyrês	16
32.	Ammenemês II.	23
33.	Sistosikhermês, "strength of Hêraklês"	55
34.	Marês	43
35.	Siphoas, *i.e.* "Hermês, son of Hephaistos" (Thoth, son of Pthah)	5
36.	Phrourôn, *i.e.* the Nile	5 (or 19)
37.	Amouthantaios	63

Apollodôros added 53 other names, which are not given by Synkellos.

HERODOTOS.

Minôs.
18 Ethiopians, and
Queen Nitôkris.
Mœris.
Sesôstris.
Pherôn, his son.
Prôteus, a Memphite.
Rhampsinitos.
Kheops for 50 years.
Kephrên, his brother, for 56 years.
Mykerinos, son of Kheops.
Asykhis.
Anysis, the blind.
Sabakôn, the Ethiopian, 50 years.
Anysis restored.
Sethôs, the priest of Pthah.
The 12 kings of the Dodekarkhy.
Psammetikhos for 54 years.
Nekhôs, his son, 11 years.
Psammis, his son, 6 years.
Apriês, his son, 25 years.
Amasis, an usurper, 44 years.
Psammênitos, his son, 6 months.

DIODÔROS.

Menas.
Then 54 kings for more than 1400 years.
Bousiris.
Then eight of his descendants, the last being Bousiris II., the founder of Thebes.
Oukhoreus I., the 7th in descent from Bousiris II.
Oukhoreus II., his son, the founder of Memphis.
Ægyptos, his son.
Then 12 generations.
Mœris.
Sesôôsis I.
Sesôôsis II.
After many kings, Amasis, who was conquered by
Aktisanês, the Ethiopian.
Mendês, or Marrhos, who built the Labyrinth.
Interregnum for 5 generations.
Ketês, or Prôteus.
Rhemphis.
7 kings, of whom one was Neilos.
Khembês, or Khemmis, the Memphite, for 50 years.
Kephrên, or Khabryas, his brother or son.
Mykerinos, son of Khemmis.
Tnêphakhthos (Plutarch's Tekhnatis).
Bokkhôris, the Wise, his son.
After many years Sabakôn, the Ethiopian.
Interregnum of 2 years.
12 nomarchs for 18 years.
Psammetikhos, the Saite, for 54 years.
After 4 generations Apriês for 22 years.
Amasis, 55 years.

Diodôros also names Sasykhis, Osymandyas, and 5 queens, and states that according to some the first Pyramid was built by Armaios, the second by Amasis, and the third by Inarôn.

THE ARABIC WRITERS.

I.

The Dynasty before Adam; Gian ben Gian builds the Pyramids.

II.

1. Kraus, 5th descendant of Adam, son of Mesr, builds Mesr, and reigns 180 years.
2. Tegar, or Natras, his son.

2. Mesram, the magician, his brother.
3. Gamgam, the magician, his son.
4. Aryak, the sage, his son.
5. Lukhanam, his son.
6. Khasalifa, his son, invented the Nilometer.
7. Harsal, or Husal, his son, in whose reign Noah was born.
8. Yadonsak, who first made canals.
9. Semrond, his son.
10. Sariak, or Sarkak, his son.
11. Sahaluk.
12. Saurid, the wise, for 107 years. Built the three pyramids of Gizeh, and was buried in the largest of them.
13. Hargib, his son, the chemist, for 99 years. Was buried in the pyramid of Dashûr which he had built.
14. Menaes, or Menkaus, his son, the tyrant, killed by a fall from his horse.
15. Ekros, his son.
16. Ermelinus, not related to the royal family.
17. Firaun, his cousin; asked King Darmasel to kill Noah and burn the ark; was drowned by the Deluge while drunk.

III.

1. Banesr, or Beisar, son of Cush, saved in the ark with the high-priest of Egypt; built Mesr or Memphis.
2. Mesr, his son, who divided Egypt between his three sons
3. Koptim who had Middle Egypt, Ashmun who had Upper Egypt, and Athrib who had the Delta.
4. Koptarim, son of Koptim.
5. Budesir, his son.
6. Gad, or Gadim, his son.
7. Sedeth, his son.
8. Mankaus, his son.
9. Kasaus, his son.
10. Marbis, his son.
11. Asmar, his son.
12. Kitin, his son.
13. Elsabas, his son.
14. Sa, his son, who built Sais.
15. Malil, his son.
16. Hadares, his son.
17. Kheribas, his son.
18. Kalkan, his son.
19. Totis, or Tulis, his son, for 70 years; poisoned by his daughter.
20. Interregnum.
21. Kharoba, or Juriak, daughter of Totis.

IV.

Egypt conquered by the Amalekites. Among their kings were
Riyan, whose minister was Joseph.
Darem, his son, a tyrant, drowned in the Nile. Succeeded by
Kathim.
Kabus, grandson of Riyan.
Wâlid, his brother, the Adite, in the time of Moses, drowned in the Red Sea.
Daluka, his daughter, built the walls of Mesr.

V.

Darkum, a young Egyptian, drove out the Amalekites.

.

Ashya f.
Firaun el Araj ("the lame"), conquered by Nebuchadrezzar, the last native king of Egypt.

THE MONUMENTS.

DYN. I.

Tablets of Abydos.	Sakkárah.	Turin Papyrus.	Manetho.
1. Mena.	...	Mena.	Mênes.
2. Teta.	...	Atet.	Athôthis.
3. Atota.	...	...	Kenkenês.
4. Ata.	...	...	Uenephês I.
5. ...	...	...	Uenephês II.
6. Hesep (or Sapti).	...	...	Usaphaidos.
7. Merba.	Merbaipen.	...	Miebidos.
8. Semen Ptah ?	...	...	Semempsês.
9. Kabeh.	Kabehu.	...	Bienekhês.

DYN. II.

1. Butau.	...	...	Boêthos.
2. Kakau.	Kakau.	...	Kaiekhos.
3. Bainuteru.	Bainuter.	...	Binôthris.
4. Utnas.	Utnas.	...	Tlas.
5. Sent.[1]	...	Sent.	Sethenês.
6. ...	...	Aakar.	Khairês.
7. Tata I.	...	...	...
8. ...	Nofer-ka-ra.	...	Nepherkherês.
9. ...	Sekeri Nofer-ka.	Nofer-ka Seker, 8 y. 3 m. 4 d.	Sesôkhris.
10. ...	Tefa.	Hu-tefa, (? 3)1 y. 8 m. 4 d.	Khenerês.
11. ...	Bubui.	Bubu, 27 y. 2 m. 1 d.	...

DYN. III.

1. Neb-ka.	...	Neb-ka, 19 y.	...
2. Ser-bes.	Ser.	Sera, 19 y. 1 m.	Nekherôphês.
3. Tata II.	Ser-Teta.	Ser-Teta.	Tosorthros.
4. Set-ea.	...	...	Tyreis.
5. ...	Neb-ka-ra.	...	Mesôkhris.
6. Nofer-ka-ra.	...	...	Sôyphis.
7. ...	...	...	Tosertasis.
8. ...	Huni.	Hu(ni).	Akhês.
9. Snefru.	...	Snefru.	Sephouris.
10. ...	...	...	Kerpherês.

DYN. IV.

1. ...	...	...	Sôris.
2. Khufu(f).	Khufu.	...	Souphis I. (Kheops).
3. Ra-tatf.[2]	Ra-tatf.	...	...
4. Khafra.	Khafra.	...	Souphis II. (Khephren).
5. Men-ka-ra.[3]	...	...	Menkherês (Mykerinos).
6. ...	...	...	Ratoisês.
7. ...	...	...	Bikherês.
8. Shepseskaf, or Aseskaf.	...	...	Seberkherês.
9. ...	...	...	Thamphthis.

[1] The inscription of Sera seems to make Perab-sen the immediate successor of Sent.

[2] Perhaps the same as Khnum-Khufu who is mentioned along with Khufu on contemporaneous monuments.

[3] More than one earlier Men-ka-ra is known from the monuments; but as they are not named by Manetho or the list of Abydos their places cannot be determined.

Dyn. V.

Tablets of Abydos.	Sakkârah.	Turin Papyrus.	Manetho.
1. Userkaf.	...	...	Ouserkhersês.
2. Sahu-ra.	Sahu-ra.	...	Sephrês.
3. Kaka.	...	...	...
4. Nofer-f-ra.	Nofer-ar-ka-ra.	...	Nepherkhersês.
5. ...	Shepses-ka-ra.	...	Sisirês.
6. ...	Kha-nofer-ra.	...	Kherês.
7. Ra-en-user.	...	...	Rathourês.
8. Men-kau-hor.	Men-ka-hor.	Men-ka-hor, 8 y.	Menkheres.
9. Tat-ka-ra.	Tat-ka-ra.	Tat, 28 y.	Tankheres.
10. Unas.	Unas.	Unas, 30 y.	Onnos.

Dyn. VI.

1. Teta.	Teta.	. . . 6 m. 21 d.	Otheês.
2. User-ka-ra.	...	. . . 20 y.	Phios.
3. ...	... [Ati, stêlê of Una.]	. . . 4 y.	Methou-souphis.
4. Meri-ra.	Pepi (Meri-ra).	. . . 9(4) y.	Phiôps.
5. Meren-ra (? Mentu-hotep).	...	Meren-ra, 1 y. 1 m.	Menthe-souphis.
6. Nofer-ka-ra.	...	...	...
7. ...	...	Nit-aker (a queen).	Nitôkris.
8. ...	...	1. Nofer-ka, 2 y. 1 m. 1 d.	...
9. ...	...	2. Nefrus, 4 y. 2 m. 1 d.	...
10. ...	...	3. Ab-en-ra I., 2 y. 1 m. 1 d.	...
11. ...	...	4. ...	...
		5. Ab-en-ra II.	
		6. Hanti.	
		7. Pest-sat-en-Sepd.	
		8. Paitasu.	
		9. Serhlinib [Lauth].	

Dyns. VII., VIII., IX., X., XI.

Tablets of Abydos.	Turin Papyrus.	Other Monuments.	Manetho.
1. Merem-ra Zaf-em-saf.	1. . . . 6 y.	...	...
2. Nuter-ka-ra.	2. ...	...	...
3. Men-ka-ra.	3. ...	...	...
4. Nofer-ka-ra.	4. Nofer-ka-ra.	...	...
5. ...	5. Khrati.	...	...
6. ...	6. Se . . .	...	...
7. ...	7. ...	...	...
8. ...	8. Ur . . .	...	...
9. ...	9. Set . . .	...	...
10. ...	10. Ha . . .	...	...
11. ...	11. ...	...	...
12. ...	12. . . . ra.	1. Ahetus (Akhthoês).	...
13. Nofer-ka-ra Nebi.	13. . . . ra.	2. Nofer-ka-ra.	...
14. Tat-ka-ra Shema.	14. . . . ra.	...	...
15. Nofer-ka-ra Khontu.	15. . . . ra.	...	...
	And 3 others destroyed.		
	(Sum of years of 10th dynasty :— 355 y. 10 d.)		
Mer-en-hor.	...	...	...

DYNS. VII., VIII., IX., X., XI.—*Continued.*

Tablets of Abydos.	Turin Papyrus.	Other Monuments.	Manetho.
Snofer-ka.	...	...	...
Ra-en-ka.	...	...	...
Nofer-ka-ra Terel.	...	...	...
Nofer-ka-hor.	...	...	...
Nofer-ka-ra Pepi-seneb.	...	...	...
Snofer-ka Annu.	...	...	...
(Nofer-) kau-ra.	...	...	...
Nofer-kau-ra II.	...	Sekhem-em-apu-ma-ra Antuf Aa.	...
Nofer-kau-hor.	. . . 9 y.	Ra-nub-kheper Antuf IV. (XI. dynasty).[1]	...
Nofer-ar-ka-ra.	. . . 8 y.	...	...
Neb-khru-ra (Mentu-hotep IV.)	Neb-khru-ra, 51 y.	Ra-neb-taui Mentu-hotep III.	...
S-ankh-ka-ra.[2]	Ra-user, 12 y. (Sum of years of 11th dynasty :— 243 y.)	Ra-neb-khru Mentu-hotep (46 y.).	...

DYN. XII.

	Monuments.	Turin Papyrus.	Manetho.
1.	Amen-em-hat I., alone . . . 20 y. With Usurtasen I., . . . 10 ,,	S-hotep-ab-ra.	Ammenemês.
2.	Usurtasen I. Kheper-ka-ra, alone . 32 ,, With Amen-em-hat II. . . 3 ,,	. . . 48 y.	Sesonkhosis.
3.	Amen-em-hat II. Nub-kau-ra, alone 29 ,, With Usurtasen II. . . . 6 ,,	...	Ammanemês.
4.	Usurtasen II. Ra-kha-kheper . 13 ,,	. . . 19 y.	Sesostris.
5.	Usurtasen III. Kha-kau-ra . . 26 ,,	. . . 3 y.	Lakharês.
6.	Amen-em-hat III. 42 ,,	(Ra)-en-mât.	Ammerês.
7.	Amen-em-hat IV.	Ra-ma-khru, 9 y. 3 m. 17 d.	Ammenemês.
8.	Sebek-nofru-ra (queen)	Sebek-nofru-ra, 3 y. 10 m. 24 d. (Sum of years of 12th dyn. :— 213 y. 1 m. 17 d.)	Skemiophris.

DYN. XIII.—According to the Turin Papyrus.

1. Sebek-hotep I. Ra-khu-taui (son of Sebek-nofru-ra), 1 y. 3 m. 24 d.
2. Sokhem-ka-ra, 6 y.
3. Ra Amen-em-hat I.
4. S-hotep-ab-ra I.
5. Aufni, 2 y.
6. S-ankh-ab-ra, 1 y.
7. S-men-ka-ra.
8. S-hotep-ab-ra II.
9. ka-ra.
10-11. Destroyed.
12. Notem-ab-ra.
13. Ra-Sebek-hotep II.
14. Ran-(sen)eb.
15. Autu-ab-ra I.
16. Setef . . . ra.
17. Ra Sokhem-khu-taui (Sebek-hotep III.)
18. Ra-user
19. S-monkh-ka-ra Mermesha.
20. ka-ra.
21. user-Ser.

[1] Twelve Antufs are known, six being mentioned in the list of Karnak. Two bear the title of *Aa*, "great."

[2] Lieblein makes the ten kings of the 11th dynasty :—
(1.) Snofer-ka-ra.
(2.) ra.
(3.) User-en-ra.
(4.) Neb-nem-ra.
(5.) Sa-ra Mentu-hotep I.
(6.) Mentu-hotep-ra.
(7.) Neb-hotep-sa-ra Mentu-hotep II.
(8.) Neb-taui-ra Mentu-hotep III.
(9.) Neb-khru-ra Mentu-hotep IV.
(10.) S-ankh-ka-ra.

DYN. XIII.—*Continued.*

22. Ra Sokhem-(khu-taui) Sebekhotep IV.)
23. Kha-seshesh-ra Nofer-hotep, son of Ha-ankh-ef.
24. Ra-si-Hathor.
25. Kha-nofer-ra Sebek-hotep V.
26. (? Kha-ka-ra).
27. Kha-ankh-ra (Sebek-hotep VI.)
28. Kha-hotep-ra (Sebek-hotep VII.), 4 y. 8 m. 29 d.
29. Uab-ra Aa-ab, 10 y. 8 m. 28d.
30. Mer-nofer-ra Ai, 23 y. 8 m. 18 d.
31. Mer-hotep-ra, 2 y. 2 m. 9 d.
32. S-ankh-nef-ra Utu, 3 y. 2 m.
33. Mer-Sokhem-ra Anran, 3 y. 1 m.
34. Sut-ka-ra Ura, 5 y. ... m. 8 d.
35. Anemen ro.
36-46. Destroyed.
47. Mer-kheper-ra.
48. Mer-ka-ra.
49-53. Destroyed.
54. mes.
55. Ra . . . mât Aba.
56. . . . Uben-Ra I.
57-60. Destroyed.
61. Nahasi-ra.
62. Kha-khru-Ra.
63. Neb-ef-autu-Ra, 2 y. 5 m. 15 d.
64. S-heb-ra, 3 y.
65. Mer-tefa-ra, 3 y.
66. Sut-ka-ra.
67. Neb-tefa-ra.
68. Uben-ra II.
69-70. Destroyed.
71. tefa-ra.
72. . . Uben-ra III.
73. Autu-ab-ra II.
74. Har-ab-ra.
75. Neb-sen-ra.
76-79. Destroyed.
80. S-kheper-en-ra.
81. Tat-khru-ra.
82. S-ankh-(ka-)ra.
83. Nofer-tum-ra.
84. Sokhem ra.
85. Ka ra.
86. Nofer-ab-ra.
87. Ra-a
88. Ra-kha . . . 2 y.
89. Nut-ka-ra, 2 y.
90. S-men . . . ra.
91-111. Destroyed.
112. Ra-Sokhem . . .
113. Ra-Sokhem . . .
114. Ra-Sokhem-us . .
115. Ra-sesen . . .
116. Ra-neb-ari.
117. Ra-neb-aten.
118. Ra-s-ment . . .
119. Ra-user-aten.
120. Ra-Sokhem . . .

From thirty to forty more names are destroyed.

[DYN. XIII.—According to the Tablet of Karnak.

1. . . . ka.
2. Sut-en-ra.
3. S-ankh-ab-ra.
4. Ra-Sokhem-khu-taui.
5. Ra-Sokhem-sut-taui.
6. Kha-seshesh-ra.
7. Kha-nofer-ra.
8. Kha-ka-ra.
9. Kha-ankh-ra.
10. Kha-hotep-ra.]

DYN. XIV.—According to the Turin Papyrus.

1. Destroyed.
2. Ab-nu.
3. Sotep-en-mau.
4. Pan-n-set-sotep.
5. Pah-as?
6. Sor-hem-t.
7. Af . . .
8. Seti . . .
9. Nun . . .
10. Hor . . .
11. ka.
12. Destroyed.
13. . . . Hapi . . .
14. . . . ka-Mentu?
15. . . . ka-beb-nu . . .
16. 3 y.
17. kheti.
18. . . . en-neb-Erget.
19, etc. Destroyed.

[Ra-men-nofer (Menophrês) on Scarabs, B.C. 2785.]

DYNS. XV., XVI.	Turin Papyrus (Lauth).
Set-Shalati (Salatis), on the Colossus of Tell Mokdam	 44 years.
Set-aa-pehuti Nub-ti (? Saites)	Hap . . . (Apakhnas).
Ra-Set-Nub (on the Lion of Bagdad)	Aan-Nub (Staan).
Apepi (Aphobis) I. Ra-aa-user (geometrical papyrus written in his 33d year)	...
Apepi II. Ra-aa-ab-taui (? Aphôphis of Euseb.)	Ap(epi), 61 years.

Dyn. XVII.

1. Ra-sekenen Taa I. Contemporary with Apepi II.
2. Ra-sekenen Taa II. Aa.
3. Ra-sekenen Taa III. Ken.
4. Ut-kheper-ra Kames and his wife Aah-hotep.

Dyn. XVIII.

	Monuments.	Manetho.
1.	Neb-pehuti-ra Aahmes (more than 22 years), and wife Nofert-ari-Aahmes.	Amôsis. Khebrôn.
2.	Ser-ka-ra Amun-hotep I., 20 y. 7 m.; his mother at first regent.	Amenophis I.
3.	Aa-kheper-ka-ra Tehuti-mes I., and wife Aahmes Meri-Amun.	Amensis.
4.	Aa-kheper-en-ra Tehuti-mes II. (more than 9 years), and wife Khnum Amun Hatasu Ma-ka-ra.	Misaphris.
5.	Hatasu (Hatsepsu) Ma-ka-ra (queen), 16 years.	Misphragmuthôsis.
6.	Ra-men-khaper Tehuti-mes III., 37 y. 11 m. 1 d.	Touthmôsis.
7.	Aa-khepru-ra Amun-hotep IV.	Amenôphis II.
8.	Men-khepru-ra Tehuti-mes IV., and wife Mut-em-ua	Hôros.
9.	Ma-neb-ra Amun-hotep III. (more than 35 years), and wife Thi.	Akherrês.
10.	Nofer-kheper-ra Ua-en-ra Amun-hotep IV.	Rathôs.
10.	Khu-en-Aten (more than 12 years) and wife Nofri-Thi.	Khebrês.
11.	Sa'a-nekht and wife Meri-Aten.	Akherrês.
12.	Tut-ankh-Amun Ra-khepru-neb, and wife Ankh-nes-Amun.	
13.	Nuter Atef Ai Ra-kheper-khepru-ar-mâ, and wife Thi.	
14 (?).	Hor-em-heb Mi-Amun Ser-khepru-ra.	Armessês.
15 (?).	Bek-ra (Ra-nefer-i, *Lauth*).	

Dyn. XIX.

1.	Men-pehuti-ra Ramessu I. (more than 2 years).	Ramessês.
2.	Ma-men-ra Seti I. Meren-Ptah, and wife Tua.	Amenôphis.
3.	Ra-user-ma Sotep-en-ra Ramessu II. Mi-Amun, 67 years.	Sethôs. Rapsakês.
4.	Meren-Ptah I. Hotep-hi-ma Ban-ra Mi-Amun.	Ammenephthês.
5.	User-khepru-ra Seti II. Meren-Ptah.	Ramessês.
6.	Amun-mesu Men-kha-ra Sotep-en-ra.	Thuôris.
7.	Khu-en-ra Sotep-en-ra Meren-Ptah II. Si-Pthah.	Amenemês.

Dyn. XX.

1. User-kha-ra Sotep-en-ra Set-nekht Merer Mi-Amun (recovered the kingdom from the Phœnician Arisu).
2. User-ma-ra Mi-Amun Ramessu III. (more than 32 years).
3. Ramessu IV. Mi-Amun.
4. Ramessu V. Amun-hi-khepesh-ef Mi-Amun.
5. Ramessu Meri-Tum (in Northern Egypt).
5. Ramessu VI. Ra-neb-ma Mi-Amun Amun-hi-khepesh-ef.
6. Ramessu VII. At-Amun User-ma-ra Mi-Amun Sotep-en-ra.
7. Ramessu VIII. Set-hi-khepesh-ef Mi-Amun User-ma-ra Khu-en-Amun.
8. Ramessu IX. Si-Pthah Se-kha-en-ra Mi-Amun.
9. Ramessu X. Nofer-ka-ra Mi-Amun Sotep-en-ra (more than 10 years.)
10. Ramessu XI. User-ma-ra Mi-Amun Sotep-en-ra.
11. Ramessu XII. Men-ma-ra Mi-Amun Sotep-en-Ptah Khamus (more than 27 years).
12. Ramessu XIII. Amun-hi-khepesh-ef Kheper-ma-ra Sotep-en-ra (more than 15 years).

[Brugsch makes Ramessu XIII. precede Ramessu XII.]

DYN. XXI.—ILLEGITIMATE.

1. Hirhor, the high-priest of Amun at Thebes (more than 16 years) (wife, Notem-Mut).
2. Pianakhi, the high-priest (wife, Tent-Amun).
3. Pinotem I., the high-priest (wife, Henttaui).
4. Pinotem II., king, and wife Ma-ka-ra (descendant of Ramses).
5. Men-kheper-ra, brother of the high-priest Masahirti (wife, Ast-em-kheb).
6. Pinotem III., son of Men-kheper-ra.

DYN. XXI.—LEGITIMATE (TANITES).

Monuments.	Manetho.
Si-Mentu Mi-Amun Nuter-kheper-ra Setep-en-Amun.	Smendês.
P-seb-en-kha[1] Mi-Amun Aa-kheper-ra Setep-en-Amun	Psousennês.
P-seb-en-kha II.[2] Mi-Amun Ra-uta-hik Hor.	Nephelkherês.
Amun-em-kam Mi-Amun User-ma-ra Setep-en-Amun.	Amenôphthis.
.	Osokhôr.
.	Psinakhês.
.	Psousennês.

DYN. XXII.

1. Shashank I. Mi-Amun Hat-kheper-ra Setep-en-ra (more than 21 years).	Sesonkhis.
2. Usarkon I. Mi-Amun Sekhem-kheper-ra (marries the daughter of P-seb-en-kha).	Osorthôn.
3. Takelet I. Mi-Amun Si-Ast Hat-ra Setep-en-Amun, and wife Kapoa.	...
4. Usarkon II. Mi-Amun Si-Bast User-ma-ra Setep-en-Amun (more than 23 years).	...
5. Shashank II. Mi-Amun Sekhem-kheper-ra Setep-en-Amun	...
6. Takelat II. Mi-Amun Si-Ast Hat-kheper-ra Setep-en-ra (more than 15 years).	Takelôthis.
7. Shashank III. Mi-Amun Si-Bast User-ma-ra Setep-en-ra, 52 years.	...
8. Pimai Mi-Amun User-ma-ra Setep-en-Amun.	...
9. Shashank IV. Aa-kheper-ra (more than 37 years).	...

DYN. XXIII.

1. Se-her-ab-ra Pet-si-Bast.	Petoubastês.
2. Usarkon III. Mi-Amun Aa-kheper-ra Setep-en-Amun.	Osorkhô.
3. P-si-Mut User-ra Setep-en-Ptah.	Psammos.
[*Lauth*: 4. Kashet, father of Shabaka.]	Zêt.

INTERREGNUM.

Egypt divided among several princes, including Tef-nekht (Tnêphakhtos), father of Bek-en-ran-ef. It is overrun by Piankhi the Ethiopian, while Osarkon III. rules at Bubastis. The son and successor of Piankhi is Mi-Amun-Nut.

DYN. XXIV.

Monuments.	Manetho.
Bek-en-ran-ef Uah-ka-ra (more than 6 years).	Bokkhoris.

DYN. XXV.

1. Shabaka (*Assyrian* Sibahe), defeated by Sargon B.C. 720 (more than 12 years).	Sabakôn.
2. Shabataka.	Sebikhôs.
3. Taharka (*Assyrian* Tarku), 26 years.	Tearkos.

[1] Brugsch reads Pi-seb-khan. The name may also be read P-siu-en-kha.
[2] Perhaps the Psinakhês of Manetho.

INTERREGNUM.

The Assyrian conquest and division of Egypt into 20 satrapies, B.C. 672-650. Taharka and his successor Rud-Amun (*Assyrian* Urdamanu, the Ammeris of Euseb.) make vain efforts to recover it. In Manetho the period is represented by Stephinatês, Nekhepsôs, and Nekhaô, the latter being the Niku, satrap of Memphis and Sais, and father of Psammetikhos, of the Assyrian inscriptions.

DYN. XXVI.

Monuments.	Manetho.
1. Psamtik I. Uah-ab-ra, and wife Mehet-usekh, 54 years, B.C. 660-610.[1]	Psammêtikhos.
2. Neku I. Uahem-ab-ra, and wife Mi-Mut Nit-aker, 15½ years, B.C. 610-594.	Nekhaô.
3. Psamtik II. Nofer-hat-ra, and wife Nit-Aker, 5½ years, B.C. 594-589.	Psammouthis.
4. Uah-ab-ra Haa-ab-ra, and wife Aah-hotep, 19 years, B.C. 589-570.	Ouaphris.
5. Aah-mes Si-Nit Khnum-ab-ra, and wife Thent-kheta, 44 years, B.C. 570-526.	Amôsis.
6. Psamtik III. Ankh-ka-en-ra, 6 months, B.C. 526-525.	Psammekheritês.

DYN. XXVII.

1. Kambathet Sem-taui Mestu-ra, 6 years, B.C. 525-519.	Kambysês.
2. Ntaruish I. Settu-ra, 36 years, B.C. 519-483 (485).	Dareios I.
3. Khabbash Senen Tanen Sotep-en-Ptah (native prince), B.C. 484 (486).	
3. Khsherish (more than 13 years), B.C. 483 (485)-463 (465).	Xerxês I.
4.	Artabanos.
5. Artaksharsha (more than 16 years), B.C. 463 (465)-423 (425).	Artaxerxês.
6.	Xerxês II.
7.	Sogdianos.
8. Ntaruish II. Mi-Amun-ra.	Dareios II.

DYN. XXVIII.

Amun-ar-t-rut (more than 6 years)[2] (B.C. 415).	Amyrtaios.

DYN. XXIX.

1. Nef-a-rut I. Ban-ra Mi-nuteru (more than 4 years).	Nepheritês I.
2. Hakori Ra-khnum Mat Sotep-en-khnum, 13 years.	Akhôris.
3. P-si-Mut, 1 year.	Psammouthês.
4. Har-neb-kha, 1 year.	Mouthês.
5. Nef-a-rut II., 1 year.	Nepheritês II.

DYN. XXX.

1. Nekht-hor-heb Ra-snotsem-het Sotep-en-anhur Ast-anhur Si-Ast, son of Nef-a-rut I., 9 years (16 years from the death of Nef-a-rut I.)	Nektanebês I.
2. Tsi-hu, 1 year.	Teôs.
3. Nekht-neb-ef Ra-kheper-ka, 18 years.	Nektanebês II.

[1] The dates are Wiedemann's.
[2] So Wiedemann. Revillout makes the Demotic name Amun-hir.

KINGS OF BABYLONIA.

BÊRÔSOS (APOLLODÔROS) AND ABYDÊNOS.

BEFORE THE DELUGE:—

1. Alôros of Babylon, "the Shepherd of the People," for 10 *sari* (36,000 years).
2. Alaparos or Alasparos, for 3 *sari* (10,800 years).
3. Amêlôn or Amillaros, of Pantibiblon, for 13 *sari* (46,800 years). Amêdôtos comes from the Persian Gulf.
4. Ammenôn, the Khaldæan, of Pantibiblon, for 12 *sari* (43,200 years). The Mousaros,[1] Oannes, or Annêdôtos, comes from the Persian Gulf.
5. Amegalaros, or Megalaros, or Metalaros, or Megalanos, of Pantibiblon, for 18 *sari* (64,800 years).
6. Daônos or Daôs, the Shepherd, of Pantibiblon, for 10 *sari* (36,000 years). Euedokos, Eneugamos, Eneubôulos, and Anementos come from the Persian Gulf.
7. Euedôreskhos or Euedôrakhos, of Pantibiblon, for 18 *sari* (64,800 years). Odakon or Anodaphos comes from the Persian Gulf.
8. Amempsinos, a Khaldæan of Larankha,[2] for 10 *sari* (36,000 years).
9. Otiartês (Opartês), called Ardatês by Alex. Polyhistôr, a Khaldæan of Larankha, for 8 *sari* (28,800 years).
10. Xisouthros, or Sisithros, his son, who was saved from the Deluge, for 18 *sari* (64,800 years).

ALEXANDER POLYHISTOR.

AFTER THE DELUGE:—

I. First Dynasty of 86 (Khaldæan) kings for 34,080 or 33,091 years, headed by Eudkhoos, or Evêrios, for Eutykhios (identified with Nimrod by Synkellos), for 4 *sari* (2400 years), and his son Khomasbolos, or Komosbelos, or Khomasbelos, for 4 *sari* 5 *ansi* (2700 years). Their five next successors were:—

3. Pôros, for 35 years.
4. Nekhoubês, 43 years.
5. Abios, 48 years.
6. Oniballos, 40 years.
7. Zinziros, 46 years.

II. Second Dynasty of 8 Median kings for 224 years, headed by Zoroaster.
III. Third Dynasty of 11 kings (? for 258 years).
IV. Fourth Dynasty of 49 Khaldæan kings for 458 years.
V. Fifth Dynasty of 9 Arabian kings for 245 years.

1. Mardokentês, 45 years.
2. ...
3. Sisimardakos, 28 years.
4. Nabios, 37 years.
5. Parannos, 40 years.
6. Nabonnabos, 25 years.

VI. Semiramis, Queen of Assyria.
VII. Seventh Dynasty of 45 kings for 526 years.
VIII. Phoulos and Nabonassar.

THE CANON OF PTOLEMY (in the Almagest).

	B.C.
1. Nabonassar, 14 years	747
2. Nabios, 2 years	733
3. Khinziros and Pôros, 5 years	731
4. Iloulaios or Yougaios, 5 years	726
5. Mardokempados, 12 years	721
6. Arkeanos (Sarkeanos), 5 years	709
7. Interregnum, 2 years (Hagisa or Akisês, 30 d., and Merodach Baladan, 6 m., ac. to *Alex. Polyhist.*)	704
8. Bêlibos (*Alex. P.*: Elibos), 3 years	702
9. Aparanadios (*Alex. P.*: Assordanios) 6 years	700
10. Rêgebêlos, 1 year	694

[1] Accadian mu-ar, "writing."

[2] The Surippak of the monuments.

	B.C.
11. Mesêsimordakos, 4 years	693
12. Interregnum, 8 years	689
13. Asaridinos, 13 yrs. (*Alex. P.*: 8 years)	681
14. Saosdoukhinos, for 20 years (*Alex. P.*: Sammugês, for 21 years)	668
15. Kinêladanos, 22 years (*Alex. P.*: 21 years)	648
16. Nabopolassaros (*Alex. P.*: Nabupalsar, *Abyd.*: Busalossoros, General of the Assyrian king Sarakos) 21 years	626
17. Nabokolassaros (*Alex. P.*: Nabukodrossoros), 43 years	605
18. Ilouaroudamos, 2 yrs. (*Alex. P.*: Amilmarudokos, 12 years)	562
19. Nêrigasolassaros (*Alex. P.*: Neglisaros), 4 years	560
[20. *Josêphos*: Laborosoarkhodos, 3 m.	556]
21. Nabonadios (*Alex. P.*: Nabodênos; *Josêph.*: Nabonidos), 17 years	556
Kyros captures Babylon	538

KINGS OF ASSYRIA.

KTÊSIAS (ac. to Eusebios, Synkellos, and Moses of Khorene).

Euseb.	Yrs.	B.C.	Synkell.	Yrs.	B.C.	Mos. Kho.
[Arm. vers.: Nimrod.	...	2116]	Bêlos (= Bel-Merodach)	55	2284	Nimrod. Bab (= "Babylon"). Anebis. Arbel (= "Arbela"). Khael (= "Calah").
Ninos (= "Nineveh")	52	2036	Ninos	52	2229	Ninos.
Semiramis (= Istar)	42	1984	Semiramis	42	2177	Semiramis.
Zameis (= Samas the Sun-god), or Ninyas	38		Ninyas (= "the Ninevite") or Zamês	38		Zamessis or Ninyas.
Arios (= Nergal, lord of Hades)	30		Arios	30		Arios.
Aralios (= Arali, "Hades")	40		Aralios	40		Aralios. Sosares.
Xerxês or Baleus	30		Xerxês	30		Xerxes. Galeus.
Armamitrês	38		Armamithrês	38		Armamitres
Bêlôkhos	35		Bêlôkhos	35		Belokhos.
Balaios	52		Balaios	52		
Altadas	32		Sethôs	32		Altadas.
Mamitos	30		Mamythos	30		Mamithos.
Mankhaleos	32		Askhalios	28 (or 22)		Makhalaos.
Sphêros	20		Sphairos	22 (or 28)		Sphairos.
Mamitos II.	30		Mamylos	30		Mamylos.
Sparetos	40		Sparthaiôs	42		Sparethos.
Astakadis	40		Askatadês	48 (or 38)		Askatades.
Amyntês	45		Amyntês	45		Amynthas.
Bêlokhos II. (? Bel-kudur-utsur)	25		Bêlokhos II.	25		Belokhos.
Belleparês	30		Balatorês[1]	30		Balatores.
Lampridês	32		Lampridês	30		Lamprides.
Sôsarês	20		Sôsarês	20		Sosares.
Lamparês	30		Lampraês	30		Lampares.
Panyas	45		Panyas	45		Panyas.
Sôsarmos	19		Sôsarmos	22		Sosarmos.
Mitreos	27		Mithraios	27		Mithreos.
Tautanês (sent troops to Priam)	32		Teutamos or Tautanês	32		Teutamos.

[1] Bêletares, who had been the former king's gardener, is the same as Tiglath-Pileser, ac. to Agathias (II. 25, 15). Blôn and Polyhistor made him overthrow Beleous, the last of the Delketades or descendants of Semiramis.

KTESIAS—*Continued.*

Euseb.	Yrs.	B.C.	Syncell.	Yrs.	B.C.	Mos. Khor.
Teutæos	40		Teutaios	44		Teuteos.
			Arabêlos	42		
Thinæos	30		Khalaos	45		Tineus.
			Anebos	38		
			Babios or Tautanês II., called Tithônos by the Greeks	37		
			...	30		
Derkilos	40		Derkylos	40		Derkylos.
Eupalês	38		Eupalmês	38		Eupalmeos.
Laosthenês	45		Laosthenês	45		Laosthenes.
Pyriatidês	30		Portiadês	30		Priotiades.
Ophrateos ("Euphrates")	20		Ophrataios	21		Ophrateos.
Ophratenês	50		Ephekherês	52		Ophratanes.
Okrampês	42		Akraganês	42		Akraganes.
Tônos Konkoleros or Sardanapallos	20		Thônos Konkoleros	15		Sardanapalos.[1]
Sum	1240		Sum	1460		

Diod. Sik. (II.).—Ktêsias made 30 generations from Ninos to Sardanapalos for 1360 years.

Thallos (*Theophylact. ad Autolycum*, 282).—Bêlos 322 years before the Trojan War.

Ovid (*Met.* iv. 212).—Orchamus, the 7th king of Babylon from Bêlos.

Horus, King of Assyria (Pliny, *N. H.* xxx. 51), may be the same as the Thouros of Kedrenos. Thilgamos, in Ælian, must be Tiglath-Pileser.

ABYDÊNOS.

1. Senekherîb, the 25th king of Assyria (defeated a Greek fleet off Kilikia, and built Tarsus).
2. Nergilos, murdered by his son.
3. Adramêlos, slain by his half-brother.
4. Axerdês (Esarhaddon) (conquered Egypt and Syria, had Pythagoras in his pay).
5. Sardanapallos.
6. Sarakos, last king of Nineveh; burnt himself in his palace.

ALEXANDER POLYHISTOR.

Sinnekherim or Senekherib, 18 years, murdered by his son Ardu-Mousanos.
Assordanios, his son.
Sardanapallos, the Khaldæan, father of Nebuchadrezzar.
Sarakos, last king of Nineveh.

HERODOTOS.

Ninos, son of Bêlos, cir. B.C. 1250. The Assyrian empire for 520 years till the revolt of the Medes, cir. B.C. 730.
Senekherim, king of the Arabians.
Sardanapallos.
Nineveh destroyed, cir. B.C. 600.
Semiramis, queen of Babylon.
Nitôkris, queen five generations later.
Labynêtos I., king of Babylon, B.C. 585.
Labynêtos II., his son, conquered by Kyros.

[1] Sardanapallos fought with Perseus ac. to the *Paschal Chron.*, p. 68; the antagonist of Perseus was Belimos, 640 years after Ninos, ac. to Kephalîôn (*Fry.* I.) Kephalîôn made it 1000 years from Semiramis to Mêtraios, whose successor was Tautanos, the 22d Assyrian king. He sent aid to Priam.

THE MONUMENTS.

BABLYONIA.

Before the Deluge.

Ubara-Tutu of Surippak.
Zi-Susru (*Asm.* Samas-napisti) or Adra-khasis, his son, who was saved from the Flood.

"List of Kings who reigned after the Deluge, not in chronological order" (but according to the signification of their names).[1]

Accadian Original.	Assyrian Translation.	Meaning.
.	Amil-Gula.	"Man of Gula."
.	Samsu-natsir.	"Defend, O Sun-god."
. la.	Amil-Sin.	"Man of the Moon-god."
Ur-Babara.	Amil-Samsi.	"Man of Samas."
Iscipal.	Sapin-mat-nukurti.	"Sweeper of the hostile land."
Gulkhisar.	Muabbid-cissati.	"Destroyer of legions."
Aa-lugal-calama.	Apil-Hea-sar-mati.	"Son of Hea, king of the earth."
Akur-ulana.	Apil-Bilu-usum-same.	"Son of Bel, sovereign of heaven."
Sar-gina.	Sarru-cinu.	"King established."
Queen Azag-Bahu.	Bahu-ellitu.	"Bahu the illustrious.

Kassite Dynasty.

Kassite (Kossæan) Original.	Assyrian Translation.	Meaning.
Khammu-ragas.	Cimta-rapastu.	"Large of family."
Ammi-saduga.	Cimtu-cittu.	"Family established."
Cur-gal-zu.	Rie-bisi.	"Be a shepherd."
Simmas-Sipak.	Lidan-Maruduk.	"Offspring of Merodach."
Ulam-bur-ya'as.	Lidan-bil-matati.	"Offspring of the lord of the world."
Nazi-Urudas.	Tsil-Adari.[2]	"Shadow (protection) of Adar."
Meli-Sipak.	Amil-Maruduk.	"Man of Merodach."
Burna-bur-ya'as.	Cidin-bil-matati.	"Servant of the lord of the world."
Cadar-Cit.	Tukulti-Bili.	"Minister of Bel."

About 33 names lost.

Sumerian Original.	Assyrian Translation.	Meaning.
Ci-Tutu(?)-ta-khegal.	Itti-Maruduk-baladhu.	"With Merodach (is) life."
Ci-Tutu(?)-ankhegal.	Itti-Maruduk-banu.	"With Merodach one creates."
Lu-Siliklusar.	Amil-Maruduk.	"Man of Merodach."
Un-kur-Silikalim.	Bil-mati-Maruduk.	"Lord of the earth (is) Merodach."
Ca-sermal-Tutu.	Emid-pi-Maruduk.	"Supporter of the mouth (is) Merodach."
Sazuab-kusvu.	Maruduk-tsululu.	"Merodach overshadows."
Sazuab-tila-nengu.	Maruduk-baladh-su-ikbi.	"Merodach proclaimed life to him."
Ur-Nin-arali.	Amil-Gula.	"Man of Gula."
Khumeme.	Amil-Gula.	"Man of Gula."
Dili-Khedu.	Amil-Papsukul.	"Man of Papsukul."
Muna-tila.	Suma-libsi.	"May my name exist."[3]
Uruci-satu.	Sin-ibni.	"Sin has begotten."
Uruci-amal-duabi.	Sin-lie-cullati.	"Sin the benefactor of all."
Labar-Nudimmud.	Arad-Hea.	"Servant of Hea."
Urudu-mansum.	Nusci-iddina.	"Nusci has given."

[1] About 38 names are lost before these.
[2] This may also be read Rub-Adaru, "a prince is Adar."
[3] The Sumerian is "O live his name."

KASSITE DYNASTY—*Continued.*

Sumerian Original.	Assyrian Translation.	Meaning.
Ucu-esma-Alima.	**Dhabu-adli-Bili.**	**"Sweet to the bond of Bel."**
Dun-im-ba-khetil.	**Bahu-tasi-es-bullidh.**	**"O Bahu, vivify her womb."**
Damu-mu-dili-khegal.	**Gula-sume-edl-libsi.**	**"O Gula, may the name of him alone exist."**
Dun-gal-dhumuta-e.	**Gula-rubi-va-dumalumur.**	**"May Gula see prince and son."**
Tutu-bul-antamal.	**Maruduk-tappe-ediru-si.**	"O Merodach, arrange for her a comrade."
Dugga-makh-Sazu.	**Tsirat-elbit-Maruduki.**	"Supreme (is) the command of Merodach."
Khedu-alat-ra.	**Lamassi-Papsukul.**	"Papsukul is a colossus."
Enum-kherak.	**Tanitti-Bili.**	"The glory of Bel."
Sar-Uru-ibila.	**Sin-abil-Uri.**	"Sin the son of Ur."
Sar-ibila.	**Abil-Sin.**	"The son of Sin."
Enuci-ibila-ru.	**Hea-abla-epis.**	"O Hea, make a son."
Dun-ru(?)-ibila.	**Bahu-abla-epis (?)**	"O Bahu, make a son (?)"
	3 names lost.	
. a-edina.	**Limmur-Zirpanitu.**	**"May Zirpanit see."**
Si-ru.	**Bilu-ibni.**	**"Bel has created."**
Kurnigin-garra-kursisnene.	**Adaru-asarid-sunu.**	**"Adar their chief."**
Ninip-eaggubtar(?)-zaemen.	**Adaru-pakidat.**	**"Adar thou presidest."**
Mul-Nipur-ci-bi-gin.	**Bil-Nippuri-ana-asrisu-ter.**	**"Bel of Nipur return to his place."**
Lakhlaggi-Dimsar.	**Ebib-Nabu.**	**"Nebo illuminates."**
Kurgalmar-mu-pada.	**Bilu-zacir-sume.**	**"Bel the recorder of the name."**
Aba-Sanabi-dari.	**Mannu-cima-Bil-khadin.**	**"Who is like Hea."**
Es-Guzi-gin-dur.	**Bit-Saggil-cin-abli.**	**"Beth-Saggil the establisher of the son."**
Khu-un-zuh.	Bilu-mude-nisi.	"Bel who knows men."
Mul-curu-menna.	Bilu-dumek-anni.	"O Bel, prosper me."
Barsugal-Babaragude.	Sikhabiti-Ramanu.	". . . . Rimmon."
Ur-Sanabi.	Amil-Hea.	"The man of Hea."
Lu-Damu.	Amil-Gula.	"The man of Gula."
Duldul-Samul.	Samsu-yupakhkhir.	"Samas has collected."
Enucuru-duga-nu-palpal.	Papsukal-sa-ikbu-ul-ini.	"Papsukal changes not his word."
Agu-sak-algin.	Sin-iddina-abla.	"Sin has given a son."
Agu-ba-tila.	Sin-irtsita-sa-libludh.	"O Moon-god, may his earth live."
Larru-sadu-al.	Bilu-kudurri-utsur.	"O Bel, defend the landmark."
Lubar-Egirazag.	Arad-Nergalli.	"Servant of Nergal."
Us-Mul.	Cidin-Bili.	"Servant of Bel."
Uruci-gula.	Sinu-rabi.	"Sin (is) great."
. . nularakh-rag-calgasu-mu-aldibba.	. . . ina-puski-u-dannati-kati-tsabat.	"... in difficulties and force take my hand."
Es-Guzi-kharsak-men.	Bit-Saggil-saddu-ni.	"Beth-Saggil (is) our mountain."
. . . .	Samsu-ritsua.	"Samas (is) my help."
. . . .	Nabu-edir-napsati.	"Nebo the arranger of life."
	About 30 names lost.	

Kassite Original.	Assyrian Translation.	Meaning.
Ulam-Urus.	Lidan-Bili.	"Offspring of Bel."
Meli-Khali.	Amil-Gula.	"Man of Gula."
Meli-Sumu.	Amil-Sukamuna.	"Man of Sukamuna."
Meli-Sibarru.	Amil-Simalia.	"Man of Simalia."
Meli-Cit.	Amil-Samsi.	"Man of Samas."
Nimgiragas.	Ediru.	"The arranger."
Nimgiragas-Cit.	Ediru-Samsu.	"The arranger, the sun-god."

KASSITE DYNASTY—*Continued.*

Kassite Original.	Assyrian Translation.	Meaning.
Nimgiragas-Bur-ya'as.	Ediru-bil-matati.	"The arranger, the lord of the world."
Cadar-bur-ya'as.	Tuculti-bil-matati.	"Minister of the lord of the world."
Cadar-Cit.	Tuculti-Samsi.	"Minister of Samas."
Nazi-Sipak.	Tsil-Maruduk.	"The protection of Merodach."
Nazi-bur-ya'as.	Tsil-bil-matati.	"The protection of the lord of the world."

6 names lost.

EARLY ACCADIAN DYNASTY.

Banini, with his wife Melili and 7 sons, Memantakh, Medudu, etc.
.
. . . . nini.
Dingir-illat, his son.
Mul-ega-nunna.
Ane-Cis, his son.
...
Ur-Bagas (capital at Ur).
Dungi, his son.
Gudea, his son, viceroy (builder of Zerghul, where he was followed by the viceroys Me-sa-Nana-calama, son of Be . . khuk, Idadu, Enum-Anu, Enum-te-na and his son En-Na-dun).
Earlier kings of Zerghul were Ur-Nin, son of Khal-an-du, and his son Mena(?)-kur-gal.
...
Su-Agu.
...
Amar-Agu.

KING OF ERECH :—
Agu-gasid, son of the goddess Nin-'sun.

ELAMITE DYNASTY.

Cudur-Nankhundi I., B.C. 2280.
...
Chedorlaomer (= Cudur-Lagamar).
...
Cudur-Mabuk, son of Simtisilkhak.
Eri-Agu, his son.

DYNASTY OF AGADÉ (ACCAD.)

Sega-ni-sar-likh.

SEMITIC DYNASTY OF AGADÉ.

Sargon I.
Naram-Sin, his son, B.C. 3750 according to Nabonidos.

SEMITIC KINGS OF UR.

Camaru-Sin (Ga-Sin).
Sin-idina, his son.
...
Nur-Rimmon.
...
Gamil-Adar.
...
Libit-Nana.
...
Ismi-Dagon.
Gungunnum, his son.
...
Rim-Sin (conquered Erech, was conquered by Khammuragas), reigned more than 30 years.

"The 11 Kings of the Dynasty of Babylon."

1. Sumu-abi, 15 years.
2. Sumu-la-ilu, 35 years.
3. Zabu (built temples at Sippara), his son, 14 years.
4. Abil-Sin, his son, 18 years.
5. Sin-muballidh, his son, 30 years.
6. Khammuragas,[1] his son, 55 years, cir. B.C. 2000.
7. Samsu-ilu-na, his son, 35 years.
8. Ebisu, his son, 25 years.
9. Ammi-satana, his son, 25 years.
10. Ammi-saduga, his son, 21 years.
11. Cit-satana, his son, 31 years.

The Dynasty of Erech (?) (Accadian).

1. Anman.
2. Ci-dingir-nibi.
3. Damci-ili-su.
4. Iscipal.
5. Sussi.
6. Gulkhisar.
7. Kir-gal-dubbar, his son.
8. Adub-calama, his son.
9. Akur-ulana.
10. Melam-kurkura.
11. Hea-gaka (?).

...

Kassite Dynasty.

1. Ummikh-zirritu.
2. Agu-ragas, his son.
3. Abi . . ., his son.
4. Tassi-gurumas, his son.
5. Agu-kak-rimi, his son.

...

Cudur-Cit.
Sagasaltiyas-Buryas, his son.

...

Murudas-Sipak.

...

Simmas-Sipak.

...

Cara-indas . . .	cir. B.C. 1450
Burna-bur-ya'as	1430
Cara-murudas	1410
Nazi-Bugas	1400
Cur-gal-zu	1380
Meli-Sipak	1350
Merodach-Baladan I. . . .	1325
Nazi-Murudas	1300

Assyrian Dynasty.

Tiglath-Adar	1270
Rimmon . . . bi	1230
Zamama-zacir-iddin	1200

[1] The Kassite names which appear at the end of this dynasty must be due to the marriage of Sin-muballidh with a Kassite princess.

Khaldean Kings.

	cir. B.C.
Nabu-kudurra-utsur I. (Nebochadrezzar)	1150
Cara-bur-ya'as	1120
Merodach-nadin-akhi	1100
Merodach-sapik-zirrat	1097
. sadua	1080

Dynasty from the Persian Gulf.

1. Simmas-Sipak, son of Erba-sin, for 17 years (buried in Sargon's palace)
2. Hea-mucin-ziri (an usurper), son of Cutmar, for 3 months.
3. Kassu-nadin-akhi, son of Sappa, for 6 years.

Dynasty of the House of Bazu.

1. Ulbar-surci-iddin, son of Bazu, for 15 years.
2. Nebuchadrezzar II., his brother, for 2 years.
3. (Amil ?) Sukamuna, his brother, for 3 years 3 months.
4. An Elamite for 6 years.

...

Rimmon-pal-iddina.

...

Erba-Merodach.

Merodach-baladan II., his son.

...

Sibir.

...

	B.C.
Rimmon-suma-utsur	900
Nabu-bal-iddina (Nebo-baladan)	880
Merodach-suma-izcur	853
Merodach-baladhsu-ikbu	820
Samsu-izcir-dumki	810
Nebo-suma-iscun, his son	...
...	
Nebo-cargin-abba	...
...	
Nabu-natsir	747
Nabu-yusapsi	733
Yucin-ziru	731
Tiglath-Pileser (Pul or Poros) of Assyria	729
Yagina, Chief of the Kaldai	726
Merodach-baladan III., his son	721
Sargon of Assyria	709
Merodach-baladan restored	704
Bilu-ebus	703
Assur-nadin-sume	700
Suzub	693
Esarhaddon of Assyria	681
Samul-mucinu	668
Assur-bani-pal	648 (?)
Kandalanu[1]	...
Nabu-pal-utsur	626 (?)
Nabu-kudurra-utsur III.	605
Amil-Maruduk	562
Nergal-sarra-utsur	560
Nabu-nahid	556
Conquered by Kuras	538

[1] A contract-tablet is dated in the 20th year of Kandalanu or Kinéladanos.

ASSYRIA.

Sargon says he was preceded by 330 Assyrian kings.

Accadian Viceroys of Assur (Kalah Sherghat).

Isme-Dagon	B.C. 1850
Samsi-Rimmon I., his son	1820
...	
Igur-sumeli-capu	...
Samsi-Rimmon II., his son	...
...	
Teba (?)	...
Iritak, his son.	

Kings of Assyria.

Bilu-sumeli-capi, the founder.	
...	
Adasi.	
Bilu-bani, his son.	
...	
Assur-suma-esir.	
Adar-tuklat-Assuri, his son.	
...	
Erba-Rimmon.	
Assur-nadin-akhi, his son.	
...	
Assir-nirari I.	
Nabu-da'an, his son.	
...	
Assur-bil-nisi-su	cir. B.C. 1450
Buzur-Assur	1420
Assur-yuballidh	1400
Bil-nirari, his son	1370
Pudilu, his son	1350
Rimmon-nirari I., his son	1330
Shalmaneser I. (Sallimmanu-esir), his son	1300
Tiglath-Adar I., his son	1271
Bilu-cudurra-utsur	1240
Adar-pal-esar	1220
Assur-da'an I., his son	1200
Mutaggill-Nabu or Mutaggil-Nuscu, his son	1170
Assur-ris-isi, his son	1150
Tiglath-Pileser I. (Tuculti-pal-esar), his son	1130
Assur-bil-cala, his son	1100
Samsi-Rimmon I., his brother	1080
...	
Assur-rab-buri	...
...	
Assur-tsalmati	...
...	
Assur-da'an II.	930
Rimmon-nirari II., his son	B.C. 913
Tiglath-Adar II., his son	891
Assur-natsir-pal, his son	885
Shalmaneser II., his son	860
Assur-dain-pal, his son (rebel king)	827
Samsi-Rimmon II., his brother	825
Rimmon-nirari III., his son	812
Shalmaneser III.	783
Assur-da'an III.	773
Assur-nirari II.	755
Tiglath-Pileser II. (Poros or Pul), usurper	725
Shalmaneser IV., usurper	727
Sargon, usurper	722
Sennacherib (Sin-akhi-erba), his son	705
Esar-haddon I. (Assur-akh-iddina), his son	681
Assur-bani-pal (Sardanapalos), his son	668
Assur-etil-ilani, his son	?
... suma-iscun	?
Esar-haddon II. (Sarakos) last king	?

PHŒNICIA.

Tyre.

Tyre built 2300 years before Herodotos (II. 44).

Baal-merom-gabu, 3d year of Menephtah II.

...

Abibal (Joseph. *c. Ap.* I. 17-18).

Hiram I., his son, for 34 years (lived 53 years), contemporary with David and Solomon.

Baleazor, his son, 7 years (lived 43 years).

Abdastartos, his son, 9 years (lived 29 years).

Astartos, son of Deleastartos, an usurper, 12 years (lived 54 years).[1]

Astarymos, his brother, 9 years (lived 54 years).

Phelês, his brother, 8 months (lived 50 years).

Eithobalos (Ethbaal) I., priest of Astartê, an usurper, 32 years (lived 68 years).

[1] Oppert's conjecture. The text is corrupt, reading: "the four sons of his nurse slew (Abdastartos), the eldest of whom reigned 12 years, μεθου Αστραρτος son of Deleastartos 12 out of 54 years." Theophilos has Methuastartos, and neither Theophilos nor Eusebios has the double 12 years.

TYRE—*Continued.*

Baalezor (Badezor), his son, 6 years (*Eus.* and *Synkell.*: 8 years), lived 45 years.
Matgenos (Mutton), his son, 9 years (*Eus.* and *Theoph.*: 29 years), lived 32 years.
Pygmalion, his son, 47 years (lived 56 years); his sister Dido founds Carthage in his 7th year, 155 years 8 months after Hiram.

	B.C.
...	
Khirummu (Hiram II.), reigning	738
Mietenna (Mutton II.)	730
Elulaios Pya[1] (*Assn.* Lulie), 36 yrs.	725
Bahlu (Baal) I. . . 675 and	665
...	
Eithobalos II. (besieged by Nebuchadrezzar)	...
Baal II., 10 years	575
Eknibal, son of Baslakh, *judge*, 2 months	565
Khelbês, son of Abdaios, *judge*, 10 months	565
Abbartos, the high-priest, *judge*, 3 months	564
Mutton and Gerastratos, sons of Abdelemos, *judges*, 6 years	...
Balator (king), 1 year	557
Merbalos (brought from Babylon), 4 years	556
Hiram III., his brother, 20 years	552
...	
Hiram IV. (Seirômos).	
Mattenos (Mutton III.) (Herod. vii. 97), his son, contemporary of Xerxês.	

SIDON.

Subject to Tyre, Ethbaal I. and Elulaios being Kings of Sidon as well as of Tyre.

	B.C.
Ethbaal II. (*Assn.* Tubahlu), after the flight of Elulaios	700
Abd-Melkarth (Abdimilkutti)	678
...	
Tetramnêstos, son of Anysos (Herod. iii. 98), age of Xerxês.	
...	
Bod-Astoreth I.	
Bod-Astoreth II., his son.	
...	
Esmunezer I.	
Tabnith I., his son.	
Esmunezer II., his son, 14 years.	
...	
Stratôn (Ashtoreth), age of Artaxerxês.[2]	
...	
Tennês (Tabnith II.)	351
Straton II., deposed by Alexander	...
Ballônymos	332

GEBAL (BYBLOS).

Sibitti-bihil (Sebedh-Baal)	738
Urumilki (Urimelech)	700
Milki-asapi	675
...	
Baal, age of Xerxês?	
Enil I., age of Artaxerxês I.	
Azbaal, his successor.	
...	
Enylos (Enil II.)	330

ARVAD.

Matinubahli (Matan-baal) I.	854
...	
(Ma)tan-Bihli II.	732
Abdilihti	700
Kilu-Baal	675
Yakin(i)lu	665
Azi-bahal, his son.	
...	
Merbaal, son of Agbaal (Herod. vii. 98), age of Xerxês.	
...	
Stratôn	333

LYDIA.

Mythical Period.

DYNASTY OF THE ATYADÆ.

Manês (the Moon-god), son of Zeus.
Cotys, son of Manês, married Haliê, dau. of Tyllos.
Attys (the Sun-god), son of Kotys (of Manês ac. to Herod.)
Lydos and Torybos, sons of Attys.
.....
Alkimos the pious.
...
Akiamos, whose general Askalos founded Askalon.
...
Arimos.
Mêlês.
Moxos, his son.
...
Kamblês or Kamblêtês (Kamblitas).

[1] Joseph. *Ant.* ix. 14, 2.

[2] Athen. *Deipn.* xii. p. 531.

THE HITTITE CONQUEST (? B.C. 1076).

Iardanos, the opponent of Kamblêtês.
Omphalê, his daughter, marries Hêraklês (Sandan).
Alkaios or Lamos, their son (Hêraklês also had Akelis, or Agelaos, or Kleodaios, by the slave Malis or Damalis).

DYNASTY OF THE HÊRAKLEIDÆ.

Nik. Dam. (i.e. Xanthos).	Herodotos.
1. Tylôn succeeds Omphalê.	Agrôn, son of Ninos, son of Bêlos, son of Alkaios, founds the dynasty B.C. 1192; his 21st successor was Myrsos.
2. Sadyattês I.	
3. Lixos.	
...	
Adyattês I. (*Eus.*: Alyattês).	
Ardys I. (brother of Kadys), his son, for 70 years (*Eus.*: for 36 years).	
Nik. Dam. (i.e. Xanthos).	
Adyattês II., his son (*Eus.*: Alyattes II. for 14 years.	
Mêlês II., his son (*Eus.*: for 12 years).	
Myrsos, his son (*Eus.* omits).	
Sadyattês II. (Kandaulês), his son.	

DYNASTY OF THE MERMNADÆ.

	B.C.
1. Gygês (*Herod.*: 38 years; *Eus.*: 36 years)	687
2. Ardys II., his son (*Herod.*: 49 years; *Eus.*: 38 years)	653
3. Sadyattês II., his son (*Herod.*: 12 years; *Eus.*: 15 years)	615
4. Alyattês III., his son (*Herod.*: 57 years; *Eus.*: 49 years)	603
5. Kroisos (brother of Pantalêon), his son (*Herod.*: 14 years; *Eus.*: 15 years)	554
Conquered by Kyros	530

MEDIA.

KTÊSIAS (*Diod. Sik.* ii. 33).

1. Arbakês for 28 years after the overthrow of Sardanapallos.
2. Mandaukês for 30 (or 20) years.
3. Sôsarmos for 20 (or 30) years.
4. Artykas for 50 (or 30) years.
5. Arbianês for 22 years.
6. Artaios for 40 years.
7. Artynês for 22 years.
8. Astibaras for 40 years.
9. Aspadas, called Astyagês by the Greeks, for 35 years.

HERODOTOS.

1. Dêiokês (*Ass.* Daiukku), 53 years.
2. Phraortês (Frawartish), 22 years.
3. Kyaxarês (*Ass.* Kastarit), 40 years.
4. Astyagês (*Ass.* Istuvegu), 35 years.

VAN (BIAINIS) OR ARARAT (ARMENIA).

		B.C.
1.	Aramis (wars with Assyria, B.C. 857 and 845).	
2.	Sarduris I., son of Lutipris, B.C. 833.	
3.	Ispuinis, his son.	
4.	Ispuinis and his son Menuas.	
5.	Menuas alone.	
6.	Argistis I., his son.	
7.	Sarduris II., his son.	
8.	Ur'sa	730
9.	Argistis II.	714
10.	Erimenas, his son	...
11.	Ru'sas, his son	660
12.	Sarduris III.	645
	...	
	Conquered by Media about	610

PERSIA.

1. Akhæmenes (Hakhâmanish).
2. Teispês (Chaishpâish), his son. He conquers Susiania and rules at Susa, B.C. 600.
3. Ariaramnês (Ariyârâmna), his son, in Persia.
3. Kyros I. (Kuras), his son, in Susiania.
4. Arsamês (Arshâma), son of Ariaramnês, in Persia.
4. Kambysês I. (Kambujiya), son of Kyros, in Susiania.
5. Kyros III., son of Kambysês, in Susiania. He conquers Media, B.C. 550, and Persia, 548.

	B.C.
6. Kambyses II., his son . .	529
7. Gomatês (Gaumâta), the Magian, the pseudo-Bardes (Bardiya), for 7 months .	521
8. Dareios (Dârayavaush), son of Hystaspês (Vishtâspa), and grandson of Arsamês, for 36 years	521
9. Xerxês I. (Khshayârshâ), his son, for 21 or 12 years .	485
10. Artaxerxês I. (Artakhshatra), Longimanus, his son, for 40 years	465
11. Xerxês II., his son, for 2 months	425
12. Sogdianos, his half-brother, for 7 months	425
13. Dareios II. Nothos (Okhos), his brother, for 19 years . .	424
14. Artaxerxês II. Mnêmôn, his son, for 43 years . .	405
Revolt of Kyros the younger .	401
15. Okhos, son of Artaxerxês, for 23 years	462
16. Arsês, his son, for 3 years .	339
17. Dareios Kodomannos, for 6 years	336
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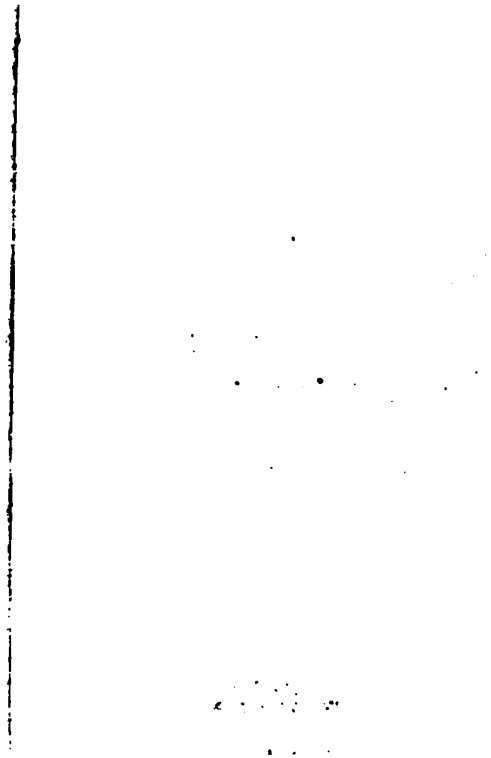
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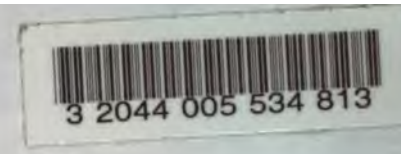
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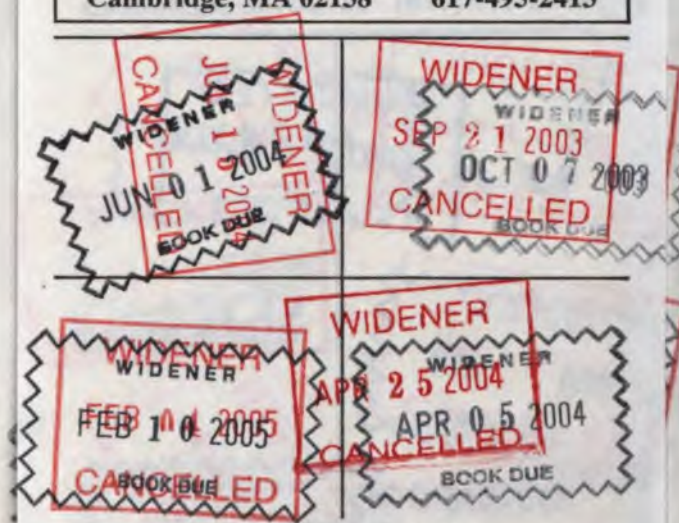




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